The Indian Mutiny

1857-58

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The Indian Mutiny

1857-58

SELECTIONS

FROM THE

LETTERS DESPATCHES AND OTHER STATE PAPERS

PRESERVED IN

THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT

OF

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1857-58

EDITED BY

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WITH MAPS, PLANS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME II

CALCUTTA

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PREFACE

THE first volume of the Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58, contained the documents from the first outbreak of disaffection to the siege and storming of Delhi by the English troops. These volumes contain in a similar form:—

All papers relating to the mutiny at Lucknow and the defence of the Residency by the garrison: General Havelock's march from Allahabad and the first relief of Lucknow: General Outram's defence of Lucknow: Sir Colin Campbell's relief of Lucknow in November 1857: Outram's defence of the Alumbagh: General Windham's defence of Cawnpore: Sir Colin Campbell's storming and capture of Lucknow. All documents relating to the outbreak at Cawnpore, the defence of the intrenchment, and the massacre of the survivors.

As the letters and despatches do not, however, furnish an unbroken narrative of events and are somewhat full of technical detail, I have thought it advisable, as in the case of the previous volume, to construct from these official materials a continuous story and to prefix it as an introduction. Since the publication of the first volume seven years have elapsed, but the labour of investigation has been very great and the years which I have devoted to the work have been none too many for so delicate and difficult an enterprise. The documents in the two present volumes illustrate a larger number of important episodes than did the previous calendar. The introduction to the Delhi volume contained one distinct narrative. The present introduction, it will be seen, contains eight distinct and complete narratives, and it has not always been easy so to arrange them that the course of events should

ever be clear and distinct and the reader be not too frequently called upon to break off, and resume, the threads of different operations in different parts of the empire.

It is on the sure ground of official documents that I have mainly relied, but they have been fortified by the contemporary literature which is both varied and abundant. A large number of private letters and diaries have been placed at my disposal and it has been my anxious care to draw from them useful material by separating facts and just inferences from matters and opinions honestly given as testified by the senses of the writer, but which in truth are founded on the current statements and warped feelings of the hour. Besides the printed matter and the manuscript documents, I have had the advantage of actual conversation with many who witnessed the transactions.

Military operations however extend over so wide a field that no actor can have a personal knowledge of all the circumstances. By putting together fragments of information which I have received from several witnesses, marking where they agree and where they differ and comparing them with the whole collection of written statements, I have endeavoured to arrive at a complete and correct conception of the combination of scenes which a battle or the storming of a fortress presents. My own conceptions have been corrected by the technical and sagacious criticisms of military experts, and the work of a civilian on the operations of war is therefore offered with less fear. In order to strengthen the text and to enable the reader to form his own judgment of the evidence, abundant citations from the original authorities have been inserted as footnotes; I have also incorporated extracts from the despatches and letters in the text of the introduction with the object of bringing the reader into touch with the actors.

The story of the defence of Lucknow, one of the most dramatic incidents in our national history, is told in the contemporary narratives of the man who did the fighting and the

women whose courage never faltered; and they are fertile in tragedy. I discovered that the diary of Captain George Fulton, whose cheerful bearing and noble temper inspired officers and men with his own energy and cool determination, was in Australia. In response to my appeal his sons kindly sent me a copy, and of this I have made free use in the introduction. The fine and modest temper of the man to whom his comrades gave the proud title of "The Defender of Lucknow," is seen in his plain narrative of facts. Sir Joseph Fayrer has also given me leave to quote from his manuscript diary.

The story of Cawnpore, a tale of disaster and unutterable woe illumined by gallantry and patient, heroic courage, is told in part from the narratives of Captain Thomson, Lieutenant Delafosse and Mr. Shepherd, the three male survivors, and from an account written for me by one of the two women who escaped the massacre at the bank of the river. Her name, for the sake of her family, cannot be disclosed. Her story has been minutely compared with the voluminous evidence before me and of its substantial accuracy there is no doubt. The depositions of sixty-three witnesses, natives and half-castes, taken under the directions of Colonel Williams, Commissioner of Police in the North-Western Provinces, have been consulted, but their evidence is full of discrepancies and must be treated with extreme caution. The confidential reports from officials, petitions from private persons, depositions of witnesses, unofficial examinations, have been studied with care. They show that although the darkest tints predominate, the picture is not so black as it has been painted. As Colonel Williams states: "The most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that at first was so frequently made and so currently believed that personal indignity and dishonour were offered to our poor suffering countrywomen." The evidence also proves that the sepoy guard placed over the prisoners refused to murder them. The foul crime was perpetrated by five ruffians of the Nana's guard at the instigation of a

courtesan. It is as ungenerous as it is untrue to charge upon a nation that cruel deed.

The sketch of Sir Colin Campbell's relief of Lucknow in November 1857 is drawn from Sir Colin's own despatch and other primary sources. The journal kept in his official capacity by Captain George Allgood, C.B., who accompanied Sir Colin as Assistant Quartermaster-General with head-quarters in the campaigns of 1857, 1858 and 1859, are now printed for the first time and they have been of great use to me. Sir David Baird, who was one of Sir Colin's Aides-de-Camp, at my urgent request sent me a short narrative of what occurred when he, Lieutenant Roberts and Captain Hopkins planted under a shower of bullets a regimental colour on one of the turrets of the mess-house.

The narrative of Major-General Windham's operations at Cawnpore has been written with an anxious regard to state facts without unduly raking the ashes of an old controversy. The draft of the narrative was read by the late Sir John Adye, who was Windham's Brigade-Major, and pronounced by him to be accurate and impartial. I pointed out to Sir John that his semi-official defence of General Windham's strategy printed in 1858 is mainly based on the word "outside" which is not in the original manuscript of the "Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Windham." Colonel Lewis Jones (88th Regiment), who captured the enemy's guns on the 26th November, has conferred upon me a favour by sending to me a brief account of what took place on that day. General Chamier, who commanded with so much distinction the Madras guns on the 28th of November, when Brigadier Carthew was forced back into the intrenchments, has, by imparting to me much valuable information, helped me to understand the true nature of that conflict. But of all the materials on which I formed my account none has been of more value to me than the original draft of Brigadier Carthew's "Detailed report of the operations of the Forces placed under my command on the 26th, 27th

and 28th ultimo." As the report came into my private possession from a private source, and is not to be found in the Military Records, I am precluded from treating it as an official document which ought to be printed in these volumes. General Chamier vouches for its accuracy.

The account of the march of the three columns from the eastern frontier of Oudh to Lucknow has been mainly constructed from the despatches of their respective commanders. Much useful information relating to the march of General Franks's force has been supplied to me by General McLeod Innes, V.C., who accompanied it as Engineer Officer, and showed how great professional skill and calm judgment can be combined with valour of no ordinary order.

A detailed account is given of the operations on the plain of Alumbagh, by which Outram held the armed hosts of Lucknow in check until the Commander-in-Chief was in a position to undertake the capture of the city. It has been mainly based on Outram's own reports, which bear in every line the stamp of the man who impressed himself upon all the events with which he was connected and shaped them by the force of his individual character. He lives in the hearts of those who knew him, and from his comrades I have received many striking reminiscences of his courage and chivalry.

The sketch of the siege and capture of Lucknow, an operation which will always be considered a striking illustration of the art of war, is drawn from Sir Colin Campbell's despatch and Outram's memorandum of the operations carried on under his command. The "Reports on the Engineering Operations at the Siege of Lucknow in March 1858," by Major-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., Colonel Harness, C.B., and Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, Royal Engineers, have enabled me to trace the daily progress of the siege. General Sir J. J. H. Gordon, who took part in the stern conflict at the Kaiser Bagh which again made us masters of Lucknow, has assisted me to reconcile many discrepancies in the contemporary narratives.

Field Marshal Earl Roberts, whose name is often mentioned in the despatches, has conferred on me an important favour by reading the introduction and furnishing some important suggestions and corrections. Finally, I have to express my deep thanks to General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B., for his kind supervision of the proofs of the State papers and for giving me by his notes an opportunity of availing myself of his knowledge and study of the subject. Some of the official papers were written by him, and in most of the scenes he played an important and gallant part.

The sources of the narrative are State documents, but the introduction has no official character or authority. My earnest endeavour has been to state salient authentic facts in a spirit that will not revive the virulent race animosities which were aroused by bloodshed and carnage and perverted the history and criticism of the hour. There have been tongues and pens enough to narrate the excesses which have raised the Indian Mutiny to the rank of a world-wide tragedy. It is useful that these crimes should be remembered and freshly pondered, but it is equally wise to study the opposite picture. The brave and turbulent population of Oudh with a few exceptions treated the fugitives of the ruling race with a marked kindness. Not only the loyalty and the courage but the calm heroic spirit with which the sepoys in the Lucknow Residency endured dangers and trials is worthy of all honour. The devotion and fidelity of humble native attendants and loyal sepoys, the patient endurance and calm courage of our countrymen and countrywomen, the high energy and valour of the British soldier, afford some relief to the most terrible features of a tale of wrath and fury.

GEORGE WILLIAM FORREST.

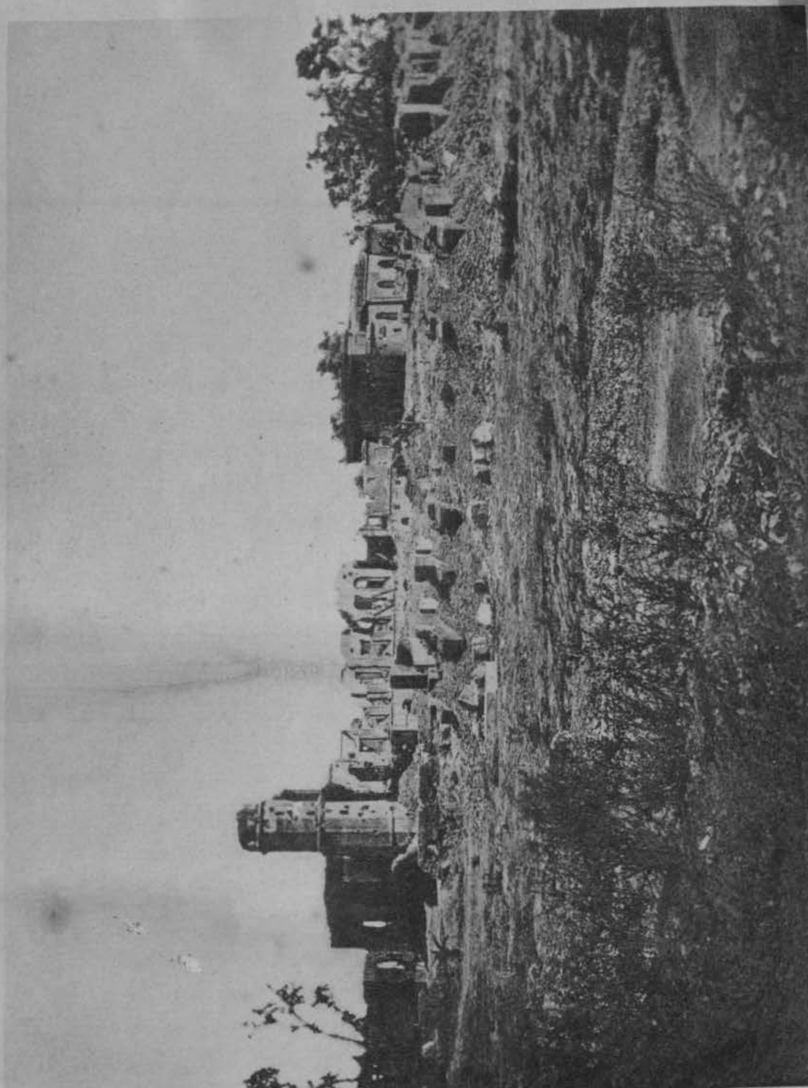
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INTRODUCTION

On the 13th of February 1856, the Province of Oudh was annexed on the righteous ground that "the British Government would be guilty in the sight of God and man, if it were any longer to aid in sustaining by its countenance an administration fraught with suffering to millions." * The country was constituted into a Chief Commissionership, and Major-General Sir James Outram was appointed Chief Commissioner.

James Outram

Four years after Waterloo was won James Outram arrived in India, and was appointed an Ensign in the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry. He soon proved himself an active and daring soldier, and after six years' service, he was appointed, notwithstanding his youth, to command a corps which was to be recruited from the Bhils, the wild, marauding, aboriginal tribes who formed the chief inhabitants of the province of Khandesh. Here he reaped his first laurels, and acquired considerable celebrity. He commenced his operations by attacking with a few troops the Bhils in their mountain fortresses, and, after a short, stubborn contest, having destroyed their strongholds, and taken many prisoners, he proceeded to form his corps by enlisting the captives. A man of iron nerve, he won the confidence of the clans by living among them unarmed, and trusting to their rough sense of justice and honour. He was the leader of his wild companions in every hardy sport, and in all the country round there was no Bhil who could throw the javelin, ride

Khandesh and the Bhils, 1825-1838

* Lord Dalhousie's words in the Proclamation issued on the 13th February 1856. "With this feeling in my mind," he wrote in his private diary, "and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change), I approach the execution of this duty, gravely, and not without solicitude, but calmly, and altogether without doubt."

at a tent-peg, or follow a tiger to his lair, like James Outram.* Twelve years did he spend in reclaiming the wild tribes of Western and Central India, and teaching races the most savage and degraded to become peaceable, useful, and faithful servants of the State. He held the high and important office of Political Agent when the first Afghan War broke the long peace in which India had reposed; and he sacrificed rank, and the fairest prospect of civil advancement to join, in a comparatively subordinate position, his comrades in the field. But he soon found opportunities of showing his skill and daring in war. The day before Ghazni was taken by storm, he routed a large body of the enemy, who had occupied a strong position on the hills commanding the camp; and when Dost Mahomed fled from his capital Outram was appointed to lead an expedition sent forth to capture him. He pursued the royal fugitive along tortuous channels, and over lofty passes; but the ex-Amir of Afghanistan made good his escape across the Oxus. On his return to Kabul Outram was employed in tranquillising the disaffected Ghilzai tribes between the capital and Kandahar, and with a small force he scoured the wild region from Kabul to Quetta, seizing forts, and subduing chiefs. At the siege of Khelat he distinguished himself, and, disguised as an Afghan, he carried a general despatch through the enemy's country, by an unknown and difficult route.

Afghan War, 1838

For the important services he had rendered with the army Outram was promoted to the rank of Brevet-Major, and was appointed Political Agent in Lower Sind.† Here again he manifested in various ways his great administrative capacity, and his power of dealing with savage races and winning their confidence. When the Amir of Haidarabad

Political Agent in Lower Sind, 13th November 1839

* "In April or May, 1825, news having been brought in by his *shikari*, Chima, that a tiger had been seen on the side of the hill under the Mussulman temple, among some prickly pear shrubs, Lieutenant Outram and another sportsman proceeded to the spot. Outram went on foot, and his companion on horseback. Searching through the bushes, when close on the animal, Outram's friend fired, and missed, on which the tiger sprang forward roaring, seized Outram, and they rolled down the side of the hill together. Being released from the claws of the ferocious beast for a moment, Outram with great presence of mind drew a pistol he had with him and shot the tiger dead. The Bhils, on seeing that he had been injured, were one and all loud in their grief and expressions of regret; but Outram quieted them with the remark, 'What do I care for the clawing of a cat!' This speech was rife among the Bhils for many years afterwards, and may be so to this day."—"James Outram: A Biography," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., volume I, page 98.

† That country was then divided into the Principalities, Upper, Middle, and Lower Sind; governed respectively by the Amirs, who were independent of each other.

was on his deathbed he summoned Outram, and confided his brother and his son to his protection, saying "No one has known so great truth and friendship as I have found in you." The energy, zeal, and ability he displayed in Lower Sind led to his being appointed Political Agent for all the States which occupied the Frontier between Sind and Afghanistan. The confidence with which he inspired wild tribes who came under his influence was of great service to General Nott in his preparations for a second advance on Kabul, and when the British troops returned to India, having revenged the murder of our Envoy, Outram, with his savage auxiliaries, protected the line of march through the Bolan Pass. For his "zeal and ability" he received the thanks of the Government of India; but owing to Sir Charles Napier having been invested with full diplomatic and military power in Sind, his political office was abolished, and Outram was remanded to his regiment. His departure was lamented by men of all classes and creeds, and at a public banquet to his honour Sir Charles Napier proposed his health in the following terms—"Gentlemen, I give you the 'Bayard of India,' *sans peur et sans reproche*, Major James Outram, of the Bombay Army;" and the epithet will always remain linked with his name.

Departure from Sind, November 5th, 1842

The next year James Outram returned to Sind on being appointed, at the special request of Napier, a commissioner for the arrangement of the details of a revised treaty with the Amirs. On the 12th of February the Amirs reluctantly signed the treaty at Haidarabad, and three days afterwards the Residency House was attacked by a force of eight thousand infuriated Beluchis with six guns. Outram, with a body-guard of one hundred men, defended it resolutely. After four hours' sharp fighting he was, however, compelled, owing to want of ammunition, to withdraw his small band to a steamer anchored in the river: he then, under a heavy fire, proceeded some miles up the Indus.

Return to Sind, 1843

Defence of the Residency at Haidarabad

On the 16th of February Outram joined Napier some sixteen miles above Haidarabad, and was immediately sent by him to clear the forest around the village of Meanee, where was posted the army of the Amir. Whilst he was engaged in this operation was fought the bloody battle which made us masters of Sind.

It is not within the scope of these pages to discuss the merits of the policy that culminated in the conquest and annexation of the Province, nor the bitter controversy which arose between two noble and

generous souls. For his brilliant defence of the Residency Outram was made a Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel, and received the honour of a Companionship of the Bath. As he did not agree in the justice of our cause he distributed his share of the prize-money, amounting to £3,000, among charitable institutions in India The succession of difficult, laborious services in Afghanistan and Sind had, however, undermined his health, and he was obliged to seek rest in England. But before he had sufficient respite from labour, the outbreak of the first Sikh war cause him to return, and he was greatly disappointed at not being allowed to join the army of the Sutlej. An outbreak in the Southern Mahratta country, however, gave him a fresh opportunity of displaying his gallantry and resource in the field, and his vigour and address in diplomacy. The manner with which he concluded some delicate negociations with the Portuguese Government of Goa led to his being appointed Resident to the then quiet little Mahratta Court of Satara. From thence he was transferred to the more important Residency at Baroda. Here his generous, straightforward nature was outraged by the prevailing corruption, which he justly considered to be a scandal to our administration. His report explaining the evil was, unfortunately, not couched in diplomatic language, and being considered by the Bombay Government as lacking in respect to themselves, he was deprived of his office. Outram returned to England to fight his cause. The Court of Directors supported the decision of the Bombay Government, but, at the same time, they expressed a hope that on his return to India a suitable opportunity would be found of employing him. Arriving at Calcutta, Lord Dalhousie not only appointed him honorary aide-de-camp on his staff, but the Government of India having resolved to assume the direct control of affairs at Baroda, sent him back as Resident. He had only enjoyed his second tenure of the office a month when he was appointed Political Agent and Commandant at Aden. From there he was summoned by Lord Dalhousie to be Resident at Oudh, with instructions to prepare at once a report of the existing state of the country. It was a difficult and delicate task, and one most distasteful to him. The sympathies of the chivalrous defender of the Amirs of Sind had always been with the Native Princes of India, and he believed that it was a wise and sound policy to maintain the few remaining States which had survived the progress of our armies. But the generous sympathies of Outram could not resist the clear evidence of the misrule of Oudh, and the wide misery caused by it. In his

December 1845

Resident at Satara, May 26th, 1845

Resident at Baroda, May 1847

Return to Baroda, 19th March 1854

Resident at Aden

Resident at Oudh, 4th December 1854

report he stated that he had no hesitation in declaring his opinion that the duty imposed on the British Government by treaty could no longer admit of our "honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India had felt heretofore to have recourse to these extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficiency in remedying the evils from which the State of Oudh has suffered so long." Lord Dalhousie forwarded Outram's report, accompanied by an exhaustive minute, in which he reviewed the whole question. "The reform of the administration," Lord Dalhousie wrote, "may be wrought, and the prosperity of the people may be secured, without resorting to so extreme a measure as the annexation of the territory, and the abolition of the throne. I, for my part, therefore, do not recommend that the Province of Oudh should be declared to be British territory." * But the Court of Directors and Her Majesty's Ministry, after carefully weighing the opinion of the Governor-General and his Council, decided to assume the Government of the country.

Oudh was annexed, and the first efforts of British administration were directed by the lenient and generous hands of Outram. But his health unfortunately broke down under the heavy strain of work, and in April 1856 he was obliged to resign the rule of the province and return to England. Chief Commissioner of Oudh

Outram's successor was Mr. Coverley Jackson, a civilian from the North-West Provinces. He had ability of a certain kind, and that sort of industry and exactness which would make him an expert in the technicalities of revenue administration: but he had no capacity for great affairs, and the government of men. He was incapable of making his officers give effect to the benevolent intentions declared in the proclamation, which announced to the chiefs and people of Oudh the annexation of the Province. That State paper promised that 'the revenue of the districts should be determined on a fair and settled Mr. Coverley Jackson

* His Lordship further stated :—"There are four modes in which the interposition of the Supreme Government may be proposed—

I.—The King may be required to abdicate the sovereign powers he has abused, and consent to the incorporation of Oudh with the territories of the British Crown.

II.—He may be permitted to retain his royal titles and position, but may be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of his kingdom in the Government of the East India Company for ever;

III.—Or for a time only.

IV.—He may be invited to place the management of the country in the hands of the Resident, to be carried on by the officers of the King aided by selected British officers.

base; justice shall be measured out with an equal hand; protection shall be given to life and property; and every man shall enjoy henceforth his just right without fear of molestation." In many parts of the country the assessments were made in the first instance at too high a rate, and the revenue officers, "laudably anxious to promote to the utmost the welfare of the great body of the agricultural classes, were not sufficiently regardful of the interests of the great landed proprietors," and ignored their acquired rights, although, unquestionably, persons in possession at the time of the annexation of the country. Many of these large landholders may have obtained possession of these holdings by means of violence and fraud; but, as Lord Stanley remarked, "the British Government was not answerable for this, and to attempt to alter what arose out of a state of things antecedent to our assumption of the administration was undoubtedly an error." It created a feeling of profound discontent, not only among the chiefs, but among the clansmen, who sympathised with the wrongs of their liege lords. The ungenerous treatment of the collateral members of the royal family, and the many persons holding high office connected with the Court and the public departments, also embittered the feelings of the orderly middle class against the Government. As in the case of Government servants of other descriptions, the compensation awarded to the military classes was inadequate, and a very large number of persons trained to the use of arms, and habituated to the commission of acts of lawlessness and violence, were let loose upon the country, with the means only of temporary subsistence, and with every disposition to become on the first fitting opportunity the enemies of the State which had deprived them of their employment. Thus the natural tendency of the introduction of an alien rule to embitter the feelings of the influential classes was increased by indiscreet and unwise measures. Lord Canning became to a certain degree aware that a grievous state of discontent had begun to spread through the province, and when it was known that Outram would not return to Oudh, having been appointed to command the expedition against Persia, the Governor-General determined that his permanent successor should be—not Mr. Coverley Jackson, but Sir Henry Lawrence. No man was better fitted to organise a newly annexed kingdom, fallen into extremity of disorder.

Henry Lawrence

Twenty-five years previously Henry Lawrence, having been appointed to the Bengal Artillery, had landed at Calcutta. Almost immediately

after his arrival at Dum-Dum, the head-quarters of that illustrious corps, he began to work diligently at his profession; but he longed impatiently for the period when the irksome routine of garrison duty should be exchanged for the substantial delights of war. The time soon came. He had been at Dum-Dum a year when war was declared with Burma, and Henry Lawrence sailed with his battery for Chittagong. He accompanied General Morrison's force in its march through the Burmese district of Arakan, and took an active part in the brilliant and successful attack on the fortified heights and capital of the province. The long and harassing march through a malarious country, however, told on his constitution, and a severe attack of malarial fever compelled him to return to England. He remained at home for two years and-a-half, but the active and impatient spirit of the future administrator refused to corrode in distasteful repose. He joined the Trigonometrical Survey, in the North of Ireland, and acquired an experience which was of considerable service to him in his future career.

First cam paign in Burma

Leave to England

On the 9th of February 1830, Lawrence returned to Calcutta, and was posted to the Foot Artillery at Kurnaul, then a frontier station of the Empire. During the next eighteen months he sedulously devoted himself to acquiring a sound knowledge of the native language, so essential to a great and useful career in India. It was his Irish experiences, and his proficiency in the vernaculars, which led to his being appointed, in 1833, as Assistant in the Revenue Survey Department. About that time he married the peerless woman who was to him so perfect a helpmeet.

Appointed to Foot Artillery, Kurnaul, 1830

In 1838, when preparations were being made for the First Afghan Campaign, Henry Lawrence, like Outram, placed his services at the disposal of the military authorities. He was appointed to a troop of artillery which formed part of the Army of the Indus; but when the invading forces advanced it was left, to his sore disappointment, to guard the frontier. His eager spirits, however, found congenial work in the office of Assistant to the Frontier Agency, to which he was appointed. Living in the open air, and accessible at all hours to the people, he gained an insight into their customs and their temper, and acquired a strong influence over them. After the disastrous retreat of the British troops from Kabul in the winter of 1841-42 it was by dint of his great tact and courage and through the confidence reposed in his character, that the Sikh contingent which accompanied General Pollock's army was kept loyal, and made to render good service. As their

First Afghan War 1838

Assistant to the Frontier Agency

Accompanies General Pollock's Army as commander of Sikh contingent

commander he took part in the battles of Tezeen and Haft Khotal, and entered Kabul with the retributory force.

For his services in the field Henry Lawrence was made a Brevet-Major, and appointed by the Governor-General to the important post of Resident at the Court of Nepaul. The office, though it demands considerable diplomatic skill, does not involve much hard work: the Embassy at Khatmandoo is a mediæval prison, from which the Resident watches the currents and eddies of Nepaulese politics. Always fond of study, the British envoy found at the Court of Nepaul more leisure than he had previously enjoyed to devote to books, and from a full mind he poured forth those papers by which he acquired a considerable literary celebrity.

Resident at Nepaul, 1st December 1843

His essays on the government of subject races, upon the dangers of a mercenary army, upon our relations with native states, proved him to be a far-seeing and sound statesman. His papers upon barrack life, and the hard lot of the soldier's wife and child, revealed the noble, modest, and generous spirit of the man. But Henry Lawrence and his wife were not satisfied with merely pleading the cause of the soldier's wife and child. In their home in the Himalayas they first began the noble work of founding and endowing—at considerable self-sacrifice—those asylums for the soldiers' children which are inseparably associated with their names.

The papers which Lawrence published on the Punjab appeared at an opportune moment, for war with the Sikhs seemed inevitable; and they attracted the attention of the Governor General by the fresh and clear information they contained, and the wisdom they displayed. When the Khalsa Army crossed the Sutlej, and death on the battle-field deprived the Governor-General of the services of his chief political officer, Major Broadfoot, he summoned the Resident at the Court of Nepaul to take the place. The summons reached him late one evening, and next day he left his mountain retreat to hasten to the tented camp of war. He arrived in time to be present at the decisive contest of Sobraon, and accompanied the victorious troops to Lahore.

First Sikh War, December 1845

Sobraon, February 10th, 1846

The battle of Sobraon placed the Punjab at our feet; but Lord Hardinge would not annex it, and the conquerors granted to the vanquished easy terms of peace. The young sovereign made a formal submission, and it was arranged that the existing Sikh authority was to be maintained under the protection of a British subsidiary force, the use of which was to terminate absolutely at the close of the year. The

Cis-Sutlej States were annexed, as well as the Jullundur Dooab, with the Alpine region between the Beas and Sutlej, and a fine was levied to meet the cost of the war. But the whole sum the Lahore Durbar could not pay, and by a questionable stroke of policy, the valley of Cashmere was handed over to Golab Sing, a Rajput Sikh Sirdar, upon his payment of the balance of the expenses of the campaign. It was also stipulated that a British Resident should be established at Lahore and Henry Lawrence was appointed Agent to the Governor-General for the affairs of the Punjab. After the treaty had been signed the Governor of Cashmere, supported by the Prime Minister at Lahore, and the Sikh Durbar, refused to hand over Cashmere to Golab Sing. Henry Lawrence displayed his promptitude and vigour. Eighteen months had not passed since Sobraon had been fought; but by sheer force of will he compelled the Sikh Government to adhere to their engagement. He placed himself at the head of the ten thousand Sikh troops with which they reluctantly supplied him, and supported by Brigadier Wheeler with a small British force he entered Cashmere. The Governor surrendered himself personally to Lawrence, and the province was transferred.* On returning to Lahore the Agent to the Governor-General took prompt steps to bring the Prime Minister to justice for his treachery to the British Government. Lal Sing was tried and found guilty by his peers, deposed from office, and removed to British territory. The question was now raised respecting the withdrawal of the British troops. But such a measure would have led to bloodshed and anarchy, and the question was settled by a fresh treaty being made which prolonged the independence of the Punjab, subject to the continued occupation of the capital by British troops. Thus, in the beginning of the year 1847, Henry Lawrence became, in all but name, the ruler of the kingdom. To aid him in the duties of administration he selected as his assistants men of the stamp of Herbert Edwardes, Nicholson, Reynel Taylor, who, like the Puritans, endowed with a strong enthusiasm, and a living faith in an over-ruling providence,

Agent to the Governor-General for the affairs of the Punjab

* "Properly considered, this feat of compelling the culpable Lahore Durbar (with the chief conspirator at its head) to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Punjab to the one man most detested by the Khalsa, was the real victory of the campaign, and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers, that it was performed by 10,000 Sikh soldiers at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three British officers within eighteen months of the battle of Sobraon." Sir Herbert Edwardes, in the *Calcutta Review*, volume VIII, page 251.

brought coolness of judgment and immutability of purpose to civil and military affairs. "Each," he wrote, "was a good man: the most were excellent officers." * Men of all truth and all courtesy, the brotherhood of the Punjab which surrounded Henry Lawrence wielded power, not for love of ruling, but to curb the wild and lawless, and to protect the poor.

Leave to England, 1847

Long sojourn in India, incessant labour, and the anxiety caused by the harassing intrigues of the Durbar, told on the health of Henry Lawrence, and in October 1847, he proceeded on sick leave to England. He reached home in March, and soon after was appointed to the rank of K. C. B.

Return to India, 1848

Sir Henry spent his holidays between England and Ireland, in the society of relatives and friends; and he was enjoying his well earned repose when tidings reached him of the new outbreak in the Punjab, which ended in the Second Sikh War. He had not regained his health, and he determined against the advice of his physicians to return at once to India. In November 1848 he and his wife sailed from England, and reaching Bombay the following month he proceeded at once to Multan, and was there during the last days of the siege of the town. He then pushed on to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and arrived to witness the hard fought, but disastrous, battle of Chillianwallah. When night closed the Sikhs were left upon the field to strengthen their position. We had captured twelve guns, but they had been gained at the loss of more than two thousand killed and wounded, and the colours of three regiments with four guns were in the possession of the enemy. After the battle Lord Gough proposed to withdraw his army some four or six miles from the scene of action, for the sake of obtaining better fodder for his cattle; but Sir Henry Lawrence pointed out that this might be regarded by the Sikhs as an evidence of our defeat, and it would be better to hold his ground. These arguments happily prevailed.

Battle of Chillian-wallah, January 13th, 1849

On the 1st of February 1849, Sir Henry resumed his duties as Resident at Lahore, and twenty days after the crowning victory of

* "I was very fortunate in my assistants, all of whom were my friends, and almost every one was introduced into the Punjaub through me. George Lawrence, Macgregor, James Abbot, Edwardes, Lumsden, Nicholson, Taylor, Cocks, Hodson, Pollock, Bowring, Henry Coxe, and Melville, are men such as you will seldom see anywhere, but when collected under one administration, were worth double and treble the number taken at haphazard."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 93.

Gujarat decided the fate of the Punjab. He expressed a strong dislike to annexation; but Lord Dalhousie declared that the Sikh dominion had come to an end in the land of the Five Rivers, and would be replaced by British rule. The kingdom of Runjeet Sing was to be governed by a Board of Administration, and Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed President, and Mr. Mansel and John Lawrence, Members. Peace and order were swiftly restored; and a summary and equitable settlement of the land revenue increased the content and prosperity of the ryot. A simple code for criminal offences and for civil suits was drawn up and promulgated. Barbarous customs like infanticide were suppressed; toleration was enforced; the currency was simplified. Roads were made, works of irrigation commenced, and forests and grazing tracts preserved. In five short years a wonderful change was effected; but these results were not attained without considerable friction between John Lawrence and his elder brother Henry, the President of the Board. Henry thought that the feudal nobility of the Punjab should be treated with consideration and kindness because they were down, and he regarded that policy as just in itself, and the best for securing friends to the new government. John regarded their claims as exorbitant, their tenure nominal, and thought that the necessities of the new government destroyed old customs. His sympathy with the tillers of the soil made him somewhat blind to the validity of ancient titles. Disagreeing on such a vital point, it was impossible for the two brothers to remain members of the same administration. Both simultaneously tendered their resignations: that of Sir Henry was accepted, and early in 1853 he left Lahore to assume the Governor-General's Agency in Rajputana. He did not live to see the justification of his policy of wise conciliation. The magnificent successes of John Lawrence's government of the Punjab during the Mutiny must in a large degree be attributed to the measure carried out by Sir Henry for upholding the jaghirdars in their ancient rights. The chiefs, for whom he had interceded and sacrificed his post, cast in their lot with their retainers on our side, and enabled John Lawrence to send our troops out of the Punjab to Delhi.

Battle of Gujarat, February 21st, 1849. Annexation of the Punjab. March 28th, 1849. Board of Administration

Sir Henry, on reaching Rajputana, was soon busy supervising the affairs of eighteen native states and settling their jealousies and quarrels. He strove hard to obtain the suppression of suttee and infanticide; but Rajput prejudice and force of caste were too strong for him. While thus occupied in Rajputana he was offered by Lord Dalhousie

Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, 1855-57

the blue ribbon of the Indian Foreign Office—the Residency of Haidarabad; but he declined the post, because he was afraid that on account of the state of his health he could not do justice to the work. The time was at hand when his work in life had to be done alone by Henry Lawrence, for, on the 15th of January 1854, death released the high-minded and noble-hearted woman who had shared his toils and troubles. Six months after his life's companion had been taken from him Sir Henry attained the rank of Brevet-Colonel, and on the 20th of June 1854 he was appointed Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Queen. Always a strenuous labourer, he attempted to find relief from sorrow by an additional devotion to literary and official work; but the strain proved too much, and he was preparing to leave for England when Lord Canning offered him the post of Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in Oudh. His health was in a critical state: he was worn in body and weary in spirit; but the prospect of being able to organise a newly annexed kingdom, as he had organised the Punjab, put fresh life into him, and he accepted the offer. His physician wrote that he "only consented to his going to Lucknow on his promising to go home in November 1857." By that time the chivalrous soul of Henry Lawrence had gone home to rest.

Chief Commissioner of Oudh, March 20th, 1857

At the close of March Henry Lawrence entered on his new duties at Lucknow, and the object with which Lord Canning sent him to Oudh that he might conciliate the hearts of the inhabitants by his justice and gracious tact seemed in a fair way of accomplishment. He mingled, as was his wont in the Punjab, with all classes of the citizens, and everywhere his personal qualities and sincere manner produced their natural effect. He met the feudal barons at frequent durbars, and the Ruler, spare in figure, plain in manner, benignant but haggard of countenance, won their respect by the courtesy which he manifested to their grievances. Peasants and prominent nobles began to look up to him with confidence, on account of the honest endeavours he made to redress their grievances. During the month of April he laboured hard to improve every branch of the administrative machinery, and to inspire his subordinates with his own conciliatory policy; and his efforts appeared likely to be crowned with success. The revenue was collected with quick ease, and a more contented feeling seemed to pervade the province.

But events were rapidly rolling together from every quarter, and accumulating to a crisis. A shiver of impending evil, of distrust, and of fear ran through the whole continent of India. Henry Lawrence

was one of the few prominent men who gauged the state of public feeling, and had a statesman's knowledge of the forces which tended to produce it. He had for years past raised a note of warning at the dangers which must attend the growth and preponderating strength of a mercenary army, the relaxation of discipline, and the absence of generous treatment. He had warmly pleaded that the only permanent basis of our power lay, as it will always lie, in the soldiers' and peasants' absolute belief in the generosity, wisdom, and honour of the Government. He realised how that belief had begun to be undermined by a series of impolitic measures, culminating in the unfortunate distribution of the greased cartridges.

The mutinous spirit which began to manifest itself by overt acts in the Native Army was a matter of supreme importance to the ruler of the native province of some three-fourths of our Bengal sepoys. He wrote frequently and fully to the Governor-General on the subject. A letter, dated the 18th April, conveys to Lord Canning the news of the first outward manifestation of discontent. A clod had been thrown at him whilst driving. It had also been reported to him that the men of the 48th seldom, or never, saluted an officer not of their own corps. "It would, perhaps, be well if the 48th were sent to another province." The Governor-General, in his reply, acquiesces in the proposal:—"the 48th Regiment, or any other which you may wish to get rid of, may be moved to Meerut. Let the Commander-in-Chief know if you find it necessary to send it away, but do not wait for any other authority. Should you have to dispose of a second, it can go to Cawnpore in the first instance; but I hope this will not be necessary. It is very desirable that our mistrust of a particular regiment should not be made notorious, and the removal of any corps from Oudh to a place where troops are not wanted would be understood at once. Of course, if you have regiments which are really untrustworthy, there must be no delicacy in the matter; but I hope there are not two of that sort to be sent away." But though Lord Canning expressed the hope that the regiments really untrustworthy were limited in number, he had gauged the situation, for he added—"I trust to your keeping me informed of all that passes in regard to the sepoys, for we are very far from being out of the wood yet." * The Chief Commissioner kept the Governor-General well informed of all that passed. On the 1st of May he wrote—"I have

Letter to Lord Canning, April 18th, 1857, conveying news of first outward manifestation of discontent

Reply of the Governor-General, April 27th, 1857

Letter to the Governor-General, May 1st, 1857

* Letter from the Governor-General, dated 27th April 1857.

received many letters on the state of the army; most of them attribute the present bad feeling *not* to the cartridge, or any other specific question, but to a pretty general dissatisfaction at many recent acts of Government, which have been skilfully played upon by incendiaries. This is my opinion." Among the many recent acts, he mentioned the General Service Enlistment Oath, "which is most distasteful, keeps many out of the service, and frightens the old sepoys, who imagine that the oaths of the young recruits affect the *whole* regiment." A native officer of the Oudh artillery, a Brahmin of about forty years of age, of excellent character, informed Henry Lawrence "that Europeans were expensive, and that, therefore, we wished to take Hindoos to sea, to conquer the world for us." On his remarking that the sepoy, though a good soldier on shore, is a bad one at sea by reason of his poor food—"That is just it," was his rejoinder: "you want us all to eat what you like, that we may be stronger, and go anywhere." The Post Office reforms, instituted by Lord Dalhousie, which have done so much to promote the happiness of the Indian people, are cited as bitter grievances, thus conveying the lesson too often forgotten, that the best reforms in the conservative East are pregnant with danger. Regarding the reforms which had been introduced in the administration of the Post Office, Henry Lawrence wrote—"Indeed the native community generally suffer by them; but the sepoy, having here special privileges, feels the deprivation, in addition to the general uncertainty as to letters: nay, rather, the positive certainty of *not* getting them." The Chief Commissioner added—"There are many other points which might with great advantage be redressed, which, if Your Lordship will permit me, I will submit with extracts of some of the letters I have received from old regimental officers. In the words of one of them—'If the Sepoy is not speedily redressed, he will redress himself.'" "I would rather say unless some new openings to rewards are offered to the military, as have been to the native civil servants, and unless certain matters are righted, we shall be perpetually subjected to our present condition of affairs. The sepoy feels that we cannot do without him; and yet the highest reward a sepoy can obtain, at fifty, sixty, and seventy years of age, is about one hundred pounds a year, without a prospect of a brighter career for his son. Surely this is not the inducement to offer to a foreign soldier for special fidelity and long service." In a letter written on the following day, he returns to the important and delicate problem—which still awaits solution—of the career

and rewards which can be opened to the soldiers of a mercenary army. "We measure," he wrote, "too much by English rules, and expect, contrary to experience, that the energetic and aspiring among *immense* military masses should like our dead level, and our arrogation to ourselves, even where we are notorious imbeciles, of *all* authority, and *all* emolument. These sentiments of mine, freely expressed during the last fifteen years, have done me injury, and I am not less convinced of their soundness, and that until we treat natives, and especially native soldiers, as having much the same feelings, the same ambition, the same perceptions of ability and imbecility as ourselves, we shall never be safe." In this letter to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Lawrence incidentally mentions the following:—"Two hours ago Captain Carnegie came to tell me that there has been a strong demonstration against cartridges in the 7th Oudh Irregulars this morning. I hope and expect the report he hears is exaggerated; but I tell it for his commentary. He also told of an intended meeting of traitors to-morrow night, and asked whether he might put prisoners taken at such a meeting into jail, as the kotwali * is not safe." The report did not prove to be exaggerated. On the following day Henry Lawrence wrote:—"I am sorry that the report I mentioned in my letter of yesterday is too true: the 7th Oudh Infantry positively refuse to use the cartridge. I enclose a note of yesterday evening, from the Brigadier, and I have now been for several hours investigating the circumstances of a letter sent from the 7th to the 48th, saying they had acted for the Faith, and waited the 48th's orders." On the 4th of May, an official letter from the Chief Commissioner of Oudh informed the Governor General "that on the 2nd instant the 7th Oudh Regiment, stationed seven miles from the Lucknow Cantonments, refused to bite the cartridge when ordered by its own officers, and again by the Brigadier. It was ordered to parade on the 4th. On the 3rd, several symptoms of disaffection appeared. At 4 P.M. the Brigadier reported it in a very mutinous state. Instantly a field battery, a wing of Her Majesty's 32nd, one of the 48th and 71st Native Infantry, and a squadron of the 7th Cavalry, the 2nd Oudh Cavalry, and 4th Oudh Infantry marched against it. The regiment was found perfectly quiet, formed line from column at the order, and expressed contrition. But when the men saw guns drawn up against them, half of the body broke and fled, throwing down their arms. The

Refusal of 7th Oudh Infantry to use the cartridge

Letter from the Chief Commissioner to the Governor-General, May 4th, 1857

* Kotwali.—A lock-up.

cavalry pursued and brought up some of them, the arms were collected and brought away, and the Regulars were withdrawn." The disarmed 7th were directed to return to their lines, and recall the runaways. They were informed by Sir Henry Lawrence that "Government would be asked to disband the corps, but those guiltless might be re-enlisted."

Minute by the Governor-General of India in Council, May 10th, 1857

On receipt of this letter the Governor-General circulated a minute among his colleagues, in which he stated :—" Sir Henry Lawrence has acted with promptitude, and should be supported in the course he has taken. His report of the first part of the transaction is meagre; but I have no doubt whatever that his measures of precaution and coercion taken in concert with Brigadier Grey were fully necessary; I see no reason in the tardy contrition of the regiment, for hesitating to confirm the punishment of all who are guilty. I would therefore support the Chief Commissioner at once. I think it better, however, that the disbandment, to whatever length it may be carried, should be real; and that the men whose innocence can be *shown*, and whose general character is irreproachable, or those by whom offenders have been denounced and mutinous designs disclosed, should be retained in the ranks; the others being dismissed absolutely and finally. There is a fiction in discharging soldiers one day to take them back the next, whatever may be their claims to mercy, which will greatly weaken the general effect of the measure as an example." The Hon'ble Mr. Dorin remarked:— "I do not think disbandment is a sufficient punishment for a case of this sort. The regiment not only mutinied itself, but tried to induce others to mutiny. The sooner this epidemic of mutiny is put a stop to the better. Mild measures won't do it. A severe example is wanted." Some of the colleagues of the Governor-General considered that the letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner was not sufficiently full, or sufficiently precise and specific, to enable Government to come to a satisfactory decision as to the measures which ought to be taken in this case. Lord Canning replied that it was not the intention of his minute that the answer to be given to Sir Henry Lawrence should be "final order, or even a sanction of immediate disbandment. Sir Henry has told the men that he would ask Government to disband them. I think that he was right; but I think that having thus announced his reference to Government, the sooner that it could be made known to himself and to the regiment, and to the troops in general, that he has the support of Government, the better; and,

although his report was meagre, it was not so incomplete as to make it necessary to delay the assurance of that support." The letter to the Chief Commissioner also stated that the length to which disbandment should be carried, together with the nature of any further punishment in individual cases found necessary "can be taken into consideration only when Government is in the possession of the full enquiry, which it is presumed has been instituted into the circumstances attendant upon the occurrences of the 4th instant."

The presumption was correct. Immediately after the occurrence a Court of Enquiry sat, to investigate the causes and particulars of the mutiny; but they were unable to elicit any important facts. The European officers were, however, able to indicate those men who took the most conspicuous part in the outbreak, and these were put in irons. Sir Henry Lawrence, having vigorously and promptly crushed the first overt act of mutiny, attempted to maintain the loyalty of the sepoys by bestowing every attention and consideration upon them. He knew everything practicable was gained by delay, and by avoiding to draw them into premature violence. He had sympathy with their well founded grievances, and he hoped against hope as regarding their fidelity. To preserve their allegiance he frequently visited the native lines and hospitals, conversing familiarly with the men, and attempting to disabuse their minds of the apprehension which had seized them regarding the safety of their caste. He determined to reward in as impressive a manner as possible a sepoy who had shown marked fidelity by denouncing some emissaries of the conspirators, and the native officers and men of the 48th who had surrendered the seditious letter addressed to the regiment by the mutineers of the 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry. A public durbar was held, at which all the native officers of the garrisons were present.* Sir Henry Lawrence, surrounded by a brilliant European staff and the prominent nobles of the city, bestowed dresses of honour upon the soldiers who had thus merited reward. He then delivered to the native officers an eloquent address in their vulgar tongue. He reminded them of the paternal care with which the British Government had always treated them and the solicitude it had always displayed in avoiding all interference with their religion. "Mussulman rulers at

A public Durbar

Address of Sir Henry Lawrence

* There are certain discrepancies between the accounts of the Durbar given by Mr. Gubbins and Mr. Rees.

Delhi have persecuted Hindoos," said Sir Henry: "Hindoo rulers at Lahore have persecuted the Mussulmans; but the British Government has ever extended equal toleration to all. The history of a hundred years," said he, "should teach them the falsehood of those who would now deceive them with assertions that the Government entertained designs against their caste." He spoke of the vast power of England, and he begged them not to endanger the glory and good name borne by the Bengal army for a hundred years. The effect of the discourse on the officers was not to be mistaken: when the Durbar broke up they eagerly declared their attachment to the Government. A number of sepoys, however, who were standing on the outskirts of the ground attributed the whole proceedings to our fears.

But Sir Henry Lawrence knew not fear. He was performing one of the most difficult tasks which is reserved for natures endowed with the highest wisdom and courage. Though he was attempting to refresh and keep green the loyalty of the sepoys, he was not wanting in general appreciation of the reality and greatness of the danger which threatened the Empire. He had at once to take precautions against a tremendous peril, certain in its character, and uncertain in its time and features, and at the same time not to exhibit, even to those most in his confidence, his real sense of that peril. When the storm, which he had years before foreseen was gathering, had burst at Meerut and Delhi, he did not under-rate its violence, or its strength, or its magnitude. He knew it would sweep across the vast and various continent. But the greatness of the peril did not cause him to alter his policy of retaining by conciliation and trust the loyalty of as large a section as possible of the native soldiery. He rejected the obvious policy of broad disarmament so urgently pressed upon him, because it would sweep away the friendly as well as the hostile sepoy. He adopted the wiser and more courageous course of summoning from their homes two bodies of pensioners, one of old trained British sepoys, and one of Oudh Artillerymen. They proved themselves worthy of the confidence he placed in them by their loyal and staunch conduct throughout the siege. As Sir Henry Lawrence foresaw, that siege could never have been sustained without the aid of the native soldiery; and the loyalty they displayed was chiefly due to his personal influence and the generous trust he placed in them.

Two days after the Durbar, news reached Lucknow of the out-*break* at Meerut; and the following day came the evil tidings that Delhi had been taken by the mutineers, and the Mogul Emperor proclaimed. Henry Lawrence at once recognized * that we would have to strike anew for our Indian Empire He realised that not only the safety of Lucknow, but the integrity of our dominion in India depended in a great measure on him. He therefore determined that "a bold and resolute attitude must be maintained: the domination of the position at Lucknow must be promptly secured; the safety of the English community must be ensured; the character and position of the ruling race must be maintained at all hazard." †

News of the outbreak at Meerut and capture of Delhi by the mutineers, May 13th

In order to secure the domination of the position at Lucknow, he gave order that the Muchee Bhawun, the stronghold of the Sheikhs, when they held Lucknow in the days of old, should be strengthened. Perched on a natural eminence, and surrounded by a high and buttressed wall, it could be easily converted into a suitable place of refuge against an ordinary *émeute*. Commanding the river and the stone bridge across it the old fortress would be a good point to hold for keeping in check and observing the rabble of the city. But against a mutinous army

Muchee Bhawun strengthened and fortification of Residency commenced

* Thirteen years before he had forecasted what would happen if Delhi fell into hostile hands :— "Let this happen," he said, "on June 2nd, and does any sane man doubt that twenty-four hours would swell the hundreds of rebels into thousands, and in a week every ploughshare in the Delhi States would be turned into a sword? And when a sufficient force had been mustered, which would not be effected within a month, should we not then have a more difficult game to play than Clive had at Plassey or Wellington at Assaye? We should then be literally striking for our existence at the most inclement season of the year, with the prestige of our name tarnished." "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, V. C., page 73.

† The following memorandum, dated May 18th, was inserted in Sir Henry's own hand, in his letter-book. "Time is everything just now. Time, firmness, promptness, conciliation, and prudence; every officer, each individual European, high and low, may at this crisis prove most useful or even dangerous. A firm and cheerful aspect must be maintained: there must be no bustle, no appearance of alarm, still less of panic; but at the same time there must be the utmost watchfulness and promptness; everywhere the first germ of insurrection must be put down instantly. Ten men may in an hour quell a row which, after a day's delay, may take weeks to put down. I wish this point to be well understood. In preserving internal tranquillity the chiefs and people of substance may be most usefully employed at this juncture; many of them have as much to lose as we have. Their property, at least, is at stake. Many of them have armed retainers, some few are good shots and have double-barrelled guns. For instance, (name illegible) can hit a bottle at a hundred yards. He is with the ordinary soldiers. I want a dozen such men, European or Native, to arm their own people, and to make thannahs of their own houses, or some near position, and preserve tranquillity within a circuit around them."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 324.

equipped with artillery the Muchee Bhawun * would offer too little resistance, and Henry Lawrence determined that the Residency should be fortified for the eventual struggle.

The Residency.

The Residency,† or Head-Quarters of the Chief Commissioner, lay close to the Goomtee, on the same bank of the river as the Muchee Bhawun, and in direct and easy communication with that stronghold.

* "The next comers were the Sheikhs, known in after times as the Shekhzadas of Lucknow. Their mullahs (quarters) extended up to the Residency grounds and covered all the land lying between that and the Machchhe Bhawan firs." "Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh," page 364. The Sheikhs of Lucknow had obtained a good deal of influence in the country and supplied more than one member to the list of rulers.

"Proceeding on the main road, leading from the Residency towards the Dowlutkhana and Hoseynabad, up and parallel to the stream of the Goomtee, you pass under the walls of the Muchee Bhowun, which from this and some other positions on the river has an imposing appearance. It comprises three plateaus, of which the lowest was little above the level of the road, and the highest towered above the neighbouring buildings. The high road skirted the whole length of the position, and followed the level of the ground, which rose naturally from the lowest eastern plateau to that of the highest on the west side. From the road on that, *i.e.*, the west extreme of the position, a short but steep ascent led to the main gateway. The highest plateau was covered with the "bhowuns" or pavilions originally built by the Sheikhs of Lucknow, which were in a very dilapidated condition, and contained the modern residence of one of the ex-King's brothers, Newaub Yuheea Ali Khan. On the second plateau stood a handsome baradurree (open arcaded pavilion), and a few smaller buildings. The lower plateau was an open square, surrounded by low ranges of masonry sheds. There was no gate leading directly from the outside into the second plateau; but two opened into the lower, one at the east end, the second from the main road on the north side. There was no appearance of military defence in the character of the buildings, except in the high and buttressed wall, which rose from the main road to the bhowuns of the highest plateau."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 23.

"The prominent feature of the Mutchi Bhown was an old, massive-looking pile, of castellated appearance, about a hundred yards square, perched on a natural eminence about thirty feet above the adjacent streets and roads. The platform on which it was built was scarped and supported by stout revetment walls, broken at short intervals into the usual Oriental semicircular bastions, with the city or western front pierced by a gateway in a double-storied guardhouse, strengthened by flanking and other defences. All this was close to the masonry bridge and the river, and commanded the city to the west. Towards the east there were two courtyards at lower levels, lined with small buildings and store-rooms, with a gateway at the east end corresponding with the gateway already mentioned at the western face. There were large and airy arcaded halls along one side of the pile, but the remaining rooms were not suitable for use except by natives or for stores. Though much had been cleared out, the whole place was greatly dilapidated, but its chief defect lay in the passages and communications. These and the doorways were so narrow that carts and guns could not pass through the square pile at all, or get from one end of the position to the other. All the roofs were flat, and, like the terraces, were lined with parapet walls."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 79.

† "By the Residency I mean a piece of ground a good deal elevated above the rest of the city."—"Memoirs of the Rev. H. S. Polehampton," page 227.

The southern boundary of the wide estate skirted an iron bridge, over which the road ran to the military cantonment of Murreaon where three native regiments were quartered: further on was Moodkepore, where the 7th Cavalry was situated, and a mile to the east of the Residency, on the same side of the river, lay the barracks of the 3rd European Regiment, and the officers' quarters. The position which Sir Henry Lawrence chose for the eventual struggle was, therefore, in close connection with three important posts, and the situation and features of the extensive ground around it made it capable of being made defensible in the case of a siege even by a force equipped with artillery. The sloping ground commanded the river face and the adjacent country for half a mile, and nowhere was it commanded by artillery sites. On the summit stood the spacious residence of our Envoy to the Court of Oudh, and clustering round it were other large and substantial houses, which could afford shelter to a good number of people. The site had also the further advantage of having an ample water supply, and of being fairly healthy. The Residency may not have been an ideal position, but it was the best that Sir Henry Lawrence could have chosen in Lucknow.

The wisdom of his choice has, however, been impugned, both by Lord Clyde and Sir Henry Havelock. The former wrote:—"I have also been of opinion that the position taken up by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was a false one; and after becoming acquainted with the ground, and worked my troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion is confirmed. I therefore submit that to commit another garrison in this immense city is to repeat a military error and I cannot consent to it. I conceive that a strong movable division outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check according to our practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oudh." Lord Clyde does not suggest the good military position which should have been chosen. Sir Henry Lawrence was not the master of a strong military division, but of a small force which only by heroic exertions was able to protect the women and children in an entrenched position. The removal of the women and children, which Lord Clyde with a strong and victorious army found a difficult and delicate task, would have been an impossible one for Sir Henry Lawrence. General Havelock considered that Lawrence should have moved to Cawnpore; but he expressed

this opinion before he found himself, with a stronger force than Sir Henry ever had at his command, a prisoner in the Residency. The first step taken from Lucknow would moreover not only have decided the wavering loyalty of the native soldiers who remained true and did splendid service for us, but would also have been the signal of a universal revolt among the masses; and our scanty force, oppressed by multitudes whose valour had been kindled by the consciousness of success, must have perished long before Cawnpore was reached.*

When the preparations for sheltering the families in the Muchee Bhawun had been completed and the operations at the Residency commenced, Sir Henry assumed an offensive attitude by sending out detachments of troops to keep the country open. On him now rested the full and entire responsibility of all military operations. He had on the 18th of May telegraphed to the Governor-General:—"All is well here: give me plenary military power in Oudh; I will not use it unnecessarily." And ever mindful of others he stated:—"I am sending two troops of cavalry to Allahabad: send a company of Europeans into the fort there." Determined to trust to the loyalty of the native soldiers to the last he added:—"It will be good to raise regiments of irregular horse under good officers." The answer swiftly came back:—"You have full military powers: the Governor-General will support you in everything you think necessary." The Governor-General added:—"It is impossible to send an European company to Allahabad; Dinapore must not be weakened by a single man. If you can raise any irregulars that you can trust, do so at once. Have you any good officers to spare for the duty?" † On the following day Sir Henry Lawrence telegraphed:—"You are quite right to keep Allahabad quite safe; we shall do without Sikhs or Goorkhas: all well." Four days

Telegram to the Governor-General, May 18th

Full military power given to Sir Henry Lawrence

* Sir Henry Lawrence wrote to Lord Canning:—"I have told you by telegraph it will never do to retire on Allahabad. We *could not* do it. Besides, I am quite confident we can hold our ground at Lucknow as long as provisions last, and we have already a month's laid in."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 328.

Field Marshal Lord Roberts writes:—"Quite true. The position selected by Henry Lawrence was not an ideal one, but it was the best, in fact the only one which could have been defended by a small force, and which could have accommodated the large number of Europeans and Eurasians residing in and about Lucknow. It was out of the question retiring from Lucknow. Had it been attempted, not a soul would, I firmly believe, have survived."

† Refusing to send a company of British infantry to Allahabad because "Dinapore must not be weakened by a single man," shows how badly Lord Canning was advised. Allahabad at that time was of infinitely greater importance than Dinapore. It contained a large arsenal, the loss of which would have been most serious, whereas Dinapore was only required to overawe the unruly Mahomedan element in Patna.

afterwards he again informed Lord Canning:—"All very well at Lucknow, and in the districts our position is now very strong. In case of necessity no fears entertained." On the 22nd of May Lord Canning wrote to his trusty lieutenant:—"I take the opportunity to send you one word of earnest thanks for your invaluable service. I cannot express the satisfaction I feel in having you in Oudh." *

Letter from Lord Canning, 22nd of May

For some days Lawrence refrained from answering the kind and generous letter for he "had nothing pleasant to say—and, indeed, little more than a detail of daily alarms and hourly reports. Our three positions are now strong. In the cantonment where I reside the 270 or so men of Her Majesty's 32nd, with eight guns, could at any time knock to pieces the four native regiments; and both the city, Residency, and Muchee Bhawun portions are safe against all probable comers—the latter quite so. But the work is harassing for all; now that we have no tidings from Delhi my outside perplexities are hourly increasing This day (29th May) I had tidings of the murder of a tahsuldar † in one direction, and of the cry of Islam and the raising of the green standard in another. I have also had reports of disaffection in three several irregular corps. Hitherto the country has been quiet, and we have played the irregulars against the line regiments; but being constituted of exactly the same materials, the taint is fast pervading them, and in a few weeks, if not days—unless Delhi be in the interim captured—*there will be one feeling throughout the army*; *a feeling that our prestige is gone*—and that feeling will be more dangerous than any other. Religion, fear, hatred, one and all have their influences; but there is still a reverence for the Company's IKBAL, (prestige)—when it is gone we shall have few friends indeed." So far Henry Lawrence had written: while the pen was in his hand a message reached him that the long-talked of peril was at the door.

Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence, 27th May

On the evening of the 30th of May, Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff were dining at the Government House in the cantonments. He had a warning that there would be a rising that evening, but he had grown accustomed to daily reports of a similar nature. When the nine o'clock gun was fired Sir Henry Lawrence turned to the staff officer who had informed him of the report, and said, with a laugh—"your friends are not punctual:" no sooner were the words uttered than was heard the rattle

Outbreak of the sepoys, May 30th

* "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 325.

† Tahsildar.

of musketry, and excited messengers rushed into the room to inform them that the sepoys were attacking and firing the houses in the cantonments. Horses were at once ordered, and Sir Henry stood on the doorsteps, impatiently awaiting his charger. The moon had risen with a clear sky, and by the light of it could be perceived the guard drawn up by the native officer. He advanced, and saluting, said to one of the staff—"Am I to load?" The officer turned to the Chief, and repeated the question. Henry Lawrence answered—"Oh, yes, let him load." The order was at once given, and the ramrod fell "with that peculiar dull sound on the leaden bullets." "I believe," wrote one who was present, "Sir Henry was the only man of all that group whose heart did not beat the quicker for it. But he, as the men brought up their muskets with the tubes levelled directly against us, cried out—'I am going to drive those scoundrels out of cantonment: take care while I am away that you remain at your posts, and allow no one to do any damage here, or to enter my house, else when I return I will hang you.' Whether through the effect of the speech, and Sir Henry's bearing, I know not, but the guard remained steadily at its post, and with the bungalows blazing and shots firing all round, they allowed no one to enter the house; and the residence of Sir Henry was the only one that night in the cantonment that was not either pillaged or burnt." *

Plundering

Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff proceeded to the English camp, where about 300 men of Her Majesty's 32nd, with some Artillery, were drawn up ready for action. He immediately took two guns, and a company of the 32nd with him, on the road leading to the town, and there took post blocking up the road, and effectually cutting off all access to the city and guns. The 32nd were posted on the extreme right of the 71st lines—the whole front of which they swept—and, as the sepoys of that regiment advanced out upon the parade, and fired upon our men, the order was given to open with grape. A rush was made by the mutineers to the rear, and as they passed the main picket situated in the centre of the cantonments, they murdered a Lieutenant Grant, one of their own officers who commanded it.† Captain Hardinge,

* "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 332.

† "The picket was under the command of Lieutenant Grant, of the 71st Native Infantry. His men remained with him till the mutineers were close upon him. They then broke; but the subadar of the guard, and some men of the 13th and 48th Regiments, composing the guard, tried to save him, by placing him under a bed. A man of the 71st Native Infantry, who was on guard with him, however, discovered the place of his concealment to the mutineers, and he was brutally murdered—receiving no less than fifteen bayonet wounds, besides some musket balls." "Defence of Lucknow: A Diary by a Staff Officer," page 4.

a splendid soldier, in the hope of saving his comrades and dispersing the mutineers, led a few horse several times through the burning cantonments and a multitude of mutineers. One shot at him within a foot, and then bayoneted him through the fleshy part of his arm. Hardinge shot the fellow dead, and, wounded as he was, continued to patrol the lines; but he had not a force sufficient to prevent the general conflagration, and plundering of the officers' houses. Sir Henry Lawrence, in returning to the Residency Bungalow, which had escaped destruction, placed guns at the entrance gates. The 32nd did not move from their position, for they had been ordered to await the advent of the native regiments. A remnant of the 13th Native Infantry, about 200 men, with colours and treasure, came up and fell in on their right. A small portion of the 71st followed, and took post next to them. Of the 48th nothing was heard till the next day. A few shots were sent into the European camp, and a stray bullet struck Brigadier Handscombe, who fell dead from his horse as he reached the flank of the 32nd: no serious attempt was, however, made to attack the position and as the night advanced all grew quiet, and the troops bivouacked on the ground. At the break of dawn the force under the command of Sir Henry Lawrence advanced down the parade in front of the Native Infantry lines. News, however, reached them that the mutineers had proceeded to the cavalry lines at Moodkepore and had burned them. Leaving a portion of the 32nd in position in the cantonments, Sir Henry followed in person, and found the enemy drawn up on an open and level plain. As soon as our cavalry came in sight, a horseman rode out of the mutineer ranks, and waved his sword towards them. Many of our troopers followed his beckonings, and galloped over at once to the insurgents. The Infantry halted and the guns having opened with round shot, the rebels, after a few discharges, broke and fled precipitately. Hardinge, notwithstanding his wounded arm, was present with a few staunch sabres, and pursued the mutineers some six miles into the country. Near the parade was discovered the body of Cornet Raleigh, who, owing to sickness, had remained in the lines during the night. In the morning just as he mounted his horse, he was attacked by the mutineers, and savagely cut to pieces. The body was still warm when our men found it, and blood was oozing from the wounds. A lock of hair—"only a woman's hair"—was found round his neck. He was but a lad of seventeen, and had joined the regiment three days before.*

* "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 19.

Sir Henry Lawrence concluded his interrupted letter to Lord Canning as follows:—"Press of work stopped me here: we have since had the *émeute*, which I have lately suppressed. We are now positively better off than we were: we now know our friends and enemies. The latter beggars have no stomach for a fight, though they are capital incendiaries. We followed them on Sunday morning with the guns six miles, and only once got within range.* I went with a few horsemen four or five miles further, and Mr. Gubbins, with only four horsemen, headed them four miles. We got sixty prisoners in all." †

About noon the troops, exhausted by the burning heat and their long march, returned to the cantonments, where they were encamped in the same position they occupied the previous night; the remnants of the Native Infantry and Hardinge's Irregular Cavalry being on the right of the 32nd and the guns. In the evening an outbreak took place in the town, and the standard of the Prophet was raised: but the insurgents were completely defeated and dispersed by the city police, under the command of Captain Carnegie.

Insurrection in the city

Sir Henry Lawrence removes to the Residency

Sir Henry Lawrence having stationed a force in the cantonments, in order to maintain the communications with the country, and keep the neighbouring districts quiet, removed his own head-quarters to the Residency, where his presence was required to superintend the numerous measures being taken for its defence. As he entered within the Residency walls, a loud cheer burst forth from the men, and "long life to Sir Henry: long live Sir Henry" resounded from all sides. His high tempered nature had attracted the attachment and confidence of the soldiers. He possessed the gentleness which commands obedience, and the divine gift of sympathy which wins love. "All loved

* "Wounded as he was he (Hardinge) could not have had an hour's sleep, and yet he was the hero of yesterday's work, and had he had any good cavalry, he would have cut up all the mutineers. I was wrong as to his having been the hero. He was one, Martin Gubbins was another. He, with three horsemen, did the work of a regiment, and headed the rascals, and brought in six prisoners—for which I have given the three horsemen 600 rupees."—"Life of Sir H. Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 328.

† Mr. Gubbins states:—"Assisted by the O. I. (Oudh Irregular) Infantry, stationed at the Dowlutkhana; who had been strengthened by the arrival some days before of three companies of the 1st O. I. Infantry from Salone, under Lieutenant C. S. Clarke."—"Mutinies in Oudh," page 113. A Staff Officer writes:—"The police of the city, under the energetic superintendence of Captain Carnegie, behaved well, and the movement was at once quelled and the standard taken."—"The Defence of Lucknow," by a Staff Officer. Sir Henry Lawrence wrote—"Yesterday evening we had several large gatherings in the city, and towards evening they opened fire on the police and on a post of Irregulars. The former behaved admirably, and thrashed them well, killed several, and took six prisoners."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 328.

and respected him," wrote a member of the garrison; and, indeed, every one had cause, for none was too lowly for his notice, and no details were too uninteresting for him. He directed and inspected all things; his energy and activity were unsurpassed,—Night and day seemed all the same to him.* "Often would he sally out in disguise, and visit the most frequented parts of the native town, to make personal observations, and see how his orders were carried out. He several times had a thin bedding spread out near the guns at the Bailey-guard Gate, and retired there among the artillerists, not to sleep, but to plan and meditate undisturbed." †

But for Sir Henry Lawrence there were few undisturbed moments. Though the rising at Lucknow had been quelled, affairs in the provinces grew more critical. Daily some fresh ill-tidings reached him. On the 2nd of June came the news that Captain Hayes and his party had been murdered by their own escort.‡

Murder of Captain Hayes and his party

Late at night on the 20th of May, a message came to Sir Henry Lawrence, from Sir Hugh Wheeler, asking for instant aid. Post-carriages were promptly collected, and by dawn fifty-four men of the 32nd were on the road to Cawnpore together with about 240 troopers of the Oudh Irregular Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Barbor.§ Mr. Fayrer who had been recently appointed to the Oudh Irregular Cavalry accompanied the squadron as a volunteer. Anxious, no doubt, to know the exact state of affairs at Cawnpore, Sir Henry despatched with the force his Military Secretary, Captain Fletcher Hayes, who was to return after a conference with Sir Hugh Wheeler. Hayes was a man of great ability, rare courage, and unbounded ambition. An Oxford graduate, he had since his sojourn in the East made his mark in the

Captain Hayes

* "Night and day seemed all the same to him. Either encouraging the wavering, punishing the rebellious, rewarding the faithful, visiting the sepoy lines to show his confidence in them, giving audience to influential Natives, or examining our defences: all the energies of his master mind were employed in the one great effort of deferring the coming catastrophe which he clearly saw was inevitable, and thereby rendering us better prepared to meet; and, doubtless, but for him and God's blessing on his endeavours, the fate of all in Lucknow would have been but a prelude to the horrors of Cawnpore."—"The Siege of Lucknow," by the Hon'ble Lady Inglis, page 17.

† "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 38.

‡ "We received the sad news to-day that Captain Hayes, Mr. Barber, and Mr. Fayrer, brother of Dr. Fayrer, had been murdered by their own escort, near Mynpoorie."—"Siege of Lucknow," by the Hon'ble Lady Inglis, page 26.

§ Lady Inglis and Mr. Rees mis-spell the name Barber. Mr. R. Fayrer was brother of the illustrious Residency Surgeon, Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart.

world of letters as an oriental scholar. As an Assistant Resident at the Court of Oudh before the annexation he had proved himself an able and skilful diplomatist, and he had shown himself to be prompt and brave in action. On reaching Cawnpore Hayes found that the expected rising had not taken place: all was quiet, and there was no need of cavalry to protect the garrison. But he considered his small band of troopers might be of service in keeping open our communication with the Northern Provinces. He therefore proposed to Sir Henry Lawrence that he should be allowed to lead them along the great Roman highway * which the Company had constructed as far as Allyghur. It was a daring enterprise, conceived in the spirit which has carried England safely through many a great trial. In the last letter he wrote Hayes declared "that a bold front and daring would best assist the cause of order." Permission for him to conduct the expedition was granted, and on the 27th of May Hayes marched from Cawnpore with the two troops of Irregular Cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Barbor, the Adjutant of the Regiment, Mr. Fayrer, and Lieutenant T. Carey, of the 17th Native Infantry, who was proceeding to Northern India. On the 31st of May, the day of the outbreak at Lucknow, Hayes had by forced marches left Cawnpore a hundred miles behind, when tidings reached him that a Rajah in the neighbourhood had set our rule at defiance. He encamped his men on the roadside, and accompanied by Lieutenant Carey rode to the civil station of Mynpoorie, about eight miles distant, in order to consult the magistrate as to attacking the rebel Chief.

After their conference with the civil authorities Hayes and Carey on the morning of the 1st of June left Mynpoorie to rejoin the detachment, which had been instructed to continue its march up the Trunk Road. They cantered across the country, talking of how they would open the road to Allyghur, and carry all before them. After riding about eleven miles they came in sight of the men marching along the road quite orderly. "They were on one road, we on another. I said, 'Let us cross the plain and meet them.' As we approached they faced towards us and halted, and when we had cantered up to within about fifty yards of them, one or two of the native officers rode out to meet us, and said in a low voice 'Fly, Sahibs, fly.' Upon this poor Hayes said to me as we wheeled round our horses,—'Well, we must fly now for

* The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar.

our lives,' and away we went with the two troops after us like demons, *yelling* and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side nearest the troopers, and before we had gone many yards, I saw a native officer go up alongside of him, and with one blow cut him down from his saddle.* It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came shouting after me and every now and then 'ping' came a ball near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered, but as I neared the road at the end of the maidan, a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment I thought, dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately, I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind, but two sowars, who followed me and poor Hayes' horse tearing on after me. On seeing this I put my pistol into my holster, having reserved my fire until a man was actually upon me, and took a pull at the mare, as I had still a long ride for it, and knew my riding must now stand me a good turn: so I eased the mare as much as I could, keeping those friends about 100 yards in rear; and they, I suppose, seeing I was taking it easy, and not urging my horse, but merely turning round every now and then to watch them, pulled up, after chasing me two good miles. Never did I know a happier moment, and most fervently did I thank God for saving my life. Hayes's Arab came dashing along, and passed me; I still continued to ride on at a strong pace, fearful of being taken and murdered by some who had taken a short cut unknown to me. Thus up to the sixth mile from home did I continue to fly, when, finding my mare completely done up, and meeting one of our sowars, I immediately stopped him, jumped up behind, and ordered him to hasten back to Mynpoorie. After going about a mile on this beast, we came up to poor Hayes's horse, which had been caught, so on him I sprang, and he bore me back safely to cantonments." †

Men were immediately sent to look for the body of Captain Hayes, and ascertain the fate of Barbor and young Fayrer who were known to have left their last encampment with their men. It afterwards transpired ‡ that a short time before Hayes and Carey came in sight of the

* "Hayes was neither a good rider nor well mounted. I had often ridden beside him when he was on that old Arab."—MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart.

† "Captain Carey's escape: Annals of the Indian Rebellion," page 435.

‡ "The Naib Ressaldar Shere Singh who remained behind with one or more Sikh troopers was a Sikh. He came back, told me the whole thing, and was liberally rewarded by Government."—MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart.

men, Barbor and Fayrer had been murdered. The latter was drinking at a well, when a cowardly miscreant crept up behind him, and with one blow of his sword nearly severed his head from his body.* The poor lad (he was only 23) muttered "Mother" as he fell. A loyal old soldier rushed forward and ordered the murderer to be arrested: as he raised the head of Fayrer he too fell dead, shot by his comrades. Barbor seeing what had taken place galloped full speed up the road, but found the way blocked by the advance guard of his own men. He attempted to cut a lane through them, but their swords battered on him like hail, and he was hacked to pieces.

Mutiny at Sitapur

And worse and worse came the news from the provinces. On the 4th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence heard of the mutiny at Sitapur, a large and important station fifty-one miles from Lucknow which was garrisoned by the 41st Regiment of Native Infantry, the 9th and 10th Regiments of the Oudh Irregular Infantry, and the 2nd Regiment of Military Police. It was the old story. Early in the morning of the 3rd of June, Major Apthorp of the 41st Regiment informed Mr. Christian, the Commissioner of the division, that grave symptoms of disaffection had appeared in the corps. Mr. Christian proceeded to inform the Commandant, Colonel Birch, a firm and resolute soldier; but the latter clung to the belief in the loyalty of his men. Two days before he had shown his trust in them by leading them out against the fugitive mutineers from Lucknow. As a precautionary measure the 9th and 10th were paraded. A strong guard of military police were stationed at the residence of the Commissioner, where the women and children had collected, and four loaded guns placed between it and the lines of the 41st. These arrangements had hardly been completed when a company of the 41st left their quarters, and proceeded to the treasury, with the intention of plundering it. They were promptly followed by Colonel Birch, Lieutenants Greene and Smalley, and the Sergeant-Major. When the Colonel overtook his men, he

* "It was very hot, my brother walked up to a well with his charger's bridle over his arm and was in the act of drinking water out of a leather cup that I had given him on starting, when one of his own men (a Barghir of a trooper named Sundal Khan) walked up behind him and cut him down through the back of the neck with his tulwar. The poor lad, he was only 23, fell dead on the spot: his spine was cut through. The old Native officer Shere Singh who came back and told us of it said he muttered "Mother" as he fell. He was a very fine lad and would have made a splendid cavalry officer He had already done well as a Cadet in the Australian Mounted Police and he promised to do well here. He was a great favourite. His commission, had he lived, would certainly have been confirmed and he might have risen to anything."—MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart.

spoke to them of their folly, and exhorted them to listen to his words. While he was speaking a man stepped forth from the ranks, and shot him dead; and then a volley stretched in the dust Lieutenant Smalley and the Sergeant-Major. Lieutenant Greene escaped with a slight wound, and reached his lines in time to warn his brother officers, who, with their families, reached Lucknow in safety escorted by a loyal band of the 41st. The mutiny swiftly spread to the Irregular Regiments, who after shooting down their officers rushed to join the Military Police, who had opened fire on the Commissioner's mansion. The rest may be told in the words of one who was present. "Behind the house flowed a small deep river, and beyond was a thick jungle of cypress and brushwood: all agreed to cross and hide in the jungle: the house was surrounded, the police were in the garden, and had occupied a small temporary bridge across the river, where they shot a number of men, women, and children. Some escaped by a ford: as for me, I followed in the rear, and came up with Mrs. Christian, the wife of the Commissioner, struggling to get on with her little child in her arms, a girl two-and-a-half years old, and her husband with her carrying a boy about six months old. I took the child from her arms, and with the aid of Quartermaster-Sergeant Morton, of my regiment, got it away safe and sound; all three escaping unscathed through the fearful shower of bullets sent after us as we crossed the river, and hid ourselves in the friendly jungle."* No sooner had Mr. Christian crossed the stream when a bullet struck him and he fell dead. The widow took the babe, and sat down by her husband's corpse. It was but a moment, and mother and child joined the father.

Fifty men of the 84th sent by Sir Hugh Wheeler

The same telegram which informed Lord Canning of the mutiny at Sitapur also stated "Fifty of the 84th arrived this morning." Sir Hugh Wheeler had not only returned the fifty men of the 32nd, which Sir Henry Lawrence had lent him, but had also, on hearing that considerable uneasiness prevailed at Lucknow, sent, with noble unselfishness, from his small force, two officers and fifty men of Her Majesty's 84th. The brave old soldier telegraphed to Lord Canning:—"This leaves me weak, but I trust to holding my own until more Europeans arrive." Two days after, before more Europeans could arrive, the storm which had long been gathering burst at Cawnpore, and it soon became known at Lucknow that the Nana of Bithoor had leagued with the revolted troops, and was besieging Sir Hugh Wheeler in his entrenchment.

News of the Mutiny at Cawnpore

* "Escape of Lieutenant G. H. Barnes, 10th Oudh Irregular Cavalry."

Every day was now marked by a general and terrible explosion, shattering to pieces the structure of our Civil Government. On the 3rd of June, the 17th Native Infantry stationed at Azimgurh mutinied; and, seizing the treasury and two guns, marched with them towards Oudh. The following day the sepoys at Benares followed their example, and also proceeded in the same direction. When the two bands of mutineers approached Fyzabad, one of the most important cities in the province, the regiments stationed there * threw off their allegiance, stating that they were strong enough to turn the English out of the country, and intended to do it: they, however, did not stain their hands with blood. The men of the 22nd, after throwing off their allegiance, not only guarded their officers but also their houses. They placed sentries on the magazines and public offices, and sent out pickets to prevent the townspeople and servants from plundering. They held a council of war at which the troopers proposed to kill the officers; but the men of the 22nd objected, and informed the officers that they would be allowed to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property, but no public property, as that all belonged to the King of Oudh. Their officers asked for boats: the rebel Commissionary-General, a ressaldar, was ordered to provide them. He did so; but he procured such small boats † that the fugitives could only bring away a small bundle each; and when they were on the point of embarking they were presented with 900 rupees, which the rebels had taken from the treasury chest to give them. The officers made one last effort to recall their men to their duty; but they respectfully assured them that they were now under the orders of their native officers, and that the Subadar-Major of the 22nd Regiment had been appointed to the command of the station, and that each corps had appointed one of its own officers to be its chief.

Mutiny at Fyzabad

* "The garrison at Fyzabad consisted of a horse battery of native artillery, the 22nd Regiment of Native Infantry, the 6th Oudh Irregulars, and a squadron of the 15th Irregular Cavalry; the whole commanded by Colonel Lennox of the 22nd Native Infantry."—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," page 457.

† "Annals of the Indian Rebellion," Appendix, page xxi.

Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad, in his account of the mutiny at that station, writes :—" The 15th Irregular Cavalry, particularly the ressaldar in command, left no means untried to induce the other regiments to murder their officers; but the artillery, 22nd Native Infantry, and the 6th Local Infantry, not only refused to injure the Europeans, but even gave them money and assisted them in procuring boats to proceed down the Gogra."—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," page 460.

A little before dawn, on the 9th, four boats, chiefly containing the officers of the regiments, dropped down the river. When the two first boats had gone three miles beyond the sacred town of Ajodhya, to which the province of Oudh owes its name, they put to in order to await the arrival of their companions. After waiting two hours, and seeing no signs of the other boats, they resumed their journey down the stream. They had proceeded about eighteen miles, when they observed what appeared to be scouts giving notice of their approach. A suspicion of treachery and danger crossed their minds. A few seconds afterwards it was confirmed. As they approached a narrow bend of the river, they saw the bank lined with sepoys.* They had no alternative but to proceed. As they reached the verge of the narrow channel, the insurgents opened fire on them. Many fell. The crew of the second boat, to escape the ambuscade, ran their boat on a sand bank surrounded with water, and the survivors of the first craft seeing what they had done, also put to, and went ashore under a heavy fire. The mutineers on the opposite bank now rowed out in their boats, and when they reached the middle shamefully and mercilessly poured showers of bullets upon the miserable creatures struggling for life in the water, or crouching on the bank. Seeing this Colonel Goldney "directed that those who could run should without any further loss of time endeavour to escape, remarking that there was not even the shadow *of a chance of our meeting* with mercy at their hands, and

* Mr. Gubbins writes :—"A messenger had been despatched by the 22nd Regiment to the 17th, announcing that they had sent off their officers, and inviting the 17th to destroy them." "The Mutinies in Oudh," page 135.

Colonel Malleson writes :—"But—strange contradiction—whilst protecting them (the fugitive Europeans) against the more blood-thirsty of their own clans, whilst aiding them to depart, they sent messengers begging the men of the 17th Regiment of Native Infantry to slay them on their way."—"History of the Indian Mutiny," volume 3, page 268. A strange contradiction, it is true; but there is hardly sufficient evidence to warrant the statement: the only support for it is the following, in the account of his escape by Colonel Lennox, commanding the 22nd Regiment :—"We started by boat at 2 p.m., not knowing that the Fyzabad mutineers had sold us into the hands of the 17th Regiment, which fact we learn from two sepoys, who accompanied us, namely, Thakoor Missur, grenadier company, and Sunker Singh, No. 7 Company."—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," page 468.

Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner, in his account, makes no mention of treachery.—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," pages 457-466. Farrier-Sergeant Busher writes :—"We then suspected all was not right : that we had been duped, and purposely led into danger." If the sepoys at Fyzabad wished to injure their officers they could have done so : there was no motive for treachery. The two-and-a-half hours at Ajodhya afforded ample time for the men of the 17th to be informed by the villagers of the approach of the boats. General McLeod Innes writes :—"It may be observed that the conduct of the native troops on rising ranged widely—from the atrocities of the sepoys at Seetapore, and the shooting of their officers at Sultanpore, to assisting and escorting them at Seetapore, Durriabad, and Secrora. The villagers on the Gogra were hostile, but elsewhere they seem to have been more or less helpful; a singular circumstance when it is remembered to what turbulence and bloodshed and evil deeds they had long been accustomed."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," pages 86, 87.

at the same time added that he was too old himself to run." Seven only of the twenty-seven that had embarked were capable of obeying his behest. Two of the party were drowned endeavouring to cross a stream : the remaining five were found in their wanderings by the three officers who had formed the crew of the fourth boat. "We are glad to find these gentlemen had arms, for we who had joined them had not even a stick." But arms proved of little avail against numbers. After many adventures only one survived to tell the tale.

The crew of the third boat consisting of five officers, put in at Ajodhya ; but here they exchanged their boat for a larger craft, manned by twelve native rowers. Hidden from view by the straw roof they passed the mutineers unmolested and reached Dinapore in safety.* The civil officers at Fyzabad joined their families who a short time before the outbreak had been placed under the protection of Maun Sing, a well known and powerful chief. He sheltered them for a short time in his fort at Shahgunge ; but as the mutineers insisted on his surrendering the officers he desired them to depart. He, however, promised to provide boats to take them down the river.† That night they left the

* "At the beginning of the month Rajah Mansingh, talooqdar of Shahgunje, was in confinement there (Fyzabad). He had been arrested by order of the Chief Commissioner, in consequence of information telegraphed from Calcutta, which accorded with what had reached us at Lucknow. At this juncture he sent for the British authorities, warned them that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter in his fort at Shahgunje. Seeing the critical state of things Colonel Goldney released him, and Mansingh at once commenced to put his fort in order, and to raise levies. Soon, however, the troops disclosed their intentions. They demanded that the public treasure should be surrendered to them on the plea of better security. Helpless, the authorities were compelled to comply, and the money was carried off to their lines amidst the shouts of the mutineers. The civilians now prepared for the worst, and sent their families to Shahgunje. But the ladies from cantonments would not accompany them, relying on the faith of the native officers of the 22nd Regiment who had solemnly sworn to Mrs. Lennox that no injury should be done them." "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, pages 133, 134.

† "Believing that Maun Sing was both able and willing to protect the ladies and children, and seeing no other means of ensuring their safety, I proposed to send them to his fort of Shahgunje, twelve miles south of Fyzabad. The Commissioner agreed to this proposal, and authorised me to release Maun Sing from arrest, and also to provide funds for the payment of men to garrison his fort. I therefore proceeded, accompanied by Captain Orr, Assistant Commissioner, to the building—a house of his own, where Maun Sing was; he reiterated his offers of protection to the officers of the civil offices, but made some demur about those of officers in cantonments, as receiving them would render futile any attempt at secrecy, and greatly increase the hazard of the undertaking. Of course we told him we could not accept the limited offer, and after some discussion, he agreed to receive all, on condition that the move from cantonments should be made quietly and secretly, not only because he doubted whether the troops would allow the officers' families to go, but because he required time to collect men, and mature his own arrangements."—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," by Captain Reid, page 458.

"I must remark here that Maun Sing was in confinement on a revenue question, when Captain Alexander Orr, the Assistant Commissioner, who had known him for several years, begged his release, and it was entirely owing to Maun Sing's former long acquaintance with Captain Orr under the old 'regimé' that Maun Sing first offered to save Captain Orr's wife and children, and afterwards was induced to extend his protection to the large number he saved."—*Ibid.* Foot-note by Captain Hutchinson.

citadel. They had proceeded but a few miles when one of the carriages broke down, and nine had to return to the fort. They were ultimately sent to Goruckpur. The dawn found eight women, fourteen children, and seven men drifting down the wide, rapid stream in an open boat. The heat was terrific, and there was no food. Eight hours later they reached a narrow channel commanded on each bank by a fort. The boat was stopped by a band of mutineers. Death was before their eyes, and "the ladies," wrote one who was in the boat, "got ready to throw their children into the river, and jump after them." However, God willed it otherwise, and Mahdo Persad, the Borpur Baboo, came to the rescue, entertained us hospitably for five or six days, and then forwarded us to Gopalpore. Here they were treated with great kindness by a loyal baron, and through his aid were able to reach Dinapore in safety.*

Simultaneously with the rising at Fyzabad took place the mutiny at Durreabad, a small station on the high road that leads from Fyzabad to Lucknow. Here was quartered the 5th Oudh Irregular Infantry, commanded by Captain W. H. Hawes, a young officer, active and zealous, who was greatly beloved by his men. At the station, there was a large amount of treasure, and knowing the temptation it offered the troops Captain Hawes attempted to remove it to Lucknow. On the 9th of June the treasure was placed in carts, and escorted by the regiment despatched to the capital. It, however, had not proceeded far when the malcontents of the corps insisted on the treasure being taken back, and opened fire on their officers. Some marksmen made an unsuccessful effort to shoot their Commander, and then a volley was fired at him; but Captain Hawes unscathed put spurs to his horse and galloping as fast as it could carry him across country, joined the other fugitives from the station. The party were protected and treated with kindness by a friendly zemindar † and reached Lucknow without disaster. **Mutiny at Durreabad**

Sultanpore, on the river Goomtee, lies on the direct road to Lucknow, and was at the time commanded by Colonel S. Fisher, a keen sportsman, and splendid rider, who won the hearts of all by his frank, manly nature.‡ His regiment, the 15th Irregular Cavalry, consisted of **Mutiny Sultanpore**

* "The marked loyalty of the Rajah of Gopalpore, as well as the aid which he rendered to several parties of fugitives, are well-known to Government: we were here comparatively safe, and made our way by water without difficulty to Dinapore, where we arrived on the 29th June.—"Annals of the Indian Rebellion," by Captain Reid, page 466.

† Ram Sing, zemindar of Suhee.

‡ "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 139.

a brave, but most bigoted sect of Mussulmans, who afterwards took a prominent part in the operations against us, and furnished some leaders to the mutineers' army. Besides the Irregular Horse, there were stationed at Sultanpore the 8th Oudh Irregular Infantry, commanded by Captain W. Smith, and the 1st Regiment of Military Police, under Captain Bunbury. On the morning of the 9th of June, the Military Police rose in revolt, and Colonel Fisher, in returning from the lines where he had gone to attempt to restore order, was shot in the back by a man of that corps. He managed to reach his own lines where he was met by his two officers, Captain A. Gibbings, second in command, and Lieutenant C. W. Tucker, the Adjutant. They succeeded in placing him in a dooley. Feeling that the wound was mortal, Fisher commanded them to leave him, and seek their own safety. The Adjutant tried to persuade the regiment to come near their wounded Colonel, but no one would obey any orders.* A party of them made a rush at Captain Gibbings, who was on horseback at a little distance, and killed him. The men then shouted to Lieutenant Tucker to go, and, "finding it was all over," he rode off. Crossing the river he found shelter in the fort of Roostum Sah, at Deyrah.† Roostum was one of the talookdars whose acquired rights had been ignored by our Government, and who had been deprived of villages which he should have been permitted to retain. Colonel Fisher had, a few days before the outbreak, sent off the ladies and families to the Rajah of Ameythee, who also loyally sheltered them till he was able to escort them to Allahabad.‡

* "Annals of the Indian Rebellion: Lieutenant Tucker's escape, related by his wife," page 478.

† "Roostum Sah is a fine specimen of the best kind of talookdars in Oudh. Of old family, and long settled at Deyrah, he resides there in a fort very strongly situated in the ravines of the Goomtee, and surrounded by a thick jungle of a large extent. It had never been taken by the troops of the native Government, which had more than once been repulsed from before it. Roostum Sah deserves the more credit for his kind treatment of the refugees, as he had suffered unduly at the settlement, and had lost many villages which he should have been permitted to retain I had seen him at Fyzabad in January 1857, and after discussing his case with the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. W. A. Forbes, it had been settled that fresh enquiries should be made into the title of the villages which he had lost, and orders had been issued accordingly."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 139.

‡ "Besides Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, two young civilians were unhappily also slain. Mr. A. Block, c.s., and Mr. S. Stroyan. When the mutiny broke out, they crossed the river and took refuge with one Yaseen Khan, zemindar of the town of Sultanpoor. This man at first welcomed them; but afterwards most basely betrayed them. He turned both officers out of his house, and then caused them to be shot down. This is the only instance of like treachery on the part of a petty zemindar in Oudh which came to our notice."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 140.

On the day after the mutiny at Sultanpore the force at Salone, consisting of six companies of the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry commanded by Captain R. L. Thompson, broke into revolt: no blood, however, was shed.* The sepoys ceased to obey and warned their officers to depart. All the residents were sheltered, protected, and escorted into safety by Hunwunt Singh, the brave old Baron of Dharoopoor, who had been deprived by the new administration of a considerable portion of his estate.

Mutiny at Salone

Thus, in the course of ten days, English administration in Oudh had vanished like a dream, and not left a wrack behind. The troops mutinied, and the people threw off their allegiance; but there was no revenge and no cruelty. The brave and turbulent population, with a few exceptions, treated the fugitives of the ruling race with marked kindness, and the high courtesy and chivalry of the Barons of Oudh was conspicuous in their dealings with their fallen masters who, in the day of their power, had from the best motives inflicted on many of them a grave wrong. There have been tongues and pens enough to narrate the excesses which have raised the Indian Mutiny to the rank of a world-wide tragedy. It is useful that these crimes should be remembered and freshly pondered; but it is equally wise to study the opposite picture.

In the beginning of June, there arrived daily at Lucknow news of some fresh revolt in the Province, and the health of Sir Henry Lawrence broke down under the rapidity with which disasters were piling themselves upon him. Feeling that the strain might prove too much for his frail body, he despatched to the Governor-General, on the 4th of June, the following characteristic telegram:—"If anything happens to me during present disturbances, I earnestly recommend that Major Banks succeed me as Chief Commissioner, and Colonel Inglis in command of

Health of Sir Henry Lawrence

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence to the Governor-General as to a successor

* "The civil and military officers left together. As they passed through the lines, some of the sepoys saluted, while others were loading their muskets. Captain Thompson was accompanied by a few faithful men who never deserted him; and a few of his native subordinates attended Captain Barrow. That officer had arranged to be met outside the station by Lall Honwunt Singh, talooqdar of Dharoopoor, with an escort of his own men The chief appeared punctual to his promise, and escorted the whole party to his fort at Dharoopore. Here they remained for nearly a fortnight, and were kindly treated during the whole time. At the end of this, Honwunt Singh, with 500 of his followers, accompanied them to the ferry over the Ganges, opposite Allahabad, and there took leave. He would receive no present for his hospitality. The conduct of this man is the more deserving, as he had lost an undue number of villages, and his case, as well as that of Roostum Sah, of Deyrah, was one that called for reconsideration. Captain Barrow and his whole party reached the Fort of Allahabad in safety."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 141.

the troops, until better times arrive. This is no time for punctilio as regards seniority. They are the right men, in fact the only men for the places. My secretary entirely concurs with me on the above points." * Five days afterwards Sir Henry's health gave way, and Dr. Fayrer pronounced that further application to business would endanger his life.† A Provisional Council was accordingly formed under his authority: but their rule lasted only two days. Hearing that his policy with regard to the retention of Native troops was being set aside, Sir Henry emphatically, and with some little excitement, declared the Council at an end, and that he would resume his work from that moment; which he did. His first act was to recall many of the sepoys who had been sent away. They returned to their post with tokens of delight, the honesty of which was verified by their loyalty during the siege. He also determined to vigorously press on the final preparations, necessary to make the Residency and its surrounding buildings fit to stand a siege; and on the day he resumed ‡ work, Sir Henry wrote to Colonel Inglis:—"I am decidedly of opinion that we ought to have only one position, and that, though we must hold all three—cantonments and Muchee Bhawun—as long as we can, all arrangements should be made with reference to a sudden concentration at the Residency." In pursuance of this policy, the engineers began to construct defences, capable of resisting the assault of artillery. On the north side a strong battery of heavy guns, afterwards called the Redan, was begun, and the first steps taken for constructing, on the south side, a battery called the Cawnpore Battery, from its position commanding the road from that station. The garden walls of the houses embraced within

Sir Henry Lawrence's health gives way A Provisional Council formed and swiftly dissolved

Sir Henry Lawrence resumes work.

Preparations at the Residency vigorously pressed on

* "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume I, page 341.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II.

† "Sir Henry's health and strength had been subject to terrible strain and exhaustion, and on the 9th of June he became aware that it was quite impossible for him to bear it. I explained this and wrote an official letter to Couper, the Private Secretary, and placed Sir Henry Lawrence on the sick list for a few days, during which he was to be kept quite at rest and take no part in the work going on about him This I did not effect without some difficulty, but the necessity of it was so obvious that it was done. He was relieved from all duty and a Council of Gubbins, Inglis, Ommanney, Banks and Anderson appointed to carry on the preparations and to control action of every kind."—MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer.

‡ "On the 12th of June I allowed Sir Henry to resume duty—not that he was well, for his frame was worn and wasted—but he was sufficiently rested to *under the circumstances* return to work. He did so and the authority of the Provisional Council (with its restless, gallant, but not always discreet member, Gubbins, so energetic) ceased."—MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer.

the position were connected by breastworks. Ditches were excavated in front of them, and parapets erected behind them; stakes and palisades were fixed, slopes were scarped, ramparts built at some places, and widened and pierced for batteries, roofs of houses were protected by breast-high walls, windows and doors were barricaded, and walls loopholed.* Cellars were excavated and roofed, to serve as magazines and ammunition brought from the Muchee Bhawun stored in them. The rare and lofty trees which adorned the garden of the Residency had to be cut down, and piles of shot and shell filled the beds once bright with flowers. Two hundred guns discovered in an old arsenal in the city were at once brought in and placed in position; one of the pieces, an eight-inch howitzer, was handed over to the artillery, to be used in the field.† The demolition of the lofty buildings which skirted the position was begun: the upper storeys were knocked down, but the lower storeys were allowed to remain, to act as a barrier against the impact of the artillery fire, that might be aimed low at the defences, in order to breach them.‡ A body of volunteer cavalry, consisting

* "Major Edgell's MS. in Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 344.

† "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 96.

"About the 27th June I visited the old arsenal and found 200 guns there said to be spiked. I rode home but first to Sir Henry Lawrence, and got all in by the second day. Benham of the Artillery got the guns 'carried.' His energy got the work done in quick time. I bored the spike out of one of the guns in ten minutes!!! Fancy if the enemy had got them."—MS. Diary of Captain Fulton."

Mr. Gubbins writes:—"On the 21st of June, Captain Fulton, when visiting the old magazines at the Sheesh Muhul, discovered two hundred native guns lying there unmounted. The discovery was fortunately made in time, and they were all brought in, and laid out on the low ground close to the Redan Battery. Many of them were of large calibre, cast for the Oudh Government by General Claude Martin."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 170.

‡ "It was expected that, in any siege that might ensue, the enemy would not come too close, but, as at Cawnpore, content themselves with an investment, and a comparatively distant artillery and musketry fire. It was therefore believed by some that the nearest buildings should have only their upper stories knocked down, while the lower storey should be allowed to remain to act as a traverse to our own works from the enemy's fire. There was a species of compromise made. Where our position was weak, the houses were demolished; while near the Cawnpore battery, a few houses were left, which it was hoped we would ourselves be able to occupy as advanced posts, a hope which was falsified by the event, one of those buildings, called Johannes' House, proving a most murderous post, and doing infinite mischief, until I blew it up by a mine. The result proved the accuracy of the argument on both sides, those fronts where the buildings had been demolished, suffering most severely from artillery fire; those where they still remained, from musketry."—"Major Edgell's MS. in Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 344.

"The work went on very well, but the levelling houses was a stupendous undertaking. Wall after wall went down. Nawabs' palaces and coolie huts alike, but alas not a third of the work was done when the fated 13th of June came."—"MS. Diary of Captain Fulton."

of fifty sabres—chiefly recruited from cavalry and infantry officers and clerks belonging to the public offices—was formed, under Captain Radcliffe of the 7th Cavalry. The men were daily drilled, and were, in all respects, armed and accoutred like private soldiers. Instruction was also given in musketry exercise to all civilians and some of the officers, and fifty men of the 32nd Foot were instructed in gun drill. Continuous strings of carts and elephants brought in supplies, and the church was rapidly filled with grain, and the racket-court with fodder for the oxen.*

As the Residency daily grew stronger, and the mutinous regiments showed no signs of marching on Lucknow, Sir Henry's anxiety regarding his own position grew less. On the 23rd of June he wrote to Lord Canning :—"If all go well *quickly* at Delhi, and still more if Cawnpore holds out, I doubt we shall be besieged at all. Our preparations alarm the enemy. It is deep grief to me to be unable to help Cawnpore. I would run much risk for Wheeler's sake, but an attempt, with our means, would only ruin ourselves, without helping Cawnpore."

Letter to Lord Canning, 23rd June

Five days before Sir Henry Lawrence had heard from General Wheeler that his supplies would hold out another fortnight, that he had plenty of ammunition, and that his guns were serviceable, and that "on several occasions a handful of men have driven hundreds before them." The General added :—"We, of course, are prepared to hold out to the last." Before a week elapsed the tide had turned. On the 24th, he wrote :—"British spirit alone remains, but it cannot last for ever." The previous morning the enemy had attempted the most formidable assault but dared not come on : "and after above three hours in the trenches, cheering the men, I returned to find my favourite, darling son killed by a nine-pounder in the room with his mother and sisters ; he was not able to accompany me having been fearfully crippled by a severe

Letter from General Wheeler

* "Sir Henry Lawrence's exertions to provision the garrison were unabating."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 168.

"Thanks to Sir Henry's forethought, a very large amount of live stock had been collected, and a vast quantity of all essential food supplies had been stored, through the agency and exertions mainly of the Commissariat officer, Captain James, and the district officer, Simon Martin, supplemented by the friendly help from talookdars and others. But, as it had to be stored away at once wherever room for it was found available, doubts, and eventually mistakes, arose as to the amount that had really been collected. This was owing mainly to the fact that Captain James, the Commissariat officer, was wounded in the knee at Chinhut, and thus debarred from that personal supervision and investigation which would otherwise have been a matter of course."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 112

contusion. The cannonade was tremendous: I venture to assert such a position so defended has no example, but cruel has been the evil . . . We have no instruments, no medicine, provisions for a few days at furthest, and no possibility of getting any, as all communication with the town is cut off. We have been cruelly deserted, and left to our fate: we had not 220 soldiers, of all arms, at first. The casualties have been numerous. Railway gents and merchants have swollen our ranks to what they are. Small as that is, they have done excellent service, but neither they, nor I, can last for ever. We have all lost everything belonging to us, and have not even a change of linen. Surely we are not to die like rats in a cage." Lawrence answered in a few words, conveying hope and warning. On the 27th of June, he wrote:—"I will do all you wish, as far as is in my power. Brigadier Havelock, with 400 Europeans and 300 Sikhs, guns, and cavalry, were to march from Allahabad immediately, and *must* be at Cawnpore within two days, and will be closely followed by other detachments. I hope, therefore, you will husband your resources, and not accept any terms from the enemy, as I much fear treachery: you cannot rely on the Nana's promises. *Il a tué beaucoup de prisonniers.*" On the same day Sir Henry Lawrence wrote to his old friend and companion Havelock*:—"I am very glad to hear you are coming up: 400 Europeans with four guns, 300 Sikhs with 300 cavalry will easily beat everything at Cawnpore, *as long as Wheeler holds his ground*; but if he is destroyed, your game will be difficult. I have a long letter from him, of the 24th; he had then provisions for *eight* or *ten days*. I am offering large bribes to parties to supply him, but am not sanguine of success. It is, therefore, *most important* that your detachment should not lose an hour. This is important on your own account, and of vital importance on Wheeler's." He added:—"Endeavours have been made to induce me to send 200 Europeans to Cawnpore, which would have been simply sacrificing the whole, and endangering Lucknow." In the memorandum which accompanied this letter, Henry Lawrence also wrote: "Would that we could succour Wheeler." But the time for succouring Wheeler had passed. The morning after he wrote thus, Colonel Master, 7th Light Cavalry, received a scrap of paper from his son at Cawnpore, conveying the following brief message:—"We have

Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence to General Wheeler

* Henry Lawrence wrote from Jellalabad, June 20th 1842:—"Havelock, in great feather, showed us round the fields of battle this morning; I breakfasted with him afterwards, and we had lots of talk. He is a fine soldier-like fellow." On July 18th he wrote:—"He is a strange person, but is acknowledged to be as good a soldier as a man; the best of both probably in the camp."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume I, page 389.

News of General Wheeler's capitulation

held out now for twenty days; one day under a tremendous fire. The Raja of Bithoor has offered to forward us in safety to Allahabad and the General has accepted his terms." Sir Henry Lawrence, on being informed of what had occurred, stated that he feared the Nana meditated treachery: that evening his evil foreboding was confirmed. Two cossids who had been sent with a despatch to Cawnpore brought it back, for they had reached there only in time to witness the massacre of General Wheeler and his garrison.* Next morning scouts brought tidings that the mutineers assembled at Nuwabgunge, twenty miles from the city, had, on hearing of General Wheeler's capitulation, at once begun the march on Lucknow, and that an advanced guard had arrived at Chinhut, a town on the Fyzabad road, within eight miles of the Residency. The Commissioner ordered Captain H. Forbes with the Sikh Cavalry to reconnoitre their position, and on his returning at sunset, and confirming the intelligence he immediately commanded the forces in cantonments to be quietly withdrawn, and moved into the Residency and the Muchee Bhawun.

Advance guard of mutineers reach Chinhut

Sir Henry Lawrence determines to take the offensive

When Henry Lawrence heard that Delhi had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, he had at once realised how essential the maintenance of our possession of Lucknow was to the preservation of our Empire, and with rare pluck, tact, and tenacity he had prevented an outbreak, and kept his hold on the city. He now determined that it should not fall into the hands of the enemy without a struggle. If he failed, he had made every preparation which foresight could suggest for the defence of the Residency, in the case of a siege. He foresaw the horrors of that siege, that it would be a long and deadly struggle against fearful odds: he, therefore, felt that their only hopes of delaying it till "better times," as he called them, should arrive, was by taking the offensive. He had been a close student of our Indian annals, and knew how victories had been won by a compact and disciplined force against great bodies of Indian adversaries.† He also knew the martial qualities of the European soldiers, and he wanted to test the temper and fidelity of the

* "At 7 P.M. of 28th three different cossids brought the sad news that Cawnpore had fallen, ammunition exhausted, no hope of further defence left. Sir H. Wheeler had entered into a treaty with the insurgents and after embarking on boats many had been treacherously murdered; those who escaped the fire taken prisoners. It was a most sad and depressing report: but it only emphasised the feeling of all with us to fight to the last and enter into no treaties. I may here remark that the question of trying to send the ladies and children away had been more than once raised but it was always rightly rejected as impracticable and fraught with danger of the most serious nature."—"MS. Journal of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

† It was a bold, almost a desperate venture, for the Residency and Muchee Bhawun defences had to be held, and the enormous and turbulent city of Lucknow to be controlled during his absence; but boldness often succeeds, and a check to the rebels might even then, perhaps, have kept the Residency unmolested."—"A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by

native troops that remained to us. "We must try and blood them," he said—meaning commit them on our side. The defection and treachery of the Oudh Artillerymen, and the want of courage or loyalty displayed by the Native Cavalry with the force, destroyed the daring enterprise; but the event does not impair the soundness of the reasons which led Henry Lawrence as long as there was any hope to make the attempt to stem the advance of the enemy. He had good reason to expect success, because he had been told that the rebel force was in no considerable number, and their delay in advancement led him to suppose that he had not an enemy with a sharp sword to fight. He also hoped to meet the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the City, or at the bridge across the Kokrail, which is a small stream intersecting the Fyzabad road, midway between Lucknow and Chinhut. Such were the reflections which determined Sir Henry Lawrence to make next morning a strong reconnaissance in that direction.

The force destined for this service was composed as follows:—

Artillery	Four guns of No. 1 Horse Light Field Battery. Four guns of No. 2 Oudh Field Battery. Two guns of No. 3 Oudh Field Battery. One 8-inch howitzer.
Cavalry	*Troop of Volunteer Cavalry.* *120 troopers of detachments belonging to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Irregular Cavalry.*
Infantry	300 Her Majesty's 32nd. 150 13th Native Infantry. 60 48th Native Infantry. 29 71st Native Infantry (Sikhs*).

The 30th of June, at daybreak, the troops had assembled on the iron bridge; but the sun had risen before they were joined by the party at Muchee Bhawun, and the march began. They reached the bridge which crossed the Kokrail stream about half way from Chinhut without adventure of any kind. Here the force was halted, in order to rest and get an early meal. Sir Henry, with a few cavalry and the staff, rode about a quarter of a mile further on, to a piece of rising ground shaded

Chinhut

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 37.

All the troops except the gunners of No. I Horse Light Field Battery; the troop of Volunteer Cavalry; and the 300 men of Her Majesty's 32nd were Natives.

with lofty trees. Seated under them were some native travellers who, on being questioned, said they had come through Chinhut, but seen no troops. Sir Henry Lawrence having come to the conclusion that the enemy did not intend to advance that day, sent Captain Wilson back to the column, with orders to countermarch.* Soon after Sir Henry heard that the rebel scouts had fallen back on their support, and this strengthened his conviction that they had no heart for a fight. His information also led him to suppose that the enemy at Chinhut was only an advance party. He promptly despatched his aide-de-camp to the Brigadier, to ask if the men could go on. The Brigadier answered "of course they could, if ordered." Lieutenant Birch was immediately sent back with orders for the force to advance.† The command was promptly—too promptly—obeyed and the force pushed forward without any refreshment being served to the men, many of whom were already beat by a long

* "Sir Henry said it was evident they were not going to move that day, and that we would go back, and he told me to go back to the column then halted on the Lucknow side of the bridge, and order them to countermarch. I did so, and saw the order carried into effect, and I was returning leisurely towards Sir Henry, when about half way I met Lieutenant Birch, who was acting as A.-D.-C. to Colonel Inglis. He was galloping, and he said 'The Brigadier-General has sent me to tell you to order the force on.' I replied that he must mistake, as I had just countermarched it. He said 'No, it's no mistake. I bring you the order from himself.' I then went back, and gave the orders, and returned to Sir Henry, who was still under the trees. He said not a word to me as to his reasons for having changed his mind."—"Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 361.

"Subsequent conversation with those who fought against us at Chinhut shows us that Sir Henry was correct in his estimate of the spirit of the enemy. They came prepared to be beaten, and had no wish to break their heads against stone walls. . . They had sent on their advanced guard the day before, and only themselves came up shortly before the action, without being prepared for the contest, and the artillery was placed where it was immovable and easy to be taken."—"Memorandum by Colonel Wilson (?) in Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 359.

† "We marched some miles up the road towards Chinhut, until we came to a group of trees. It was discovered that the enemy had fallen back to a strong position in the rear of the village, and it was a question as to whether we should advance further. Sir Henry was himself against doing so, but was over-persuaded by the ardour of the younger members of his staff. Neither Brigadier Inglis, Colonel Case, commanding 32nd, as fine an officer as ever stepped, nor Captain Wilson, were present during the discussion. Sir Henry sent me back to ask the Brigadier if his men could go on. He gave the only possible answer, as I take it: 'Of course they could, if ordered.' I returned with this answer, and was immediately sent back with orders for the force to advance. And here I must mention what I consider was a great mistake, the not halting the men for refreshments. The elephants were up with commissariat stores, and it would have been easy to give them their breakfast; but this useful opportunity was lost, and the force advanced with empty stomachs, under a burning sun."—"Account of Chinhut, by Captain Birch in the 'Siege of Lucknow,' by the Hon'ble Lady Inglis, pages 47-51.

"There is," adds Lady Inglis, "little evidence to support the statement that Sir Henry was himself against advancing, but was over-persuaded by his staff. Sir Henry came out with the full determination to defeat the advanced guard of the enemy. When he sent Captain Birch to ask the Brigadier if the men 'could go on,' I take it to mean that he wished to know whether they were prepared for the contest—that is, whether they had been served with their breakfast."

march, with the Indian morning sun striking right into their faces.* The road, after leaving the Kokrail bridge, was a mere heavy embankment, constructed of loose and sandy soil, through which the weary troops had to plough their way, under a burning sun. The advance guard consisted of our scanty cavalry, with videttes thrown out. After it the 8-inch howitzer led, followed by the European artillery, and Alexander's guns. The 13th Native Infantry Brigade's two guns, the 32nd Infantry, and lastly the 48th Native Infantry followed. The column had advanced about a mile and-a-half, when, on nearing the village of Ismailgunge on our left, the videttes were received by musketry from the houses. They retired, and the 8-inch howitzer—which the men had christened "Turk"—was ordered to the front. Round shots now began to lob into the column: one of the artillery drivers had his head taken off, and several of the ambulance men were killed. Almost immediately the village of Chinhut, situated on the banks of a very extensive jheel, or shallow lake, came in sight, and the whole force of the enemy was found drawn up in front of it—"not four or five thousand, as the spies had reported, but numbering at least fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with not merely two batteries of field-pieces, but six or seven, consisting of more than thirty-six cannon of various calibre."

Our line was instantly deployed. The howitzer remained on the road, and Cunliffe's European guns took ground to the right, and a little in advance of it. The 32nd men were posted on the left, between the village of Ismailgunge and the road, and the Native Infantry were placed in front of a small hamlet on the right. "Turk" returned the enemy's fire with effect, and the field-pieces played vigorously. The centre of the enemy was seen to give way: the day seemed ours. Captain Wilson galloped up to the gunners, and urged them with shouts of "That is it: there they go! Keep it up!" But it was the lull before the bursting of the storm. In an instant the wide plain swelled and an iron stream swept down upon our small band, and puffs of smoke arising from every hollow and tuft of grass spread around our flanks like wandering fields of foam. The field-pieces sent forth showers of grape; but onward it came till it swept the Sikhs from the village, on to the 32nd who were in the act of deploying on the right. When

* "How the action began I know not, but marching eight miles under an Indian sun in June was enough to unfit any men who had the work our poor fellows had and nothing to eat or drink."—"Letters from Lucknow and Cawnpore, 1857, written by Major E. Delaney Lowe, C.B., 32nd Regiment."

the enemy who had stealthily advanced from tree to tree were seen approaching the village of Ismailgunge* Alexander's guns were ordered over from the right to the left to stem them: the movement, however, was effected partially and slowly. The banks of the road were steep and very heavy, and the Oudh artillerymen and drivers turned traitors:—" They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the Brigadier-General in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels." † Every effort to induce them to stand, however, proved powerless.

The cavalry were ordered to charge. The volunteers under Captain Radcliffe obeyed the command, and drove back the foremost of the infantry; but the Sikhs turned their horses and fled. A murderous cross-fire from the two villages raked our troops. The command was given for the 32nd to take Ismailgunge. The regiment was formed, and with a loud cheer the men bounded forward, but they were met by a stream of fire: their gallant leader, Lieutenant-Colonel Case, fell mortally wounded, and many were dashed to the earth. Captain Stevens assumed command, but all attempts to dislodge the enemy from their position were in vain; and the men having lost half their number began to fall back. The enemy pressed on more closely: they unlimbered their guns, and swept the column with grape and canister, while the swarming skirmishers poured in from all sides a leaden shower. Where the bullets rained like hail was to be seen the spare form of Henry Lawrence, encouraging his men. But no longer could he maintain the brave battle; he was outflanked and outnumbered. The order was given to retreat; and as they fell back the 32nd still kept up a brisk fire. Captain Bassano, of the 32nd, as he retraced his steps, discovered his wounded commander lying on the roadside. The men had passed on, and he was desirous to bring some back to carry their Colonel away, but the heroic Case would not suffer him. Finding ordinary remonstrance unavailing, the gallant soldier issued his last command:—" Leave me, sir," said he, " and rejoin your

* Direct evidence of a trustworthy nature regarding Chinhut is difficult to get, for even after a victory no two versions of a battle completely agree; much less do they do so after the turmoil of a defeat. But there can be little doubt that the omission to occupy Ismailgunge materially tended to produce the disaster at Chinhut.

† From Brigadier Inglis, Commanding Garrison of Lucknow, to the Secretary to Government, Military Department, Calcutta, page 38.

Company." * The order was reluctantly obeyed.† The retreat became general, and all trace of formation and discipline was lost. Parched with thirst, weak from want of food, worn by exertion and fatigue many fell down, and were sabred by the enemy: many fell struck by apoplexy; some crowded on the gun limbers and wagons; the rest kept together as well as they could. Thus they retired, their steps closely pursued by the enemy.‡ Mingled with the soldiers of the 32nd were some of the sepoys of the 13th—"noble fellows who were seen carrying wounded soldiers to the gun-carriages, abandoning their own wounded comrades on the ground." §

When the retreat was ordered the European artillery limbered up, and went to the rear, and Sir Henry Lawrence commanded Lieutenant Bonham to retire with the 8-inch howitzer; the elephant, however, which was attached to the limber, frightened at the firing, had bolted with it. Lieutenant Bonham spying near him the limber of a wagon mounted the leading horse, and brought it to the howitzer; but, as he dismounted, the riders galloped off with it. The elephant with the proper limber was now brought up, but all attempts to yoke him with the drag rope were in vain. The enemy's cavalry were close on the howitzer, and Lieutenant Bonham called on Captain Radcliffe to protect it: four of his squadron fell in and charged the advancing foe. As he rode off a sowar fired his carbine at Lieutenant Bonham, and wounded him in the arm. As the howitzer could not be moved it was resolved to spike it; but there was no spike at hand. Sergeant Scuttle broke

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 187.

† "Soon after, Bassano himself was shot through the foot, but continued to walk with his men despite the wound, and reached the Residency in safety."—"Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 187.

"Captain Bassano was likewise wounded in the leg, but succeeded in arriving safe in the Residency, through the intrepidity of a sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry, who carried him for a considerable distance on his back."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 73.

‡ "Mr. John Lawrence's account of the battle: Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 87.

§ "The sepoys on our side, though retreating, did so in order. They behaved for the greater part in the kindest manner to the wounded Europeans, taking up great numbers of them, and leaving their own wounded uncared for on the battle-field. They had been suspected of being also tainted with the general disaffection, and were therefore anxious to regain the esteem and confidence of their European officers. They gave indeed the most striking proofs of their fidelity and loyalty on that day, showering volleys of musketry, and, native-like, of abuse, on their assailants, and calling them all the most injurious epithets in their vocabulary. Major Bruère, who was wounded, was assisted by them to a place of comparative safety, and reached the Residency, only, however, to meet his death some months after."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 78.

off the priming wire, and "Turk" was abandoned. Johnson, of the 32nd, who was attached to the cavalry, saved one of the guns by a prompt and daring deed. Seeing it abandoned he galloped up to it, dismounted, and making over his horse to a comrade, he jumped on one of the artillery horses, and safely withdrew it.*

As the retreating column neared the Kokrail bridge the insurgents' cavalry were seen gathering in the far rear to the left of them. Then was heard the stentorian voice of Captain Radcliffe—"Threes right! Trot!" The small squadron swept out of the trees, and off the road, and were within a quarter of a mile of the foe. Two light guns opened on them; but above the whistling of the round shot rang the word "Charge!" The trumpets blared forth, and that handful of men rode straight on the mass before them: but it bided not the shock, and—*400 cavalry and two guns were dispersed by 35 sabres.* It was a fine exploit. "The guns got under the shelter of a regiment of the line, which we dared not charge, for the first volley they gave us emptied two saddles; so, sabring up the scattered skirmishers, we wheeled and galloped to the rear of our slowly moving column." †

The enemy's infantry pressed nearer and nearer, and under a slaughtering fire the bridge was reached. Henry Lawrence drew rein, and with hat in hand—a target for all—rallied his troops for a last stand. But the ammunition had run out. He ordered the guns to be halted, and the portfires to be lighted: the enemy were cowed, and the column crossed the bridge in safety. The retreat was continued, and it was made less trying to our men by the generous kindness of the native women, who, as they passed their houses, supplied them with water and milk. The iron bridge over the Goomtee at last was reached; but we had lost, during the disastrous day, 118 European officers and men killed, and 182 natives killed and missing: 54 Europeans and 11 natives returned wounded.‡

Sir Henry Lawrence, accompanied by his staff, had galloped through the rebellious city without any escort, and on reaching the Residency had ordered Captain Edmonstone's company to hold the iron

* He was rewarded by the Victoria Cross.

† "Mr. John Lawrence's account of the battle of Chinhut: Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 90.

‡ "Almost all our best men were killed, including three colour-sergeants, five others and twelve corporals, men with three and four good conduct stripes and soon about to go home." "MS. letters from Lucknow and Cawnpore, 1857, written by General E. Delaney Lowe, C.B., 32nd Regiment."

bridge, and they, with the guns of the Residency which commanded it, effectually checked the advancing foe. The guns on the river face at Muchee Bhawun, which, in default of artillery officers, were worked by Major Francis and Lieutenant Huxham, prevented the passage of the stone bridge by the enemy.* They, however, planted their guns across the river, and with astonishing rapidity and well-directed aim, they sent showers of shot and shell on the Residency: then crossing the river below the two bridges they boldly advanced, seized the houses round, swiftly loopholed them, and poured their musketry fire into the entrenchments. The memorable siege of the Residency at Lucknow had now commenced.

Commencement of the siege

At daybreak (1st July) under cover of a heavy musketry and cannonade the enemy made their first attack, but were repulsed on all sides with considerable loss. As the siege had commenced Sir Henry Lawrence decided that it would be no longer safe, or wise, to maintain the separate position of the Muchee Bhawun, and attempts were made to open communication with that post. Messengers were sent across, but as it was doubtful whether they would ever reach their destination it was determined to work the semaphore, which had been erected on the roof of the Residency. It was a primitive machine, consisting of one post, with a bar at the top from which were suspended, in one row, black stuffed bags, each having its own pulley to work it. Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, accompanied by Mr. C. H. Lawrence and a third officer, ascended to the roof to convey the message.† As soon as the mutineers espied their figures they opened a furious fire from every window and loophole. The bullets cut the strings and the pulleys became clogged. Twice it was erected, and twice it fell. Then, after three hours' work, careless of the shower of musketry which was rattling upon them, and the burning sun which was pouring upon them, the three brave men erected it for the third time, and the message was sent—"Spike the guns well, blow up the Fort, and retire at midnight."‡ On receipt of the message Colonel Palmer, of the 48th

* "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 82.

† "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 196.

"The Defence of Lucknow: by A Staff Officer," page 43.

‡ "When at last Sir Henry sent to me to say that they were signalling, I found Innes at the Muchee Bhawun telegraph with 'Attention' up. So to work we went. The telegraph I had put up before the Cantonment row had got out of order, ropes broke and ran out of the pulleys, and we had all sorts of mishaps, when after three hours' work under a most tremendous musketry and round shot we managed to call on the Muchee Bhawun force. The telegraph being on the top of the Residency we were in full view, but Mr. Carey Lawrence, Sir Henry's nephew, one European and self escaped unscathed, having done the job."—"MS. Diary of Captain Fulton."

Native Infantry, who was the senior officer left, arranged in complete detail for the evacuation, and furnished the commanding and departmental officers with minute written orders, as to what they should do. As midnight approached the mortars from our batteries shelled the ground between the Residency and Muchee Bhawun, and the guns played hotly towards the iron bridge by which the force must pass. The troops were paraded in the wide courtyard of the Muchee Bhawun, and each man fell into his appointed place. As the clock struck twelve Lawrence's company of the 32nd heading the column marched out of the Eastern Gate and reached the Water Gate of the Residency, with such silence and celerity that the enemy knew nothing of the march. Finding the gate closed the leading men of the column shouted "Open the Gate!" Guns loaded with grape covered the entrance. The artillerymen mistook the words for "Open with grape," and were already at the guns when an officer put them right. The column bringing their treasure, and two more 9-pounder guns with them, marched into the Residency without the loss of a man.* Then a fountain of fire leapt up to the sky, the earth rocked, a terrific report rent the air, and a coronal of black smoke hung over the ruins of Muchee Bhawun.† "A superb sight was that explosion." To hold the citadel as long as by so doing there was a hope of overawing the turbulent population of Lucknow was bold, comprehensive, and military, and to completely destroy it when his force had been weakened by the disaster at Chinhut was a wise and strategic measure:—"If it had not been" writes Brigadier Inglis, "for this wise and strategic measure, no member of the Lucknow garrison, in all probability, would have survived to tell the tale; for, as has already been stated, the Muchee Bhawun was commanded from other parts of the town, and was

* "We had saved all but one man, who, having been intoxicated and concealed in some corner, could not be found when the muster roll was called. The French say, 'Il y a un Dieu pour les ivrognes,' and the truth of the proverb was never better exemplified than in this man's case. He had been thrown into the air, had returned unhurt to mother earth, continued his drunken sleep again, had awoke next morning, found the fort to his surprise a mass of deserted ruins, and quietly walked back to the Residency without being molested by a single soul; and even bringing with him a pair of bullocks attached to a cart of ammunition. . . . Our men were not a little astonished when they heard him cry 'Arrah, by Jasus, open your gates.' And they let him in, convulsed with laughter."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 121.

† "The force joined us at twelve o'clock at night and Muchee Bhawun flew into the air in grand style. A superb sight was that explosion."—"MS. Diary of Captain Fulton."

"The arrangements for blowing up the fort were made by Lieutenant Thomas of the Madras Artillery, who fired the train so as to explode the magazine half an hour after the troops had left." "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 197.

moreover indifferently provided with heavy artillery ammunition, while the difficulty, suffering, and loss which the Residency garrison, even with reinforcements thus obtained from the Muchee Bhawun, has undergone in holding the position, is sufficient to show that, if the original intention of holding both posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen."

The Residency entrenchments, in which the Lucknow force was now concentrated, covered about sixty acres of ground, and consisted of a number of detached houses, standing in gardens, public edifices, outhouses, and casual buildings netted together, and welded by ditches, parapets, stockades and batteries, into one consentaneous whole of resistance. On the summit of the plateau stood the Residency proper, the official residence of the Chief Commissioner; a lofty building three storeys in height, not without grace and dignity. A superb portico gave a considerable degree of grandeur to the Eastern entrance, and a wide and lofty colonnade verandah extended along the western front. On the ground floor and two upper stories were several spacious apartments, and on the south side underground rooms, lofty and well arranged. They had been built to shelter the residents at the Court of Lucknow from the extreme heat of the day during the summer solstice, and were now occupied by the women of the 32nd. On the ground floor were the soldiers, and the rest of the commodious house was filled with officers, ladies, and children. But the building with its wide and lofty windows was ill qualified for defence, and the upper stories had to be abandoned soon after the siege began. Inside two little turrets in the north and south sides spiral staircases led to the broad terrace of the roof, from whence could be seen Lucknow, its temples and mosques; its cupolas glistening in the sun like domes of gold, in fantastic and unique architecture; its river lined with stately palaces, not as in Europe residences of the sovereign only, but centres of government, miniature towns surrounded by embattled walls, containing long lines of buildings occupied by chief ministers of state, their harems and their attendants, and spacious courts surrounded by stone cloisters planted with orange and lemon trees and flowery shrubs watered by fountains. The wide grounds of the Residency were first protected by high boundary walls, a line of parapet and a ditch across it, and a strong battery known as the Redan was constructed in a corner of the garden.

The Residency entrenchments

The Residency

Near the Residency stood another large pile of building called the

for State receptions: it was converted into a hospital. But the large doors and windows made it, like the Residency, unsuited for a place of defence; and though the openings were protected with tents and every available material, not a few were struck inside it during the siege.* A battery of three guns—an 18-pounder, a 13-inch howitzer, and a 9-pounder—was placed between the Water Gate and hospital. The right wing of the hospital served as a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges, and fronting it was placed a battery of three mortars.†

Aitken's or Treasury Post

Immediately below the Banqueting Hall, and built on the same ground, was another substantial building, a portion of which was used as a store-room, treasury, and barracks for the native soldiers, who, under the command of Lieutenant Aitken, guarded it. On account of the Treasury kept there, it was known as the Treasury Post.

Bailey Guard Gate

To the left of the Treasury front was the Bailey Guard Gate, a handsome structure whose lofty archway was banked up on the inside with earth, and two 9-pounders and an 8-inch howitzer were so placed that they could shower grape and canister on any assailants who succeeded in forcing it.

Dr. Fayrer's house

Close behind the Bailey Guard Gate was the extensive one-storied house, occupied by Dr. Fayrer. Here many ladies found a hospitable shelter and it had the advantage of having underground rooms to which they could retire when the fire of the enemy became very heavy. Along the flat roof were placed sandbags, and sheltered by them our men were able to keep up a warm fire on the enemy. An 18-pounder and a 9-pounder loaded with grape were placed in a north-eastern direction to command if possible the Bailey Guard Gateway. The post was commanded by Captain Weston and Dr. Fayrer, a keen sportsman and a first-rate shot.‡

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 163.

† "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 107.

‡ "It was a large oblong building with a flat pucka roof accessible by a staircase inside, surrounded by a parapet of from two to three feet in height. This was strengthened and added to by piling bags of earth on the parapet on the side which overlooked the city. This was meant for and used as a breastwork for riflemen. The house was built on the slope of an elevation, the ground being part of the garden or compound in which it stood. On the Residency side it consisted of one storey, on the city side owing to the sloping character of the ground on which it stood there was a suite of rooms, with doors opening into the garden externally and internally by staircases into the rooms upstairs. These lower rooms consisted of godowns (store-rooms) and a swimming bath. A flight of steps led down into the lower garden which was prettily laid out and was bounded below by my stables for 12 or 14 horses.* * * The front of the house also had a piece of ground planted with trees, bamboos, and shrubs, and from this led a staircase down to the lower garden. The higher portion, that in front of the house, being separated from the lower as in the case of the house itself by a suite of out-office rooms surmounted by a parapet. It was on the platform behind this parapet that my battery of a long 18-pounder and a brass 9-pound howitzer were placed during the siege and where we had some heavy fighting, and lost a number of men killed and wounded."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

Behind Dr. Fayrer's house was the Begum Khotee, so called from having been the dwelling-place of a grand-daughter of a former King of Oudh. It consisted of an extensive quadrangular range of buildings, entered by a lofty gateway. Some of these contained a few fine and lofty apartments, but the majority were mere small and domestic offices. The house itself of the Begum was "a most uninviting looking place, having neither a punkah to cool the air, nor a scrap of furniture to set it off; but we had to make the best of it." * It was, however, one of the safest spots in the entrenchments, and provided shelter for some of the officers' wives, and the women and children of the garrison. An upper-storied house within the square was used by the Commissariat to contain their stores. The Begum's Khotee

Directly below Dr. Fayrer's house, on the east front, was the Financial Commissioner's office, a large two-storied house whose enclosure wall formed our line of defence. It was commanded with great ability and courage by Captain Saunders, 13th Native Infantry.† The Financial Outpost

Separated from Saunders' post by a narrow lane was Sago's house,‡ a small one-storied building, the enclosing walls and ground of which were abandoned, and the defence confined to the house itself. A narrow passage, to traverse which proved fatal to many during the siege, led up to the Judicial Commissioner's office, a large double-storied building situated on high ground. Here the outer wall, owing to the slope of the ground, had to be abandoned, and a strong barricade of fascines and earth constructed. This important position, which was greatly exposed to the enemy's fire from the east, was commanded by Captain Germon, 13th Native Infantry. Next to the Judicial Commissioner's office came Captain Anderson's post, which marked the southern boundary of the eastern front. Extending from the hospital front to Anderson's house, it consisted of a series of houses situated on two tiers: on the upper were Fayrer's house, the Post Office and the Judicial Commissioner's office; on the lower, immediately in front of them, were the Bailey Guard, the Financial office, and Sago's house. Judicial Commissioner's office Eastern Front

* "A Widow's Reminiscences of Lucknow," page 16.

† Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes calls it Saunders' Post: Mr. Gubbins and Mr. Rees speak of it as the Financial office outpost.—"Saunders' post was the scene of four successive mining attacks preparatory to the 5th September."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 137.

‡ "Previous to the siege it was the residence of Mrs. Sago, the mistress of a Charity school."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 111.

Post Office

The Post Office, one of the most important positions in the entrenchments, was used as the barrack-room of a great portion of the soldiers. Besides affording shelter to several families it was the head-quarters of the Engineers, and a workshop was attached to it for the manufacture of tools, and the preparation of shells and fuses. In a sheltered corner of the Post Office, at its extremity on the right, was a battery which swept the front of the Bailey Guard Gate, and in a measure protected Saunders' post, and Sago's garrison.*

Captain Anderson's post

Captain Anderson's small house, two stories in height, situated on rising ground, formed the south-eastern angle of our position, and from it to Gubbins' house extended the south front. When the Residency was being put into a state of defence, the wall of the enclosure round the house was thrown down, and a stockade erected in its place. Within the stockade was a ditch; then a mound of about five feet; then another deep ditch, with pointed bamboos placed at the bottom.† By the little outpost ran the Cawnpore road, and having the enemy only a few yards from the house on the left, and in front, it was one of the most exposed outworks of the whole Residency position. The guns of the enemy were in position so as to keep an incessant fire on it night and day.† The garrison consisted of nine privates and a sergeant of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, eight volunteers, a subaltern officer, and Captain Anderson, the gallant commander.‡ Among the volunteers were Signor Barsotelli, an Italian, Monsieur Geoffre, a Frenchman, who displayed conspicuous courage during the siege, and Mr. W. Capper, of the Bengal Civil Service, "who went manfully to work with firelock and pouch, and did regular duty as a common soldier, and a precious good and attentive one

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* "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 109.

"Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 155.

"The Post Office position, from its projecting trace, not only provided a strong frontal defence but also enfiladed the face of the Bailey Guard post, and in combination with the Redan on the North front, powerfully protected the north-east angle of the position." "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 105.

† "A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow, by Captain R. P. Anderson, 25th Native Infantry, commanding an outpost," page 31.

‡ "But the principal means of defence on this side was a post, commanded by and named after Captain Anderson, 25th Native Infantry. It was severely handled, and almost destroyed by the enemy. It was perhaps the most exposed post in the whole garrison, and the only one called by the name of its own commander during the siege.—" The Siege of Lucknow," by The Hon. Lady Inglis, page 57.

he was." * He afterwards became second-in-command of that glorious post.†

The Cawnpore Battery

Below Captain Anderson's house and communicating with it by a hole in the wall was the Cawnpore Battery, intended, by enfilading the Cawnpore road, to be a barrier to the approach of mutineers from that town, and also to be the flank defence of the continuous line of buildings which formed the southern front.

The first of these buildings was the house of Mr. Deprat, a French merchant, who did right good service during the siege. It was a single-storied building with a verandah, which was now protected by a mud wall about six feet high, two and-a-half feet thick, and pierced for musketry.

Johannes' House

Opposite Deprat's house, a few yards from the road, was Johannes' house, so called from the Armenian merchant who owned it. It had been intended to utilise it if possible, and if not, to blow it up at the last moment. But the untoward event of Chinhut brought on the siege so rapidly that this was neglected to be done, and it was occupied by the enemy, " whose riflemen could command from its upper stories not only the Cawnpore Battery, but Anderson's garrison, the gaol, barracks, post office, and the entrance to the Begum Khotee." ‡

The wall before Mr. Deprat's house partly protected by a palisade was continued till it joined the next building, which was a native house belonging to a local banking firm. Here were located the boys of the

* " After this, at my request, he assisted me in my duties in the capacity of an officer, and was accordingly relieved from sentry duty, although we both, of course, 'turned out' during every attack, with our musket and pouch. He is an instance of a gentleman putting aside all pride, and subjecting himself (for the good of the State), to all manner of exposure, danger, and fatigue, and acting under orders of a military officer whose rank, in a civil capacity, was under his own. I am also happy to add that we never had a difference of opinion in duty matters throughout the siege. Mr. Capper was a Deputy Commissioner, at a salary of 1,000 rupees: he had the entire charge of a district."—" A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," by Captain R. P. Anderson, page 34.

† " Mr. W. C. Capper, of the Civil Service, was the second in command of this glorious Anderson's post."—" The Siege of Lucknow,'' by The Hon. Lady Inglis, page 57.

‡ " The battery had then three guns, an 8-pounder facing the Cawnpore road, and a 9-pounder commanding Johannes' house, which was right opposite Deprat's. A third 9-pounder was intended to sweep the road leading to the right towards Golagunge, past the King's Hospital. Before the platform on which the large gun was placed, protected without by a stockade, and within by sandbags, was a trench leading past Captain Anderson's compound wall."— " Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 96.

Martinière School.* The house was single-storied, but it formed a good parapet protecting its glass roof, and its strong brick walls needed no further strengthening. A strong stockade had, however, been erected in front of it, which extended beyond the broad road that separated it from the King's Hospital, a spacious and commanding building, whose lofty and well protected terrace overtopped all the neighbouring buildings. The house was used as a mess by the officers of the Oudh force and Native Infantry regiments, and was known during the siege as the Brigade Mess.† It was under the command of a gallant old soldier, Colonel Master, who, on account of his habit of constantly hailing from the top, got the name of "the Admiral." ‡ Being a lofty building our best rifle shots were able from the roof to cause the enemy considerable annoyance, and here General Inglis had his head-quarters. Behind the main building and beyond its enclosure were two smaller enclosures, known as the first and second squares. The two inner courts were enclosed by low, flat out-houses, whose small rooms afforded shelter to many families.

Next to the Brigade Mess, and almost in a direct line with it, was a broad square encircled by flat-roofed buildings, which, on account of its being occupied by the Sikh Cavalry, under Lieutenant Hardinge, was known as the Sikh Square. Little had been done to strengthen these out-houses, and to enable the garrison to fire from the roofs it was necessary, after the siege had begun, to erect a series of protections of sandbags, and boards.

The Sikh Square

Behind the Sikh Square was a large parallelogram, known as the second Sikh Square, where the artillery bullocks were kept, and further on was another square where the horses of the 7th Light and of the Sikh Cavalry were tethered.§ A broad road closed near its eastern extremity by a bank of earth and some palisades, with a 24-pound howitzer placed so as to sweep any who forced the obstructions, separated the

Second Sikh Square

Horse Square

* Claude Martin was a native of the city of Lyons, and served under Lally in the regiment of Lorraine. After Chandernagore was taken by Clive, he entered the service of the Nawab of Oudh, but was allowed by the Company to retain his rank, and enjoy promotion. He amassed a large fortune, the bulk of which he left to founding charity schools at Lucknow, Calcutta, and his native city.

† "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, page 156.

"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 99.

‡ "The Siege of Lucknow," by Lady Inglis, page 56.

§ "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 99.

Second Sikh Square and Horse Square from the eastern wall of the grounds of Gubbins' House. At the First Sikh Square, and the south wall of Gubbins' House, was a re-entering piece of ground, covered with the ruins of native houses, which afforded convenient starting points and shelters for the enemy: indeed, along the whole length of the southern front, from Anderson's to Gubbins' battery, the ground was covered with ruined buildings, and the enemy lay not more than thirty or forty feet from our position.*

At the south-west corner of the entrenchments, where the out-houses which covered the grounds of Mr. Gubbins' house made a re-entering angle, was erected, on a lower level, a battery, projecting some distance beyond the boundary, and thus flanking the two sides of the enclosure, and menacing the whole surrounding area. A passage led from the battery to the grounds, in the centre of which stood the house, two stories in height † and solidly built of masonry. On the southern side a spacious and handsome portico marked the principal front, and beyond it soared a lofty forest tree, covered in spring with pale yellow blossoms. During the siege its colossal trunk and massive branches interrupted many a round shot: day by day the boughs were shot away till little but the stem remained. As a huge branch came crashing down, an old Sikh soldier remarked: "It has repaid all the Company's salt." The battered trunk of the old tree still stands before the ruins of the house, a striking memorial of the great siege. Gubbins' House

At first it was hardly anticipated that Mr. Gubbins' outpost could be held, and the Engineers constructed a wooden bridge, by which the inmates might retire to the grounds of Mr. Ommanney's house, across the narrow lane which separated the two estates. Gubbins' house was

* "It was on this (south) front that the enemy really lay closest to our position, not being more than thirty or forty feet distant from it along its whole length; but the ground was so entirely covered with ruins, that though they were sheltered, they had no facilities for movement. These ruins protected the front of the buildings from artillery fire."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 105.

† "The garden in the centre of which was the house of Mr. Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, was bounded to the south by the Golagunge road, and by the walls of a house known as Young Johannes. These were commanded by outhouses belonging to Mr. Gubbins' yard, those to the left being guarded by our Sikhs, from whose roofs a low earth wall covered with sandbags enabled them to fire. Those to the right, and separated by a high wall from the former, which they otherwise resembled, had in them a passage leading to a half-moon battery erected by Mr. Gubbins at his own expense, but for the cost of which he was about to be remunerated."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 100.

used as the officers' hospital, and in Ommanney's several families found shelter. On the west face, where the outbuildings of Gubbins' residence ended, the defence consisted of only a 9-pounder gun, with a low bank in front of it.* The defence from thence consisted of the outer walls of three ranges of quadrangular buildings, the slaughter-houses, the sheep-house, and the servants' quarter, and at either end of the range, two batteries had been constructed, but had not been finished when the siege began. The first, however, was the least exposed, owing to the nature of the ground, which was broken and rugged, and sloped right down to a ravine which the enemy never dared to cross.

Some little distance below the north-west angle of the sheep-house on a wide expanse of ground dotted with lofty trees and a wall around it, stood the Church, a building fashioned after the model of the Royal Chapel at Eton. The close had not been used as a place of interment, but the sacred enclosure was destined to be soon filled with the remains of some of England's noblest dead.†

Evans' Battery

Where the road began to descend to the Church was erected a battery of three guns, *viz.*, one 18-pounder and two 9-pounders, which, from having been commanded during the siege by Captain Evans, was known as Evans' battery.‡ It protected not only the Church and its enclosure, but it also flanked the south side of Innes' Post, and provided a good frontal defence.

Innes' Post

Immediately beyond the Church and cemetery, connected with the main position by a neck of land, was Innes' Post, which formed our extreme outwork on the north-west. The house was single-storied, with a flat roof and had once been the residence of Lieutenant McLeod Innes of the Engineers, whence its name. A portion of the front was defended

* "Still further to the rear was Ommanney's house, protected towards the Bhoosa entrenchments, in the event of their being taken by the enemy, by a deep ditch and a hedge of cactus, and fortified, should Gubbins' outpost be carried by the rebels, by a couple of guns, intended to sweep the road leading to it and to the Sikh Square."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 101.

† "There is really a very pretty little Gothic Church, considering its date, 1810."—"Memoir of the Rev. H. S. Polehampton," page 79. "Close to the Residency is the church, covered in with trees, standing in a large walled-in space, not a churchyard ; we don't bury in or near churches in India. As I have already said, it is by no means an ugly, though not a correct church. I regret to say that the east window is a sham ; perhaps I shall have it opened some day ; and what look like aisles on each side are used as verandahs, in which stand the natives who pull the punkahs," page 86.

‡ Captain Evans was, when the revolt broke out, Deputy Commissioner of Purwa.

by a palisade, and on the north a low mud wall separated it from the enemy's position. Beyond the walls lay some low-lying ground, covered with long grass and plantain trees, where the enemy had their Garden Battery. To the right, almost within a stone throw, was a lofty natural mound, covered with trees, and old tombs, where the enemy also planted some guns. The fire from Innes' Post was, however, only musketry, for it was considered too exposed for a battery to be constructed there with any security, and the guns of Evans, and the Redan battery, afforded it considerable protection.

On the north face, not far from Evans' guns, in a corner of the Residency garden, was the Redan, the most strongly fortified and complete battery of the whole entrenchment. Erected on an open space of high ground, and constructed in the form of a half-moon, its three guns commanded, not only the river face, and the houses in the Captains' Bazaar, but flanked the whole north front.* A line of earthworks, surmounted by sandbags, with a ditch inside, connected the Redan with the Water Gate, where two 9-pounder guns were placed, thus completing the line of defence. It consisted, as we have seen, of four fronts, each extending for about a quarter of a mile in length, and it was continuous; for wherever there was not a wall, or a building duly loopholed, there were scarped revetments and parapets, with ditches fronted by obstructions. But in many places there was no *obstruction sufficient to bar an enemy, if he had possessed* sufficient intrepidity to storm it in the face of a heavy fire. The extent and feebleness of the fortifications made a large garrison necessary, but the garrison was even weaker than the defences. It consisted of only 1,720 fighting men; and against them was the vast population of a turbulent city, and a large force of highly trained

Redan Battery

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 160.

"The Redan Battery flanked the whole of this front with artillery fire, and also, in combination with the guns along the curtain, afforded a powerful frontal defence."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 106.

"Fortunately, this part was completely commanded by the Redan, the best, most strongly fortified, and most complete battery of the whole garrison, erected by Captain Fulton, one of our very best engineer officers, who deserved the greatest praise for the scientific manner in which he constructed it. The whole of the river side, and the buildings on the opposite banks, could be played on with our cannon from here: and in the event of an attack, both the north and east as well as the west sides could be swept with our grape from the two 18-pounders and 9-pounder on it. It was in the form of more than three-quarters of a circle, and was elevated considerably above the street below."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 105.

Distribution of the garrison

The Volunteers

fighting men.* The Redan and Cawnpore batteries were the only two outposts entirely garrisoned by British soldiers. The Hospital, the Treasury Garrison, and the Sikh Squares, were held by Native troops, and never did a body of men display more conspicuous bravery and hearty loyalty. The garrisons in the other posts were composed of about equal numbers of British soldiers, sepoys, and volunteers. The volunteers, chiefly clerks unaccustomed to the use of firelocks, were men of all ages, sizes and figures; and the novel situation of a greater part of them was often the source of merriment to their professional comrades. A stout Eurasian volunteer of middle age, in some distress of mind, asked his commander:—"What are we to do sir, if we are charged by elephants?" The startling and difficult question was wisely answered:—"Whether able to keep off such huge animals or not, Government expected each individual to make the attempt." A young volunteer was in a great state of anxiety how to present arms when his post was visited by Grand Rounds. Signor Barsotelli however consoled him by saying: "Never mind, sir, make a *leetle* noise; who is to see in the dark?" Another night when the brave Italian was suddenly called out from a sound sleep he exclaimed: "I think these grand officers do this for their own amusement." Nothing however kept the Signor from the

* The 1,720 included—

British officers (including medical)	133
British non-commissioned officers and men	671
Christian drummers	51
Volunteers (being all civilians capable of bearing arms)	153
Total Christians ...	1,008
Native troops	712
Grand total ...	1,720

The 1,280 non-combatants were—

Christian women	240
" children	270
" boys	50
" others	40
Total ...	600
Natives	680
Grand total ...	1,280

performance of his duty. "In another moment there he stood with a musket in one hand and a double-barrelled rifle in the other; at his side was a huge cavalry sword and pendant over his breast hung his ammunition pouch, resembling very much an Italian hand organ. This latter part of the Signor's military equipment was rather *in his way* than otherwise; but he did not exactly know where else to put it; and he was not a little pleased when told that the pouch of the English soldier is worn at the back. What with a gun in both hands and a huge sword constantly getting between his legs, he had quite enough to do without the extra anxiety about the horrid cartridge pouch, which contained some sixty rounds of balled ammunition into the bargain." Laid under discipline, and taught the elements of the military art, the majority of volunteers proved potent soldiers. All ranks, and all classes, civilians, officers, clerks, and soldiers, bore an equal part in the fatigue and labours of the siege. All together descended into the mine: all together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock: and all accoutred with musket and bayonet relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military.* All were actuated with the same spirit and determination that they would rather perish than surrender the place.

After the two garrisons had been concentrated without any loss in the Residency Entrenchment, Sir Henry Lawrence proceeded personally to superintend the arrangements for distributing and posting the Muchee Bhawun force, and placing the field-pieces in position. He visited every post, however exposed its position, however hot the fire directed against it, and impressed upon the garrison what it had to do, and encouraged the men by kindly speech.

The day had well advanced before he returned to his quarters, and, thoroughly worn out by forty hours' continuous strain and anxiety, threw himself on his bed to rest. But no amount of toil or weariness could diminish his forethought, and from his couch he requested Captain Wilson, the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, to draw up a memorandum as to how the rations were to be distributed. The Residency had now become a special target for the enemy, and on the previous

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 45.

"I saw Mr. Couper, the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, aided by three or four other civilians between the intervals of 'sentry go,' laboring with spade and shovel in heat and in rain, in the revolting task of burying the putrid carcases of bullocks, and I have felt most grateful for his example and strong right arm in laboring at the shafts and mines of the Brigade Mess."—"Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh," by Captain G. Hutchinson, page 132.

day a shell had been thrown from the 8-inch howitzer, which the enemy had captured at Chinhut, into Sir Henry's apartment. He and Mr. Couper were in the room at the time, and it burst between them, without injury to either. His staff now entreated Sir Henry to remove to a more sheltered spot. He laughingly said that sailors always considered the safest place in a ship to be that where the shot had last made a hole, and he did not consider that the enemy had an artilleryman so good a marksman as to put another shell into that small room. Later in the day, however, some more shot having entered the top storey of the Residency, his staff again pressed Sir Henry to remove to the apartments below, and to allow his papers to be moved. He promised that he would next day. When Captain Wilson was leaving the room to write the memorandum, he reminded Sir Henry of this promise. "He said he was very tired and would rest a couple of hours, and that then he would have his things moved." Captain Wilson, in about half an hour, returned with the memorandum. Standing by the bed of Sir Henry he proceeded to read what he had written. It was not quite in accordance with the Chief's wishes: he began to explain, but the sentence was never finished. A shell came whizzing and shrieking into the room, a sheet of flame rose into the air and a shower of iron descended stretching Wilson stunned to the earth. When he arose he could see nothing owing to the air being full of smoke and dust. He cried out—"Sir Henry, are you hurt?" All was still. Twice he called: then faintly the answer came—"I am killed." When the sulphurous cloud rolled away, Captain Wilson saw the white coverlet on which his chief lay crimson with blood. Some soldiers of the 32nd now rushed in to the assistance of Sir Henry. A messenger was sent post-haste for a surgeon, who, on arriving, found him laid on a table in the drawing-room, surrounded by several officers. The stricken man opened his eyes, and asked—"How long have I to live?" Dr. Fayrer replied he hoped for some time; but on moving the torn clothes and examining the wound, he knew that it was fatal. A piece of shell had passed through and torn to shreds the upper part of the left thigh. After the examination was over, Sir Henry asked again how long he had to live, and pressed for a reply. The surgeon answered: "He thought about forty-eight hours." Then, owing to the increasing fire of the enemy, they removed him to Dr. Fayrer's house, which was more sheltered from their artillery. They laid him in the northern verandah. A consultation was held, and the medical men decided that

Sir Henry Lawrence wounded

even amputation at the hip joint offered no hope of saving life.* Nothing could be done but to alleviate suffering. The rebels had learnt what had occurred, and whither the Chief had been removed, and they smote the house with a smashing fire.

As his time drew near, Sir Henry asked to receive the Lord's Supper; and in the open verandah, with the shells hissing through the air, and the pillars crashing to the stroke of the bullets, the holy rite was performed. When it was ended, with a calm fortitude which excited the admiration of those about him, he appointed his successor and gave detailed instructions as to the conduct of the defence.† He

* "About 9 A.M. of the 2nd of July, I was summoned by Captain Edgell, then officiating as Military Secretary, to see Sir Henry, who, he said, had been dangerously wounded. I hastened down, and found him on a bed in the north verandah of Dr. Fayrer's house. The bed was surrounded by all his staff, his nephew, and the principal persons of the garrison, among whom not a dry eye could be seen.

"It has never fallen to my lot to witness such a scene of sorrow. While we clustered round Sir Henry's bed the enemy were pouring a heavy musketry fire upon the place, and bullets were striking the outside of the pillars of the verandah in which we were collected. Sir Henry's attenuated frame, and the severe nature of the injury, at once decided the medical men not to attempt amputation; but it was necessary to stay the bleeding by applying the tourniquet, and the agony which this caused was fearful to behold. It was impossible to avoid sobbing like a child."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 198.

"I examined his wound," wrote Dr. Fayrer, in a letter to a friend, "and found that a large *fragment of the shell had shattered the upper part of the thigh-bone, passing through the thigh and gluteal region of the left side. I believe also that the bones of the pelvis were* injured. The femoral artery was not injured, as the wound was behind it. I immediately applied the necessary bandages to staunch the bleeding, which was not very profuse, and supported the fractured limb with bandages and pillows as much as possible. As he was faint and distressed by the shock, I gave him stimulants freely . . . Of course, I consulted other medical men—among them Dr. Partridge and Dr. Ogilvie, who also remained with him constantly—as to the propriety, or possibility, of an operation; but all agreed with me that the injury was of too grave a character to leave any hope of recovery. Indeed, as I was satisfied that the pelvis was fractured, I never entertained the idea of amputation at the hip joint. I moreover believe that had the thigh-bone only been fractured, Sir Henry could not have borne the shock of an amputation which would thus only have shortened his valuable life."

† "During the time that Sir H. Lawrence was in my house before his death he talked frequently in an impressive but excited way, and amongst other things that he said, as his thoughts travelled from one subject to another, one which seemed to be most present to him was the causes of the Mutiny and that which led to the troubles in which we were now involved. He spoke of the injudicious method in which Native landholders had been dealt with by the Government and amongst other things, he said more than once with much emphasis: 'It was the John Lawrences, the Thomasons, the Edmonstones (and others) who brought India *to this.*' This I heard distinctly. There were one or two others about the bed, but I cannot remember who they were."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

earnestly exhorted them to preserve internal tranquillity, to economize their ammunition and the supplies, to protect the women and children from all evil, to exert themselves indefatigably to rouse and sustain the spirit of the garrison, to never treat with the enemy, and on no account to surrender. He expressed his wishes with regard to his children, sending loving messages to them. The children of the British soldiers, who had been the special object of his charity, he recommended to the care of his country. His fancy then reverted to the happy days of his own childhood spent with his mother. He spoke often of the devoted wife who had gone before him, and he repeated the sacred texts which had been their guide and their comfort. In the hour of rebellion there came home to him, whose heart was full of compassion and charity for all humanity—the words inscribed on her tomb: "To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against Him." He expressed a wish to be buried "without any fuss," and to be laid in the same grave as the British soldier; and he desired that no epitaph should be placed on his tomb, but this: "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy on him."

Death of Sir Henry Lawrence

During the first day he was wounded Sir Henry's mind was clear and he spoke a great deal. On the following morning he had to be removed to a less exposed spot in the house,* and in the forenoon, though suffering intense agony, he often repeated the psalms and prayers read to him. Then his strength began swiftly to ebb away, and he scarcely spoke at all. On Saturday, the 4th of July, as the sunrise broadened, "the shadow of death is turned into the morning," † and the happy release was expressed on the weary but joyful face. "I came into the room," wrote one who attended him in his last moments, "a minute after he had breathed his last: his expression was so happy one could not but rejoice that his pain was over."

Thus closed the life of a noble and matchless gentleman. Henry Lawrence was above all a devout man. From his trust in a loving God he derived guidance through life, and support and consolation in the dark hours of its close. But while his soul was full of piety, he

* "We removed him to the drawing room after a time as the verandah became more and more exposed to the fire, and I was with him constantly doing all I could with chloroform to relieve him."—"MS. Journal of Sir Joseph Fayrer."

† Then as the sunrise broadened upon the hills Christian said: "He hath turned the shadow of death into the morning."

was no narrow, morbid fanatic; but a man of the sunniest cheerfulness whose pure courteous nature was not without the imperious spirit that fits a ruler of men. The wise precautions he early took to lay in provisions, and concentrate the military stores in the Residency are witnesses of his strong masculine sense. He had a statesman's quickness of perception, and a profound knowledge of human nature, which enabled him to govern with success great provinces, and to win the love and confidence of alien subject races. His intellect was chiefly distinguished for its vigour and activity; and though he was prone to draw his conclusions somewhat rapidly they generally proved correct. He was a statesman soldier, and he possessed the soldier's great virtues—unfailing courage, constancy in disaster, devotion to duty, and hopefulness in defeat.

A few hours after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence four soldiers were summoned to move the couch on which the corpse lay. Before they lifted it one of them raised the coverlet, and stooping down kissed the forehead of his dead General, and all the rest did the same. In the evening they carried him to the churchyard, and obeying his last behest they laid him in a rude grave, side by side with some private soldiers, who also had given their lives for their country. Amidst the booming of the enemy's cannon, and the rattle of their musketry, a hurried prayer was read by the chaplain, who alone could be present, for the stern necessity of the hour spared no soldier to pay military honours to the lost leader.

Major Banks assumes office of Chief Commissioner

Sir Henry Lawrence on his deathbed directed * that Major Banks, Commissioner of Lucknow, should fulfil the functions of Chief Commissioner and that Colonel Inglis, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, commanding all the troops, and Major Anderson, Chief Engineer, should be a military consul.

Major Banks

Major Banks belonged to the Bengal Army and like Henry Lawrence was one of the great line of statesmen soldiers who have

* "Saturday, July 4th. Our most honored chief, Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., has gone to his rest, therefore, under his last orders, delivered before many gentlemen while he was in the full possession of his faculties, Major Banks, Brigadier Inglis and Major Anderson assume substantively the functions which they have since the 2nd instant received provisionally. It is generally known, and Mr. Couper, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, can establish the fact, that some time before his death, Sir Henry Lawrence had represented to Government that in his opinion the public safety would be best consulted by routine being set aside and by Major Banks being appointed to act as Chief Commissioner (provisionally) assisted by Colonel Inglis and Major Anderson."—"Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh," by G. Hutchinson, page 125.

so materially aided in the establishment and administration of our Indian Empire. He won the applause and approval of every civil and military authority under whom he served, and his prudence and ability as a civilian was only equalled by his ardour and bravery in the field.

But the garrison had scarcely recovered the loss of Sir Henry when it had to mourn the death of Major Banks who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st July, and died without a groan.* "Capable of undergoing incessant fatigue," wrote a member of the garrison, "both of mind and body, he gave confidence to all, as much by his bodily presence where danger was most imminent, as by his sound, firm, and judicious orders." † General Inglis now declared the military authority to be paramount and no successor was appointed to Major Banks in the office of Chief Commissioner.

Lieutenant-Colonel Inglis

Lieutenant-Colonel John Inglis who now assumed chief command had five and twenty years before joined the 32nd Regiment at Quebec as an Ensign, and his whole service had been passed in the regiment. He first saw active service during the Canadian insurrection in 1837 and was present at the action of St. Denis and St. Eustache. Accompanying the gallant corps to India he was present during the two sieges of Mooltan, and in the attack (12th September 1846) on the enemy's position in front of the breaches he commanded the right column and did an important service. He commanded the 32nd at Surjkhoond and took a conspicuous part in the final storm and capture of Mooltan. He was present at the action of Cheniole and at the battle of Goojerat.

For his services in the Punjab campaign he was made a Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel, and he was in command of the 32nd when that

* "21st July. Major Banks was killed to-day on the top of Mr. Gubbins' house; he was exposing himself too much, being a gallant soldier, and forgetting how much more valuable his head was than his hands. Yesterday, during the attack, he was going about carrying shot and shell. John wrote to him a strong letter on the subject, reminding him how valuable his life was, and of the loss he would be were he to be killed or disabled. He was an excellent man, zealous, active, and clear-headed, and his death at this particular time was most deeply felt."—"The Siege of Lucknow," by the Hon. Lady Inglis, page 80.

Describing the attack on the Cawnpore Battery, 20th July, Captain Anderson writes: "Poor Major Banks came up and cheered us during the hottest fire and we were glad to see him."

"Major Banks was a leader in whom we had every confidence, far-seeing, careful, and brave."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 160.

† "Narrative of the Mutinies in Oudh," by G. Hutchinson, page 132.

"The siege went on, and poor Banks was shot. Peace be to his ashes. I lost a good friend, and the Government one of its best servants."—"Captain Fulton's MS. Diary."

corps marched into Lucknow in January 1857. A strict disciplinarian and a brave soldier, he was generally, and justly, beloved on account of his unassuming demeanour and warmth of heart. It was due to his tact and personal influence that the diverse elements of which the garrison was composed were kept in harmonious working order.

Preparations for the siege

No sooner had General Inglis taken the chief military command than he proceeded to provide for the order and defence of the entrenchment. All capable of bearing arms were distributed among the different garrisons. Commandants were appointed, and no man was allowed to leave his post without special permission, and he was strictly enjoined to keep under cover, always to be on the alert, and never to fire a shot unless he could see his man. But it was a difficult task to prevent the men from exposing themselves. As a soldier of the 32nd remarked, '*It's* not in the way of Englishers to fight behind walls' It was also commanded that a continuous and sharp watch should be kept at every garrison, and a special post of observation was established at a high storey of the Residency, whence every movement of the enemy's troops could be seen, and promptly reported. Special officers were appointed to assist the Commissariat officers in doling out supplies of food to every member of the garrison. Loose animals maddened by hunger or thirst had to be secured, and those that were wounded had not to be killed but suffer a worse fate—driven out of the entrenchments. "One poor horse of mine," wrote the brave commander of Anderson's post "had his leg broken; I had, therefore, to creep upon my hands and knees to cut the rope he was fastened by, and then I found the poor brute could not walk. However, no time was to be lost; so I got a person to prick him up in the rear, whilst another pulled at the head-rope; thus on three legs, and actually hopping along, this poor horse was driven out of the place. All we dreaded was their dying, and our having no means of removing them." * The stench from the horses and bullocks that died became so pestilential that fatigue parties were told off to bury their carcases, and officers who had been exposed to a fearful sun in the trenches all day were often out till twelve and one in the morning engaged in the loathsome task. "My cold," writes one, "is worse. Grubbing about in wet holes making receptacles for dead bullocks and dead horses does not conduce to its improvement. Pretty employment this for the educated youth of the nineteenth century.

* "A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," by Captain R. P. Anderson, page 59.

But necessity has no law; and we all, great or small, work hard at the spade as well as at the musket."*

Commencement of the operations

The operations now commenced in earnest. The besiegers began by battering the outposts. On the first day three of the houses fell. Mr. Capper was in the act of firing out of a loophole on the verandah of Anderson's post when a shot struck one of the pillars and down it came burying him under some three or four feet of masonry. The garrison hearing the crash rushed to the assistance of their comrade. A low voice was heard saying "I'm alive! Get me out. Give me air for God's sake." "It is impossible to save him!" cried one. A voice came from the tomb, "It *is* possible if you try." "We set to work at once, and a long and tedious affair it was. First we had to displace huge pieces of masonry, and, as we did this, the broken bricks and lime kept filling up the little air-holes, and poor Mr. Capper was constantly obliged to call out for 'more air.' During this time, be it remembered, the enemy kept up an incessant fire of round shot and musketry on the spot, knowing that we were working there; and all we had to protect us was about six inches of the wall, that just covered our bodies, as we lay flat on our stomachs, and worked away with both hands. After labouring for three-quarters of an hour, and when we were all quite exhausted, we managed to get the whole of Mr. Capper's body partly free; whereupon we set to work to get his legs out, and it was some little time before we could enable him to move his lower limbs. Throughout all this, a corporal, named Oxenham, of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, behaved most nobly, and exposed himself considerably, so as to expedite the work of digging out our unfortunate volunteer, whose appearance amongst us seemed like as if one had risen from the grave—we fully expected, *at least*, to have found that all his limbs had been broken; whereas, on the contrary, he had merely a few bruises, and felt faint."

Rescue of Mr. Capper

Corporal Oxenham

The cannonade on Anderson's house grew more and more severe. A round shot carried away almost the greater part of the parapet round the roof, and went clean through the body of a Sikh who was in the act of firing. "The poor fellow never moved, the shot had made a hole of four inches in diameter in his chest, and had passed through his back." As round shot and shell began to sweep the top rooms from end to end the garrison had to abandon the upper defences

* "Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 138.

and retire to the lower storey. Gubbins' house and the Residency fast became a crumbling mass of ruins.

During a short time the garrison, the majority of whom had never heard a shot fired, seemed to be discomposed by the roar of the artillery and the crash of falling houses. But familiarity with danger and horror produced in a few days the natural effect. The women began by keeping watch in turn, 'being very nervous and expecting some dreadful catastrophe to happen,' but they soon got braver, and 'voted there was no necessity for anyone to keep awake who had not someone to watch over.' The children began to play with the bullets as with marbles, laughingly dropping them when too hot and had to be driven back from the perilous positions into which they loved to run. One little fellow got so used to the cannonade that on his way home when the ships' guns were fired, and all the other children were frightened, he clapped his hands and hurrahed.* The heart of the garrison was not only steeled to resistance but they had the spirit often to act on the offensive. On the 7th of July the first sally was made. It was directed against Johannes' house. The turret of that building had been occupied by a body of the enemy's riflemen who by their fire rendered not only the Cawnpore battery useless, but scattered death far and wide, their bullets frequently entering even the hospital windows. The commander of the band was one of the ex-Viceroy's African eunuchs called by the British soldiers "Bob the Nailer" on account of the unerring certainty with which he used his double-barrelled rifle. About noon our guns opened a heavy fire on the besiegers to detract their attention. A hole was made in the wall near the Martiniére only sufficiently large to admit one man getting out at a time. Silently fifty men belonging to the 32nd and twenty Sikhs crept through it. The party commanded by Captain Lawrence, 32nd, Captain Mansfield, Ensign Green, 13th Native Infantry, and

First sortie, 7th July

* "It was curious to see how the children's plays and amusements harmonized with what was going on around us. They would make balls of earth, and throwing them against the wall, would say they were shells bursting. Johnnie fell down one day, and getting up very dusty said: 'They'll say I have been mining.'"—"The Siege of Lucknow," by Lady Inglis, page 144.

"Even the little children in Lucknow now began to think like soldiers, and they became, as it were, fond of 'the game of war.' I heard one urchin, of four or five years, say to another, 'You fire round shot, and I'LL return shell from *my* battery.'"—"A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," by Captain R. P. Anderson, page 96.

Ensign Studdy formed beneath the walls. Then led by Studdy they dashed across the road; swiftly were the powder bags thrown before the door of the house, a loud explosion and blazing splinters were sent flying through the air. The rebels taken by surprise attempted flight but twenty-two were killed. However, before the Engineer could arrange the powder bags for the complete demolition of the house the enemy returned in such force that the Brigadier who could not afford to diminish his scanty garrison recalled the party.

Private Cuney

Four were wounded, one only, Private Cuney of the Band, severely. Brave to recklessness, Cuney was eager for every daring outbreak and every perilous adventure. Accompanied by a sepoy who adored him he used to creep out of the entrenchment, and his expeditions were as remarkable for their success as for the daring with which they were accomplished. He, accompanied by his faithful companion, on one occasion crept into a battery of the enemy's, and spiked their guns. On his return he was confined in the guard-room for having left his post without orders, but they had to let Cuney out when there was fighting to be done. The bullet did not seem to have been cast that could kill him. He was often wounded, but he used to leave his bed to volunteer for a sortie. Cuney's work of fighting with the rebels was only over after the supreme danger had passed, and the garrison had been relieved. He was killed in a sortie made soon after General Havelock's arrival—a melancholy but fitting end for such a man.

The success of the first sortie produced a good effect on the troops. Two days after a few fresh soldiers of the 32nd made another sally, spiked a gun and killed many of the besiegers. The siege had now lasted ten days and the heavy cannonade and musketry fire of the enemy had never ceased night or day. "I used to wonder," wrote Captain Fulton, "how one got off in such a continued fire as was kept up, and though one did not see much yet a dozen casualties occurred daily and our Europeans dwindled off fast. A number of bloodthirsty Mussulmen, and the Africans who lost so much in the annexation, have kept the closest watch and killed all who exposed themselves in their neighbourhood. Some most wonderful shots there are among them, and many an officer's hat shows the close shooting of these chaps all around with double rifles." Many of the soldiers in passing from one side of the entrenchment to the other were hit by the rebel marksmen, and many of the cook-boys who had to take the men's dinners to the various garrisons were shot. No spot was safe. The Rev. Mr. Polehampton

was severely wounded in the hospital and Miss Palmer, the daughter of Colonel Palmer, was shot in the leg in the Residency. The limb had to be amputated, and she survived the operation only a few days. She was perfectly calm and resigned. Her father seemed to be her only care. "Poor girl, she had come out from England but a few months before, and was then, at bright seventeen, looking forward with vivid hopefulness to her Indian life." Major Francis, 13th Native Infantry, who commanded the Brigade Mess, had both his legs smashed by a round shot. "The calm manner in which he bore his misfortune gained him the sympathies of all. Not a murmur escaped him, his only anxiety being a hope that the authorities would bear testimony that he had performed his duty." * Brysen, formerly Sergeant-Major of the 16th Lancers, a brave soldier greatly respected, was shot through the head while endeavouring to strengthen his post. Just outside the portico of the hospital a lad of sixteen belonging to the Artillery having his leg hit by a round shot called out, "Oh Lord, my poor leg." He however grew too weak to endure amputation and his young life swiftly ebbed away. A number of other gallant fellows were also laid each night in the churchyard. "A coverlet formed the wrapper in which the body was committed to the earth. As you approach the graveyard you observe probably half a dozen other unhappy individuals all waiting with *their* dead for burial. The clergyman has now completed the service and the bodies are laid in rows and soon follow the awful words 'Ashes to ashes, dust to dust.'" †

Casualties in the first part of the siege

The enemy had now erected their batteries and some twenty or twenty-five guns of large calibre encircled the entrenchment and directed a searching fire on it. Owing to their extreme proximity, some being within fifty yards of the defence, it was impossible to silence them by shells and they were established in places where heavy guns could not reply to them. Barricades erected with much ingenuity and perseverance also prevented their being silenced by musketry, and narrow trenches so effectually concealed the gunners that their hands could only be seen in the act of loading. The batteries of the enemy were not only well placed but their fire was generally precise. At the

Enemy's fire

* "MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

† "Harris has hard work and he does it nobly, five or six funerals every night in the Residency churchyard, and as it is under fire the service is one of great danger."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

commencement of the siege the rebels were somewhat short of ammunition and masses of stone and logs of wood bound with iron were hurled against our posts. As the logs came swinging through the air the men, highly amused, used to exclaim, "Here comes a barrel of beer at last." The masses of stone and iron hurled against the defences brought the masonry down in flakes and incessant was the work necessary to keep it in repair and to prevent the rents growing sufficiently wide as to admit the fierce multitude that were swarming at the gates.

Assault, 20th July

It is always "bang bang, bhoom bhoom, rattle rattle unceasingly," a member of the garrison entered in his diary on the 18th of July. At midnight on the 20th of July "the bang bang, bhoom bhoom, rattle rattle" suddenly ceased, and as dawn broke a large body of men could be seen marching about in different directions within a few yards of our position. Orders were promptly given for the several garrisons to be on the alert, and the whole force was under arms. At a quarter past ten a crash of thunder rent the air, the ground shook far and wide, and heavy volumes of smoke rolled over the Redan. Through the thick vapour the heavy sound of artillery and hissing of bullets succeeded and a mass of the enemy was seen doubling up the glacis with fixed bayonets. Showers of grape from the Redan and volleys of musketry from the parapets and house-tops mowed them down as they moved forward. Surprised and perplexed at seeing the battery intact the rebels halted. Hundreds fell. Their leaders waving their swords shouted "Come on my braves." Again they advanced but the besieged plied their shot with terrible rapidity for "even of the wounded and sick many had left their couches, seized any musket they could lay hold of, and fired as often as their strength enabled them to do so. One unfortunate wretch with only one arm was seen hanging to the parapet of the hospital entrenchments with his musket." For a few seconds the assailants faced the merciless shower, and then baffled they broke and fled.*

Every garrison was the scene of a separate struggle. At Doctor Fayrer's house they came "swarming over the stables into the garden.

* "Captain Weston and Dr. Fayrer on this occasion did right good service."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 145.

"From the roof of Dr. Fayrer's house, that officer and Captain Weston maintained a most effective fire."—"Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 222.

Partridge and I and the other officers kept our guns and rifles going as hard as we could and at length they fell back. We killed great numbers of them, from my house many were knocked over and their bodies lay by all night, when they were dragged away. I had constant opportunities and I kept my gun going as fast as I could load and fire whilst the 18 and 9-pounders were pouring in shot and bags of bullets into them, but I certainly thought that our time had come. They made several lodgments, but were hustled with hand grenades and shot as they ran across the open. They also were well protected by débris of houses and also behind loopholes but as many came into the open many were shot besides those who fell by shot and shell behind the walls."

A vigorous attempt was made to carry Innes' post by escalade. The garrison commanded by Lieutenant Loughman consisted of twelve men of the 32nd, twelve of the 13th Native Infantry, and a few civilians. A body of the enemy with ladders reached the front walls and attempted to plant them; but all their efforts were in vain owing to the hot fire of the besieged. A few managed to reach the top of the walls but were thrust down by the bayonets. In the meanwhile a corner of the post was stoutly held by Bailey, a volunteer, the son of a Native Christian, and two sepoys. On reaching some huts five yards from the palisades which he was guarding, the rebels recognised him and shouted to him: "Come over to us and leave the cursed Feringhees whose mothers and sisters we have defiled, and all of whom we shall kill in a day or two." "Am I going to be unfaithful to my salt, like you, you son of a dog? Take that," and at the same moment the crack of a musket rang out. "Wait a moment," cries the other, "and we shall be over the walls." "Come along then, boaster. My bayonet is ready to catch you. But first, here's for you." And the crack of a musket again rang out. And thus the contest of abuse and musketry continued, Bailey firing his muskets as they were loaded and handed to him with great rapidity. Then his ammunition failed. He could not leave his two sepoys and he dare not send one of them in case he should not return. He could not call for ammunition lest the enemy becoming aware of his deficiency should leave their shelter, and carry his post by storm. The shells from the Redan however kept them within the huts. Bailey made his want known and Harding, a brave and gallant volunteer, dashed through the furious fire with the ammunition. The contest was renewed. The son of the Native Christian, and two sepoys held their post till they were reinforced. But before help could reach them one of the brave sepoys had been killed. Bailey himself was dangerously wounded. A musket

Bailey, the volunteer

ball smashed his chin, and effected an exit through his neck.* Finding their efforts useless the enemy fell back, and contented themselves with throwing in a terrific storm of musketry from which the men were sheltered as much as possible by being kept under the defences.

Attack on the Cawnpore Battery

Almost at the same time an attack was made on the Cawnpore battery. The enemy advanced bravely led by a fanatical preacher bearing the green standard of Islamism in his hand, but he was shot in the ditch of the battery, and seeing him drop his followers swiftly retreated from the warm fire poured on them. The attacks made on Germon's and Gubbins' post were also repulsed by the withering fires of their respective garrisons. "The 13th Native Infantry at the Bailey Guard gate with Lieutenant Aitken behaved splendidly, their own comrades being among the assailants." About 3 P.M., the enemy ceased their attempts to storm the place but for some hours their guns continued to roar around the entrenchment. The number of rebels who perished in the assault can only be conjectured, but it must have been very large. Of the besieged only four were killed and twelve wounded.†

First gleam of hope Arrival of Ungud

The garrisons were in high spirits at having repulsed with so small a loss the first great attack and the following day their joy was increased by the first gleam of hope. Late at night Ungud, the messenger who had been sent forth at the end of June to bring tidings of the Nana, crept through the enemy's lines and arrived within the entrenchment. In a low chamber dimly illuminated by a solitary oil light carefully screened so as not to attract the bullets of the enemy, he told his tale. Around him crowded the men with brown weather-beaten faces, and standing at the doors anxious to catch each word were women who had rushed from their beds in their night-attire. "Had Nana crossed the river and joined the besieging force?" is the question asked with bated breath. "No. Havelock Sahib had beaten the Nana in three great Lurais (battles) and was now master of Cawnpore." A cheer burst forth from the men, and drowned the sound of the patter of the rain outside. But Ungud must depart, for it is the storm and darkness of the night which will enable him to pass unnoticed the sentinels of the enemy. A letter in Greek characters giving a brief sketch of the position of affairs in the entrenchment was written on a tiny scrap of paper. It concluded as follows:—"Aid is what we want, and that

* "A 'most singular wound,' and contrary to expectation he recovered from it."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 154.

"The Defence of Lucknow: A Diary by a Staff Officer," page 68.

† "Lieutenant Macfarlane, R A., had a portion of his skull shot away. He had done splendid service with his artillery."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

quickly. Our defences are straggling, and our numerical strength quite inadequate to man them. The Artillery is weak, and the casualties heavy." The letter was placed in a quill which after being sealed at both ends was handed to Ungud, and a handsome reward was offered to him if he swiftly brought an answer to it. Five nights after he again crept into the entrenchment bringing a reply from Colonel B. Fraser Tytler, Assistant Quartermaster-General to General Havelock's force. It contained tidings of great joy. "We have," he wrote, "two-thirds of our force across the river and eight guns in position already. The rest will follow immediately. I will send over more news to-night or to-morrow. We have ample force to destroy all who oppose us. Send us a sketch of your position in the city, and any directions for entering it or turning it that may strike you. In five or six days we shall meet. You must threaten the rear of the enemy if they come out, and we will smash them."* The following night a reply was sent giving such information as General Inglis possessed and offering such suggestions as to the route to be taken by the relieving force. The letter concluded as follows—"If you have rockets with you, send up two or three at 8 P.M. on the night before you intend entering the city, by way of warning to us, at which signal we will begin shelling the houses on both sides of the road. Ignorant of the strength of your force and of its formation, I can only offer these suggestions with the assurance that the utmost our weak and harassed garrison is capable of shall be done to cause a diversion in your favour as soon as you are sufficiently near." †

Letter from Colonel Tytler

* P S—"We have smashed the Nana. who has disappeared and destroyed his place Bithoor. No one knows where his army has dispersed to, but it has vanished."

† Mr. Gubbins writes: "I examined Ungud strictly; and came to the conclusion that the joyful and wondrous news was true. An abstract was made of it, and the messenger sent, together with a note from myself by hand of Lieutenant Hutchinson (Engineers) to Brigadier Inglis, inquiring whether he would send a letter by the scout. His written answer informed me that he would not write. I prepared a despatch immediately; it was addressed to the Governor-General, and enclosed to General Havelock. In it I depicted as faithfully as I could our exact position and circumstances, and detailed our own force and that which the enemy was believed to have. My despatch was nearly ready when Lieutenant and Aide-de-Camp Birch arrived. He said that the Brigadier could not sleep, and would send a line if the messenger had not started. I promised to detain him. Shortly after my letter was ready, it began to rain heavily. Ungud pressed to be allowed to depart. Heavy rain, he told us, afforded his only chance of passing the sentinels of the enemy. When I attempted to detain him, he declared that if not allowed to go then he would not go at all that night. I gave him my despatch and let him go, sending Captain Hawes over immediately to inform the Brigadier of his departure. Hawes met Lieutenant Birch bringing the Brigadier's note, but the messenger was gone.

"These facts have been mentioned to show what actually occurred. The occurrence produced, I fear, some unpleasant feeling between the military commandant and myself. No slight was certainly intended; but I fear my conduct was so interpreted."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 227.

Lady Inglis gives this letter as signed by her husband: "J. Inglis, Brigadier."—"The Siege of Lucknow," by the Hon. Lady Inglis, pages 93-95.

False hopes raised, 29th July

Many a feverish night did the men and women of the garrison, with heavy hearts and anxious eyes, watch to see those rockets rise in the sky. Expectation was now at its height, and drove some wild. On the evening of the 29th of July, an officer on the look-out turret hearing heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore rushed down, and informed the garrison that the relieving force had arrived and were fighting their way into the city. The news "spread like wild-fire; men in hospital, who were only just able to move, jumped up and said they must help the poor fellows coming in. The ladies in the brigade mess-room ran to the top of the house to see the force approaching, and were remaining there in a most exposed position until ordered down in no very courteous terms. The firing turned out to be a salute from the enemy, in honour of some national event." *

On the 30th of July a peacock came and settled on the ramparts and there plumed its radiant feathers. It remained a short time and then flew across our position. Some guns were aimed at it, but were turned away when the men were told not to destroy a bird of good omen, and the gay visitor flew safe away.

6th August

July passed away; August arrived and still no sign of the relieving force. On the 6th a sepoy of the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry, orderly to Brigadier Gray, who had been sent out with despatches, returned to the entrenchment. But he brought no letter. A quill despatch he stated had been given to him but in crossing over broken and flooded ground to evade the sentinels of the enemy it had unfortunately been lost. He however reported that Havelock had fought two successful engagements on the Lucknow side of the Ganges, but had been obliged to halt at Mungulwar. Half an hour later a sepoy of the 48th who had been sent into the town two days previously to try and gain intelligence returned and in a great measure corroborated the statement of the sepoy of the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry.† A few days of feverish joy and expectation

* "The Siege of Lucknow," by the Hon. Lady Inglis, page 101.

† General Innes writes :—"To the garrison generally this intelligence was very disheartening though it was obvious that the check was no worse than was to be reasonably expected." "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," page 134.

Mr. Gubbins writes :—" His arrival, therefore, was a great relief to us, and the intelligence he brought caused us much satisfaction."—" Mutinies in Oudh," page 245.

Lady Inglis states (6th August) :—"Just before we went to bed John came to tell us that two messengers had come in, one from Havelock's force, but he had lost the letter entrusted to him. He said our troops had been obliged to retreat, but from the present position they might be with us in three days. John said, however, he did not expect them for eight. This good news raised our hopes and spirits considerably."—" The Siege of Lucknow," page 110.

were to be followed by weary weeks of intense misery. A dull distrust succeeded the first vivid gleam of hope. "At no time," wrote one of the besieged on the 7th of August, "did I feel so strongly as this the truth of the proverb 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.' Aye, indeed it does! We were so sanguine before that the natural result of our disappointment is that we believe in evil tidings and doubt all good news." The exultant foe brought them intelligence of every fresh disaster to our forces and no trick, no lie which was thought likely to discourage them, was spared. When the news of Havelock's first advance was received with loud hurrahs they were told, "So you think your reinforcements have come, do you? Reinforcements forsooth! Why we have beaten them long ago, and we have crowned our king." A grand salute was fired that night at every post of the enemy in honour of their victory.

Outside the walls the enemy kept high festival and from the houses around came each night sounds of revelry, music and dancing which greatly roused the ire of the British soldier: "I say Bill," exclaimed one, "I am blowed if these here Budmashes (rascals) don't yell like so many cats." Bill replied: "Yes, they do, and I only wishes I was behind them with a tin pot of *biling water* as they opens their d—d mouths." Another comrade who was close at hand and had been quite distracted by the incessant noise of one of their war clarions remarked, "I only wish I had a hold of the black rascal as plays that: I'd not kill the vagabond, I'd only break that infernal *hinstrument* over the bridge of his nose." Within the entrenchments the monotony of suffering, and the continued presence of death had produced its natural effect. The excitement had died down, the jests had become rare. As the siege wore on the condition of the atmosphere was day by day becoming more frightful. The dead could not be put by: the task of burying the bodies of men and animals might be diligently executed but in that narrow space the work could not be effectually done. The corruptness of the air generated a plague of flies. They swarmed in millions and the Martinière lads "who go about the garrison more filthy than others and apparently more neglected and hungry even than we are" were incessantly employed in trying to brush them away from the sick in hospital." Now smallpox and cholera filled the hospital as much as the bullets of the enemy. Yet the fire was sharper and more constant than ever. "Everywhere wounded officers and men were lying on couches covered with blood and often with vermin. Many of the

State of the garrison

wounded were lying groaning upon mattresses and cloaks only. Everywhere cries of agony were heard; piteous exclamations for water and assistance. All the assistance that could be rendered was rendered but the hospital staff was necessarily small." Noble women little fitted to take part in such scenes assumed cheerfully, and discharged earnestly, the task of charity in ministering to sickness and pain.* But as the siege wore on, the atmosphere of the hospital became so foul that the medical officers insisted on their leaving the building. The doctors with untiring energy employed their best art,† but the air was so tainted that complete recovery from wounds or sickness was next to impossible and amputation was certain death. The medical officers were greatly assisted in their work by the sedulous attention given to the

* "It is likely that to themselves the notoriety of praise publicly given may be distasteful; but the Governor-General in Council cannot forego the pleasure of doing justice to the names of Birch, Polehampton, Barbor and Gall, and of offering to those whose acts have so adorned them, his tribute of respectful admiration and gratitude."—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 59.

"Nor would it be right, in what professes to be a faithful record of facts, to omit adverting to those ladies who undertook the trying duty of ministering to the sick and wounded. There were several of these devoted women, these excellent Sisters of Charity. Probably, if asked, they would name as the best representative of their order of mercy, the bereaved widow of our chaplain, Mrs. Polehampton."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 353.

† "In this review of services, of which England may well be proud, I must not omit the most valuable exertions of the medical men, who were, like others, greatly overworked during the siege. To Dr. Scott, the old and highly-esteemed surgeon of the 32nd Regiment; to Assistant-Surgeon William Boyd, of the same regiment; Dr. J. Fayrer, the able and well known Residency Surgeon; to Dr. J. Campbell of the 7th Light Cavalry; to the talented Assistant-Surgeon of the 2nd O. I. Cavalry, S. B. Partridge; to Dr. Bird, doing duty with the Artillery; and to several more, I bear my hearty tribute of praise. Everything was against them: bad air, bad food, and an insufficient supply of medicines; yet they, at the cost of no small personal exertion and daily risk, struggled manfully with unwearying perseverance, through their many difficulties."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 352.

"But wherever I went, and whomsoever I went to see, whether officer, soldier, or civilian, Mr. Apothecary Thompson, who had been in medical charge of one of the Oudh Irregular Infantry regiments, and who now acted as the medical officer in charge, was everywhere to be seen. Not a patient that recovered but could testify often to his professional skill, but always to his unremitting kindness. . . . But before speaking of Mr. Thompson, I should first have mentioned the superintending surgeon, Dr. Scott. Though apparently rough, his arrival was always hailed with pleasure by every one in hospital. For some poor soldier, he usually had a trifling present, and though he bestowed his favours with a degree of roughness bordering on rudeness sometimes, he did so in order not to have the thanks of the recipient. The 32nd always speak of him with gratitude, and say, with pride, that their surgeon had never been absent from his regiment since he joined it. They all looked to him as to a father."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 165.

material and spiritual comforts of their comrades by the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, and the Reverend Mr. Harris. The former had been severely wounded in the hospital at the commencement of the siege, and his enfeebled constitution succumbed to an attack of cholera on the day of the first great attack.*

Death of the Revd. Mr. Polehampton

Mining operations

The enemy now transferred the contest to the bowels of the earth, and frequent were the struggles within dark and narrow galleries. After the assault of the 20th July they began their subterranean attack by regular approaches. As fast, however, as the rebels mined, the garrison countermined. By the hand of heaven or destiny, or whatever men may call it, in the entrenchment at Lucknow was the one regiment in the British Army most likely to have a few skilled miners. The 32nd being a Cornish regiment, eight † men were found who had in their native mines acquired some experience of the business and they were employed under the command and guidance of Captain Fulton to instruct the respective garrisons in the work. Every commander of an outpost was required to tell off some of his men to listen at short intervals for sounds of mining. They laid their ears to the ground, and if any suspicious sound was heard a report was made, and a countermine promptly started. Shafts were at once sunk, and galleries begun at the vulnerable points in the posts most exposed to this new danger. The enemy had the advantage of a plentiful supply of labour, having among them a large number of the Pasee tribe who were expert miners, but they lacked scientific guidance. The besieged had the advantage of having thoroughly trained officers to guide and superintend the operations, but they lacked men to carry out the operations. During the early part of the siege they had working parties of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. "The soldiers, however, had other duties to perform ; they were exposed to rain, and were very often under arms, which prevented their having a proper amount of rest. They could therefore have little physical strength left to work in the trenches, and as the siege progressed, their numerical strength became so much reduced, that it was necessary to

* "The death of Mr. Polehampton was also a serious loss : for that reverend gentleman had been unremitting in his kindness to the sick and wounded in hospital. From morning to night Mr. Polehampton was constantly by the bedside of some poor sufferer, inspiring him with confidence in Providence, and hope in his recovery, or if hope was at an end, with the prospect of salvation in a better world. He never swerved from this self-imposed duty, and only left the hospital to go to his meals."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L .E. R. Rees.

† Sergeant Day and seven privates, Hunter, Abel, Cummerford, Bonatta, Kitchen, Cullemore and Farran.

give up European working parties almost entirely, and to depend on the sepoys. The latter came forward most willingly and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which they worked. They have also been of material assistance in our mining operations; and a party of the 13th Native Infantry, thanks to the good management of Lieutenant Aitken, have constructed a battery for an 18-pounder, worked the gun, and dug a shaft and gallery at their own post." Not only the loyalty and the courage, but the calm heroic spirit with which the sepoys endured dangers and trials, is worthy of all honour. Without their aid the mining operations of the enemy could not have been baffled, and the labours of the garrison brought to a successful issue.

Over all these labours Captain Fulton exercised a careful superintendence. Aided by Sergeant Day he determined the details which the garrisons of the several posts had to carry on, and he made the rounds constantly day and night to see that all was well, and the work was being properly done. He was always on the spot where his presence was needed. His eye never seemed to slumber, nor his ear ever to fail to catch the slightest sound. He cheerfully performed many of the duties of a soldier as well as of a commander. One day Captain Fulton detected a mine the enemy had driven a certain distance—he ran a short countermine to meet it, and he then sat patiently, revolver in hand, waiting for the unconscious enemy to break through. "Some one looking for him asked one of the Europeans if he were in the mine. 'Yes Sir,' said the Sergeant, 'there he has been the last two hours like a terrier at a rat-hole, and not likely to leave it all the day.'"

Not disheartened by their unsuccessful effort to blow up the Redan, the enemy continued their mining efforts. They were heard working at a gallery near the Cawnpore battery and our men began to countermine but passed them at eighty feet. "Their gallery was so near the surface its roof fell in, and we saw into it. They boarded it over, and worked on with the utmost determination. We turned our gallery towards them, and meanwhile got a mortar as near as we could, and Bonham dropped a shell into their gallery blowing all the roofing off, and thus they were done. We then mined on, put a charge and have left it for future use if they begin. At the same time as the above, we heard picking at the Sikh lines and began to counter. I superintended. We had not gone ten feet when we broke in fair on them at work. They bolted, firing into their

gallery. We found the candle alight, withdrew it; a sergeant and self crept across their gallery to the shaft, found they had bolted, got powder, and destroyed the whole with great eclat and enjoyment of the fun and excitement, to say nothing of the success.

"The jolly old Major,* half in earnest, threatened to quod me for going across their gallery into their shaft. Ha! Ha! But having once done this and seen the coast clear, I placed Hutchinson with a revolver to keep it so, while I got powder, etc.

"What! Mining again! Yes. They were at work under Mr. Shilling's house, and in ten minutes we had got at them also, and a hand grenade thrown in killed one, wounded another, and they dropped that.

"Loud sounds of pick and shovel, Fulton.

"What, again! I found on going to the spot the rascals were at work in the road just under our outpost out-house wall. Well, I thought them very impudent, for they could be so easily met, but it seemed a bore to begin to counter, so I just put my head over the wall and called out in Hindustani a trifle of abuse and 'Bagho! Bagho! Fly!', when such a scuffle and bolt took place, I could not leave for laughing. They dropped it for good, that's the best of the joke."†

Not only were the mines of the enemy checked, but the countermines of the besiegers were driven well outside their line of defence. The Deprat Cawnpore gallery was driven out thirty feet, and protective trenches, whose extremities were charged and kept ready for explosion, were advanced right and left. The Brigade Mess mine was driven eight feet further than the Deprat gallery.

Besides being busy driving mines, the enemy were most active in constructing fresh batteries. They planted on a piece of rising ground facing Innes' post a 24-pounder gun with which they did great damage not only to the house at Innes' post, but also to the church and the Residency. So much harm was done by it that on the night of the 6th August a battery for an 18-pounder gun was begun at Innes' post. All worked hard, and, having got the battery ready, the gun was taken down and in position by daylight, when it commenced firing and soon silenced the enemy's gun. General Inglis however considered the position too exposed and the same night withdrew our gun after it had done its work. **Enemy construct fresh batteries**

* Major Anderson, Chief Superintending Engineer.

† "Captain Fulton's MS. Diary."

7th August

The 7th August was a white letter day in the annals of the siege. "This was the first day on which we had no casualty."

10th August The second great assault

On the morning of the 10th August a body of sepoys was seen behind their trenches marching with two guns up our left flank, and across the Cawnpore road. A large force was also noticed approaching the bridge of boats from cantonments. The posts were instantly manned. About 11 A.M. the enemy fired a shell into the Begum's Khotee. Then, a loud clap like a peal of thunder, and the ground shook far and wide. The enemy had exploded two mines directed respectively against the Martinière on the south face, and Sago's post on the east face. The former entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by the Martinière boys. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the Brigade Mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their number lying on the crest of the breach.*

While this operation was going on the enemy also made a rush on Sago's house, but were soon driven back with considerable loss. At Innes' house and Mr. Gubbins' post large hordes advanced bringing scaling ladders with them. But they were dislodged by hand grenades and as they retreated the besieged's marksmen slew many.

At the Cawnpore battery the stormers rushed up with extraordinary swiftness and reaching the ditch sheltered themselves from fire in it. Captain Fulton "found the enemy led by a man in pink whom I had noticed several times directing them as they came up. I put a rifle ball through him and then sent Tulloch to order hand grenades, the second of which well thrown cleared the ditch."

At Anderson's post a few rebels with a mighty effort pushed through the stockade and reached the mound in front of the ditch. No sooner were they seen than they were assailed by a tremendous fire which laid them low. Yet others succeeded those who fell. A Moslem fanatic with the green standard of the Prophet led the ranks, and animated the courage of his followers by religious appeals. He fell riddled with bullets. A comrade seized him by the belt and threw himself with the body of the wounded standard-bearer over the

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 252.

"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 134.

stockade. The rebel mass pushed on through the storm, and planted the scaling ladders against the walls. But here as elsewhere they were met with the most indomitable resolution.* A small band animated by a single spirit made good their stand against the overwhelming odds of numbers. Every man fought not only for his own life, but for the lives of the women and children, for defeat they knew meant certain death to every soul in the garrison. Hard and stern was the conflict. Above the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry rose the cry—"More men wanted this way," and off would rush two or three to support their comrades more closely pressed. From the loopholes the Volunteers under the direction of "the truly brave and heroic" Mr. Capper and a subaltern officer poured forth a steady and constant fire of musketry. In the heat of the fight Monsieur Geoffroi heard one of the rebel chiefs say "Come on, brothers, there's nobody here;" upon which he replied in the vernacular "there are plenty of us here, you rascal." And as proof of his assertion he shot the leader dead, and also sent a bullet into a comrade who was close behind him. Other rebel chiefs rushing to the front shouted "Come on, come on, the place is ours, it is taken," and responding to the call the men again and again returned to the assault, but they were received with deadly musketry and driven back with loss. Finally, the leaders being slain, the rest staggered back to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. After two hours the storm began to subside, but, as the sun was setting, the enemy made a sudden and determined rush on Captain Sanders' post. They got close to the wall and a daring foe, who tried to wrench off a bayonet protruding from a loophole, was instantly shot. After a second fusillade which lasted for about thirty minutes the enemy again fell back baffled to their trenches. Thus was a second assault made by an overwhelming force signally repelled by the besiegers. The number of rebels who perished in it can only be conjectured. But it must have been very large.

* "A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," by R. P. Anderson, page 68.

"Our good old friend, Signor Barsotelli, got very excited as the enemy rushed past the stockade. He said to the Frenchman, '*Son dentro, per Dio,*' in Italian—'They are in, by G—.' However, he did as he had always done before, he placed himself in a good commanding position, and then he asked the officer in command if he should *fire*,—his expression generally was, 'Here we *dominate*—shall I *strike*?' All this time he was, probably, standing at a loophole, with his eye fixed on the sight of his musket, and his body in such an attitude that anyone could see he was full of determination."—*Ibid*, page 72.

The heavy loss which the besiegers had sustained did not cause them to relax their efforts and with the first streak of light they opened a heavy cannonade and during the day the play of artillery was incessant. Many of the round shot struck the Residency, already much shattered, and about noon a great portion of the left wing fell, burying six men of the 32nd in the ruins. Two were got out alive after very great exertions, but the remaining four had to be left under the ruins. Immediate arrangements were made for the removal of the few European women and children who still occupied one of the rooms on the ground-floor.

Death of Major Anderson

The same afternoon died Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer. He had contracted dysentery a short time before the revolt, but notwithstanding his ill health he had the first days of the siege worked night and day unremittingly. Labour and anxiety had told on his enfeebled frame and after the first week he was unable to leave his house. Then he gradually sank from his old ailment. "He died in peace. We were all much affected in taking leave of him. He said 'Well, Fulton, it must have come at last. If I had lived to go home, we might never have met again. He pressed and pressed my hand and said 'God bless you.' I helped to stitch up the rezaie (quilt) in which he was buried and laid him in his grave, and marked it with a stick." Major Anderson's death deprived the garrison of a brave officer and the General of a safe and wise councillor.* He was succeeded by Captain Fulton, who had won the confidence of every man in the garrison by his coolness and courage.

12th August

On the 12th of August the enemy opened at daylight a tremendous cannonade and musketry fire on the Cawnpore battery and so raked it from Johannes' House that it was impossible to work our guns or remain in it. Orders were therefore issued to withdraw all the garrison except the sentry. He stayed, and later in the day was killed by a round shot. At dusk working parties of Europeans removed from the battery a 9-pounder gun which had been disabled by a round shot of the enemy, and they worked hard to repair the damage which had been done to it.

Sally of discovery under Brigadier Inglis

A sally of discovery by a party of Europeans under Brigadier Inglis, attended by the Engineer, was also made on the same day into

* "When, during the first days of the siege, I had occasion to deliver reports at night, I found him almost always awake, either writing or looking over the plan of our garrison, or consulting with the other engineer officers."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 182.

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the Goondah lines, where a long deep trench, no doubt intended to act as a shelter trench from musketry and artillery fire, was found directed towards the enclosure. This having been rendered useless and some of the walls of the enclosure having been dug down, the party returned unmolested.

Sortie under Lieutenant Hutchinson

The enemy having returned to work at the mine close to Sago's house, a sortie was made with twelve men of the 32nd under Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers. They found a large and strong covering party well on the alert to defend their miners and were met with such a destructive fire that they had to retire, which they did happily without loss. As the garrison of the fort was unable to meet the enemy by a sortie, it was determined to drive a gallery from a start which had already been prepared, and all through the night the engineers and miners worked hard to finish it with the greatest possible speed. "Every possible means was adopted by the enemy to prevent our miners working, and as only a wall and a few feet of ground divided the two parties, they resorted to squibs, rockets, brickbats and lights at the end of bamboos to annoy our workmen. As the latter were thrust forward with the hope of setting fire to our tiled houses, the ends were successively cut off."

Mining operations at Sago's Post

13th August

The 13th, shortly before 10 A.M., the engineers reported the countermine to be ready, and the neighbouring outposts having been duly warned, the signal to fire it was given. A column of earth rose high in the air, and the brick house, from which the enemy had started their mine and in which they were at the time hard at work, settled down burying all inside. After the sound of the explosion and the crash of the falling buildings had died away, the groans of those who were buried were plainly audible. For some time Sago's post remained unmolested.

Mining operations at Anderson's post

As signs and sounds raised a suspicion that the enemy were busy constructing a mine * against Anderson's post it was determined to drive

* "Mines were, however, suspected to be in course of construction against Anderson's post, and the south side of my enclosure. To meet the first a shaft was sunk, from which a gallery was run to intercept that of the enemy." "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 255.

"A shaft, however, for a mine was made in Mr. Anderson's house and sunk to the extent of eight feet, in view of running a sap to meet the enemy." "Defence of Lucknow, by a Staff Officer," page 110.

"As it (Anderson's post) was exposed to the enemy's attack both on its eastern and its southern front, a shaft had been sunk early at its south-eastern corner. The signs and sounds on the eastern front led, on August 13th, after the contest at Sago's was ended, to a gallery being driven from that shaft eastwards." "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 139.

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a gallery from a shaft which had already been sunk at its south-eastern corner.

15th August. Return of Ungud

On the 15th at night Ungud again crept into the Residency bringing a letter addressed to Mr. Gubbins by Colonel Fraser Tytler.

15th August. Letter from Colonel Fraser Tytler

"Dear Sir,—We march to-morrow morning for Lucknow, having been reinforced. We shall push on as speedily as possible. We hope to reach you in four days at furthest. You must *aid us in every way, even to cutting your way out, if we can't force our way in. We are only a small Force.*" *

Ungud's narrative

The letter was dated from Mungulwar, 4th August. Ungud stated that he had been made a prisoner by the enemy while endeavouring to reach the Residency. On being released he had retraced his steps to Mungulwar and found that place had been abandoned by our force. Proceeding to the banks of the Ganges he discovered that General Havelock had recrossed the river to Cawnpore which had been threatened by the Nana. The General, he stated, had advanced a second time to Busheeratgunje and had engaged and defeated the enemy, but he had retired after routing them. These tidings naturally caused the besieged grave anxiety, for Havelock had evidently once more attempted to relieve them and been foiled. "Much as usual," wrote one of the garrison, "the heart aches while watching for relief, but none comes. Will Cawnpore be repeated at Lucknow? Alas, it seems so! Our number is visibly decreasing. As for death, it stares us constantly in the face." And it appeared in many a ghastly shape. "One of the gunners was shot dead in the verandah this morning," writes a lady in her diary. "When I came upstairs to dress, I saw the poor fellow lying there in a pool of blood.† A widow "was standing by the door with baby, looking out into the courtyard at a little girl playing with a round shot, when she was struck on the head and killed instantly. It gave me such a shock that I fainted away at the time, and I can never think of that poor little child without a shudder." The deaths from the dread diseases engendered by foul air and insufficient nourishment far outnumbered those inflicted by the enemy's hand. The women and children fell swiftly before them. "Five babes were buried one night." The fathers who had to fight and to continue under arms all day, and work and watch all night, could afford no aid to their stricken families. An officer of the garrison spoke to a comrade of his wife being

State of the garrison

* The words printed in italics were written in Greek characters.

† "A Lady's (Mrs. G. Harris's) Diary of the Siege of Lucknow," page 95.

feverish and quite overcome with the life she had to lead. "And then he talked to me of his boy Herbert; how he was attacked with cholera and feared he was very ill; and how instead of being able to watch by his bedside he had been all night digging at Captain Fulton's mine." He vowed he had neither medicine nor attendance nor proper food for the boy. "And to-day he told me with tears in his eyes that yesterday the poor child was taken away. 'God's will be done,' said he, 'but it is terrible to think of. At night we dug a hole in the garden and there wrapped in a blanket we laid him. Oh my God.'" This was no mere episode, for many a parent endured a similar torture. There was a widow whose only son was smitten with cholera. "We did all we could for him. The poor mother was frantic during his illness, but perfectly calm when all was over. She had nothing to bury him in and asked us for a box, but we had nothing large enough." The stench in the churchyard had grown so foul that the chaplain was compelled to read the Burial Service in the porch of the hospital, as the bodies were being carried away. At this time the gaunt spectre of Famine also rose before them. Under these circumstances it is hardly a matter of surprise that the Brigadier despatched on the 16th August the following letter to General Havelock:—

LUCKNOW, *16th August 1857.*

My dear General,

A note from Colonel Tytler to Mr. Gubbins reached me last night, dated Mungulwar, 4th instant, the latter part of which is as follows— "You must aid us in every way, even to cutting your way out, if we can't force our way in; we have only a small force." This has caused me much uneasiness, as it is quite impossible with my weak and shattered force that I can leave my defences. You must bear in mind how I am hampered, that I have upwards of 120 sick and wounded and at least 220 women, and about 230 children, and no carriage of any description, besides sacrificing 23 lakhs of treasure and about 30 guns of sorts. In consequence of the news received, I shall soon put this force on half rations until I hear again from you. Our provisions will last us then till about the 10th of September. If you hope to save this force, no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy who are within a few yards of our defences. Their mines have already weakened our posts, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others. Their 18-pounders are within 150 yards of some of our batteries, and from their position

and our inability to form working parties we cannot reply to them, and therefore the damage hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350, and 300 Natives, and the men dreadfully harassed, and, owing to part of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. If our Native force, who are losing confidence, leave us, I do not know how the defences are to be manned. Did you receive a letter and plan from me? Kindly answer this question.

Your's truly,

(Signed) J. INGLIS.

In stating that, after the force had been put on half rations, the provisions would then last only till about the 10th of September, General Inglis was expressing the opinion of his responsible advisers. But a serious error was made, as after events proved, in the description of the food supply, and the account no doubt led General Havelock and the Governor-General to form a strong impression as to the desperate condition to which the garrison must be reduced after the 10th of September.* The error was due to the stores having been collected both by the military department and the civil authorities. At the battle of Chinhut Captain James, the head of the Commissariat, was severely wounded, and the subordinate officials employed on the storage of the food supply deserted as soon as news of our disaster reached the Residency. When the siege commenced, officers were appointed to superintend, under Captain James, the control and distribution of the rations, but it was impossible for them to know without the records of the subordinate officials the location and quantity of the food stored, and they had not the leisure to make an accurate inventory. General Inglis made an error in his estimate of the food supply, but he was right in impressing on the mind of General Havelock the necessity of speedy relief. It was high time that succour came,

* "A fortnight's supply was all we thought we had to depend on. This was reported to the Brigadier, and on these reports he acted in his communication to our relieving force, urging their immediate advance. There had been, however, a separate store of grain collected from various sources of which the military department had no knowledge. By the extraordinary foresight of Sir Henry Lawrence, the large plunge-bath under the banqueting-hall had been set apart for contributions. Whenever any rich native offered his services, Sir Henry used to take him at his word, and tell him to send in grain, hence this extra supply. The civil authorities had also taken occasion to add to this store."—"The Diary of Lucknow," by the Hon. Lady Inglis, page 156.

for the enemy's mines were daily becoming more dangerous and the fidelity of the Native soldiers might have given way under a more prolonged and severe trial, and without their loyal aid it would have been impossible to hold the position. As General Inglis wrote:—"If our Native force, who are losing confidence, leave us, I do not know how the defences are to be manned." *

Two days after the letter to General Havelock had been despatched, Lieutenant Mecham, 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry, Captain Adolphe Orr of the Military Police, and two sentries were at daylight on the look out from a house on the south-west corner of the 2nd Sikh Square, when one of the sentries exclaimed 'Mind, Sir.' No sooner were these words uttered than a crash of thunder followed, and officers and sentries were blown into the air. The officers and a drummer descended inside the square, and though stunned escaped without serious injury. Band-Sergeant Curtain of the 41st Native Infantry fell outside the works and next day his headless trunk was seen on the road. When the smoky canopy drifted away, a wide chasm of thirty feet revealed itself, and the houses across the street were seen to be filled with the enemy. Then a mutineer waving his sword and calling on his brethren to follow bounded up the breach. He was struck dead by a musket ball. Another took his place and shared his fate. The enemy had not the heart to face the storm of musketry from the Brigade Mess and make the home thrust which would have made them masters of the Residency. They preferred to maintain from their shelter a heavy fire on the yawning breach. Sharper than the singing of the musket balls were the cries for assistance of the seven men buried beneath the ruins of the house, but it was impossible to succour them and several were wounded in the attempt.

Explosion of enemy's mine, 2nd Sikh Square

* "Throughout the siege the mutineers lost no opportunity to try and make our sepoys desert, by telling them that they would starve us all to death, if they could not take the place; and they tried to make them believe that the English were beaten all over India, and there was not the least hope of our obtaining any relief. And there was so much delay in our reinforcement arriving, that many began to believe what they said; and had the relieving force been much longer in coming to our assistance, I am afraid that even the fidelity of our brave native troops might have been shaken."—"A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow," by R. P. Anderson, page 86.

"In the general purport of this letter I agreed; but thought that the dangers of our position, especially as regards the supply of food, were exaggerated; and that General Havelock might be induced, on receipt of it, to attempt our relief with an insufficient force. I accordingly recommended some modification of the despatch, which might represent our prospects of defence in more hopeful terms. But to this the Brigadier would not consent. He informed me that he had consulted the officers of his staff; and that they concurred in the justice of his description."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 260.

The moment the roar of the explosion was heard, the garrison were under arms, and straightway the Brigadier taking with him the reserves of the 84th (eighteen men) hurried to the Sikh squares and placed them in a position which commanded the breach on the right. Boxes, doors, planks and tents were swiftly brought down and a temporary cover erected. A house between the two squares was pulled down, a road made to it, and by stiff work a 9-pounder got into a position which commanded the whole breach. The enemy by means of the barricaded lanes had in the meantime contrived to creep up and gain possession of the right flank of the first square: but the fire from a mortar and a 24-pounder howitzer drove away the main body, and at noon a sudden and gallant rush pushed back the rest. The Brigadier now determined to take back the breach. Soldier-like, in no flurry, musketry raining all the while, Brigadier, officers and men advanced, each holding a half door in front of him, till they reached the end of the square and a barricade was hastily constructed across the breach. But it was too late to save those buried in the ruins, for they had long since died of suffocation and thirst. All the ground lost in the morning was regained. But the gallant Brigadier was not satisfied. Accompanied by Fulton and the Engineers, he headed a sortie from Gubbins' bastion and occupied the houses between it and the Sikh square. "No time was lost in destroying them, and by sunset 400 lbs. of gunpowder dust had cleared away many of the houses from which the enemy had most annoyed us. By this time the breach was securely barricaded against any sudden rush and at night a working party completed it . . . Nothing could exceed the zeal with which *all* Natives worked to secure the breach and made a road for a gun. The day which began so darkly was brightened by success before the sweltering sun sank behind the horizon.

August 17th. Destruction of Johannes' house.

On August 17th it had been decided to undermine and blow up the premises of Mr. Johannes, which consisted of two masonry buildings, a house with a tower and an adjoining shop, and the same afternoon a shaft was sunk and the mine started from the shops which abutted on the Martiniére. European miners were the only men employed on the work, and they were strictly enjoined to labour with as little noise as possible. Captain Fulton planned the measure, which was pushed on with unremitting exertion by Lieutenant Innes.*

* Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, R. E., V. C. "For sixty-four hours that officer scarcely rested."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 266.

On the evening of the 20th the mine was completed and it was arranged to fire it the following morning. At the first streak of dawn a sharp fire of musketry was directed on Johannes' house and the buildings around. The enemy expecting an assault swarmed into them and their lamps could be seen flitting like fire-flies here and there. When sufficient light broke, the hose was fired direct from the shaft; the earth shook and Johannes' house, with its tower from which the African eunuch ("Bob the Nailer," so called by the soldiers because he nailed every man he fired at with his sporting rifle) used to fire with such deadly effect "collapsed like a house of cards," and many of the enemy perished beneath the ruins.*

When the dust and vapour had cleared away, fifty Europeans under Captain McCabe † and Lieutenant Brown sallied forth; the latter with a few men attacked the enemy's battery, drove them from the two guns and spiked them.‡

Meanwhile Captain McCabe and his party had reached the verandah of the shop, where they were found by Captain Fulton and the reserve "unable to get into the house by the route intended, and firing and being fired on." "I tried the doors," says Captain Fulton; "I found one I could move, got a peep of the enemy inside through the chinks, and then, calling the officer in charge, we got our backs against the barricade, our feet against the *chokarts* §, and 'Heave! Once! Twice, Thrice,' in went the door and I, too, head over heels down eight feet of a narrow trench, got out to find only two men had yet followed in, got two of the enemy shot, then on at the breach where they had gone on a former occasion, got four grenadiers to follow me, and some others, and we fired into the breach." The enemy retired sulkily, not fast. Captain Fulton, after posting men to guard the approaches, got powder

* General McLeod Innes states ("Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," page 143) that the mine was fired in the morning. A staff officer writes: "Precisely at 5 P.M., the mine containing 400 lbs. of powder was sprung." But from the context it is evident that P.M. is an error for A.M. The error however is repeated in Gubbins (page 266).

† He had won his commission for planting the British Standard on the walls of Multan.

‡ It was then attempted to spike the guns, but the touch holes were found to be so large and damaged that it was impossible to do this effectually. Into the touch-hole of one of the guns two large spokes of unusual size were driven; with the other nothing could be done and it was left. But so useless was the operation of spiking that ere the party had been four hours within the works both guns were again battering the Brigade Mess with undiminished effect.

§ *Chaukhat*, door-sill.

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barrels laid, hose ready, and having sent back his comrades, "fired the port-fire and then laid it on." At that instant calls came from the lane that a wounded man was still to be got into our gate or sortie hole. "I removed the port-fire, had the word passed, and fired the train and left the house, happy to be the last out and the first in." The explosion was perfect and completely levelled the shop. The destruction of the Johannes buildings enabled the Cawnpore battery to resume its duty of protecting the south-eastern angle of our position and its adjacent faces.

The enemy, however, did not relax their efforts to destroy this important post and their guns unceasingly played against it and the Brigade Mess. The lower storey of the latter was sufficiently solid to withstand the heavy shot fired at the distance of seventy or eighty yards, but the guards' houses at the top were completely wrecked and there was no longer any cover for our musketry to fire from. The Residency was so battered by round shot that the verandah on the west side came entirely down, and the whole building had become so unsafe that all the stores had to be removed from the lower storey. The Judicial Garrison had also been so severely damaged that it was found necessary to remove the women from it into the Begum Kotee. Anderson's and Deprat's posts were now a mass of ruins and Gubbins' House had been rendered almost uninhabitable by a new battery which had been erected in a lofty enclosure known as the "Buland Bagh" situated about five hundred yards from the south-west angle bastion. It consisted of a 24-pounder and a 12-pounder gun and opened fire on the 26th of August. The heavy shot went crashing through the house and the bastion had to be quickly evacuated, for against such heavy metal the 9-pounder with which it was armed was of no avail. Lieutenant Bonham, however, who had with considerable ingenuity mounted an eight-inch mortar as a howitzer, used it with considerable effect against the new battery.* But the battery was of considerable

* To replace in some degree our lost 8-inch howitzer, and enable us to throw our shells horizontally as well as vertically, Lieutenant Bonham had contrived an engine which went by the name of the 'Ship.' It was made by placing an 8-inch mortar upon a strong wooden frame, upon which the piece lay horizontally, the large wedge in front having been withdrawn. Strong lashings secured the mortar to the wooden frame, which was mounted upon cast-iron wheels by which the Ship was rendered movable. The elevation desired was given by small wedges or coignes placed below the muzzle, and which required careful adjustment."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 271.

"Mrs. Bankes (Banks) moved from Mr. Gubbins' house to some room near Mrs. Cooper's. She gave Mrs. Inglis a dreadful account of the number of round shot which went into the upper storey of Mr. Gubbins' house. One came in while Mr. and Mrs. Gubbins were in bed; it struck the foot of the bed, and made them jump up a good deal frightened."—"Day by Day at Lucknow," by Mrs. Case, page 176.

strength and required heavier metal to do it any permanent injury. The battery at the bastion was therefore altered, and by dint of hard work it was completed on the last day of the month and an 18-pounder gun dragged into it and put into position. Two days previously the upper rooms of Gubbins' house had to be abandoned owing to the numbers of round shot sent through them from the 24-pounder battery which the enemy had constructed opposite Innes' post. The ladies were removed but much difficulty was experienced in finding quarters for them. Every place was crowded and they were already huddled four and five together in small badly ventilated native buildings. "We all slept (that is eleven ladies and seven children) on the floor of the Tye Khana, where we spread mattresses and got into each other like bits in a puzzle so as best to feel the punkah. The gentlemen slept upstairs in a long verandah sort of room on the side of the house least exposed to fire. My bed consists of a purdah and a pillow. In the morning we all roll up our bedding and pile them in heaps against the wall. We have only room for very few chairs down there, which are assigned to invalids, and most of us take our meals seated on the floor, with our plates on our knees. We are always obliged to light a candle for breakfast and dinner, as the room is perfectly dark. Our usual fare consists of stew as being easiest to cook; it is brought up in a large deckger * so as not to dirty a dish and a portion ladled out to each person. Of course we can get no bread or butter so *chapatthies* are the disagreeable substitute."

The deficiency in many articles of food grew serious as the month of August advanced. The tea and sugar, except a small store kept for invalids, were exhausted. The tobacco † was also gone and Europeans and Natives suffered greatly from the want of it. The soldiers yearned for a pipe after a hard day's work, and smoked dry leaves as the only substitute they could obtain. A few casks of porter remained to be guarded as a treasure. Sixteen pounds were paid for a dozen of brandy and seven pounds for a dozen of beer. The price of a ham was seven pounds; four pounds were given for a quart bottle of honey, four pounds for two small tins of preserved soup and three pounds for a cake of chocolate. Soap was not to be purchased with money.

* Copper stewpan.

† "I have given up smoking tobacco and have taken to tea-leaves and neem-leaves, and guava fruit leaves instead, which the poor soldiers are also constantly using."—"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees, page 205.

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Strange and unwholesome diet and the stench arising from the drains and the half-buried bodies of men, horses and bullocks, increased the sickness. Three hundred Europeans had perished from the commencement of the siege. Daily some went into silence. On August 23rd: "There was Divine Service and the Holy Communion in the Mess Room this morning. It was a melancholy Sunday indeed; three more men killed." "It was very affecting," says another, "to see so many newly-made widows assembled together; there were five in the same room." In the afternoon the enemy fired heavily from their guns and did considerable damage to the defences. It had now become difficult to find from the weak, harassed and daily diminishing garrison fatigue parties to repair them. "The Europeans were capable of but little exertion, as from want of sleep, hard work night and day, and constant exposure their bodily strength was greatly diminished."

Mining operations

28th August. Enemy's mine near Brigade Mess

The mining contest strained the powers of our few Engineers to the utmost and unceasing had to be their exertions in watching the listening galleries and driving shafts. On the 28th of August the enemy were hard at work near the Brigade Mess. "They worked day, we worked nights, they got alarmed, I think, and I, boring and working alone, broke into their gallery. I went in and took their lantern and oil and candle, great loot! got powder and went up their gallery; the brutes heard me and I rather feared to follow up 50 to 60 yards of mine, so going about 15 yards I blew up their gallery and destroyed it. Well, I admit it is exciting, and mud and dirt and water did not cool my ardour, but I got the whip hand of my enemies and defeated a very serious attempt on a most important post filled with ladies and children."*

Ungud's return

Letter from General Havelock

That same night the faithful Ungud again crept into the entrenchment bringing a letter from General Havelock dated Cawnpore, the 24th instant. He wrote: "I have your letter of the 16th. Sir Colin Campbell, who came out at a day's notice to command on hearing of General Anson's death, promises me fresh troops and you shall be my first care. The reinforcements may reach me in about twenty to twenty-five days, and I will prepare everything for a march on Lucknow. Do not negotiate, but rather perish sword in hand."

It was a gloomy prospect to have to wait for another twenty-five days "It is a long period," wrote a member of the garrison, "to look forward to, but still it serves as a bright beacon to lessen the

* "Captain Fulton's MS. Diary."

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darkness of despair." Meanwhile, the enemy continued unceasingly his mining efforts and their iron ring played day and night against the defences which fell away in flakes. On the 31st of August a 32-pounder which they had got into position at the Lutkun Durwaza or Clock Tower—about one hundred yards from the Bailey Guard Gate—plunged directly into them, smashing two ammunition waggons with which they were barricaded. The sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, under the superintendence of the Engineers, at once set to work tracing a fresh battery between the Treasury and the Bailey Guard Gate.

31st August. Enemy's battery at Lutkun Durwaza

Thus August wore away. September 1st was a fine breezy morning. "Here we are," writes one, "in the partridge shooting season of merry England, but here in India we shoot black men instead." *Ungud* again went forth with a letter from the Brigadier for General Havelock. He wrote :—" I must be frank and tell you that my force is daily diminishing from the enemy's musketry fire and our defences are daily weaker. Should the enemy make a really determined effort to storm the place, I shall find it difficult to repulse them, owing to my paucity in numbers, and to the weak and harassed state of the force. Our losses since the commencement of hostilities here have been, in Europeans only, upwards of 300. We are continually harassed in countermining the enemy, who have about twenty guns in position, many of them of large calibre. Any advance of yours towards this place will act beneficially in our favour, and greatly inspirit the native part of my garrison, who have up to this time behaved like faithful and good soldiers. If you can possibly communicate any intelligence of your intended advance, pray do so by letter. Give the bearer the password " Agra " and tell him to give it to me in person."

1st September

With marvellous tenacity and perseverance the insurgents continued their mining operations. On August the 23rd they were heard again at work near Anderson's post and two galleries were driven out to counteract their efforts. Six days after, sounds and signs indicated that they had again commenced operations not far from Sago's post. A gallery was therefore promptly started from its extreme salient, and on September 3rd a third, from its north-east end. Their special object however was to breach Saunders' post, for by so doing they hoped to gain possession of the Bailey Guard, and, that important post once in their hands, they declared they could withstand any force that might come to the relief of the garrison. The same day that they began operations against

Fresh mining operations

Sago's post they were heard at work opposite the *left* corner of the Bailey Guard Gate. A shaft had already been sunk here and a gallery started. It was promptly advanced. But on the 26th August, as all sound of work had ceased, the gallery was stopped. However, the enemy had relinquished the work only for a period, and on the 31st of August the sound of the pick disclosed that they had begun again on the right, and were driving slantwise across the front of the post and across our mine. Our gallery was continued and its direction so bent as to intercept the enemy. On the 18th of September their working party was heard to be approaching and the gallery was loaded and fired. The same evening they were however again heard working in a mine coming direct towards the middle of Saunders' post. It was fired and destroyed the following day. But the enemy were not deterred by successive failures. Again they were heard working at the old gallery, and a fresh shaft had to be sunk by our engineers and a gallery driven out west. On the 24th September they had driven twenty-two feet, reached brickwork, and pierced through it. "We heard the miners driving onwards in our direction, so we halted; and then it appeared shortly that they were not coming quite straight, only very close to us. It then struck our engineer that the enemy on reaching this brickwork would think it was the wall of the post, and would immediately stop work, in order to arrange to load and explode the mine. This proved to be the case. On meeting the wall they ceased working. We picked quietly into the mine, enlarged the opening, and found the gallery full of light at the other end, with one of the miners seated in it. Before he could be shot or captured, one of our party sneezed; the lights were at once put out, and the miner had disappeared. But we had gained possession of the mine; as, however, the enemy commanded its entrance, we exploded it, using a double charge to destroy more of the ground; a safe operation, as it was at a considerable distance from our own line of defence." *

4th September Completion of New Battery, Bailey Gate

The new battery in the Treasury post was now nearly complete and an 18-pounder intended for it was got down and put in position.† The battery was sixteen feet thick besides the wall in

* "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, V. C., page 138.

† "Defence of Lucknow, by a Staff Officer," page 145. "Its armament was an eighteen-pounder gun, and a twenty-four-pounder howitzer."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 145.

front and it was constructed under a heavy fire by sepoys and Engineers worn with fighting, watching and want of sufficient food. The joy of the sepoys at having completed their heavy task was marred by the loss of their gallant Commander, Major Bruere. A brave soldier and a splendid shot he had done good service by picking off the enemy's gunners. This afternoon (4th September) he was on the top of the Brigade Mess, and in his anxiety to get a shot at some of the rebel riflemen he somehow recklessly exposed himself and was shot by a rifle ball through the chest, which almost immediately proved fatal. "Those who brought his body down had to crawl on hands and knees." They brought it to "his poor wife, who had seen him only a few minutes before." "She had four children, and had lost one during our troubles." In the evening they took the father away. The *Brahmin sepoys* to whom the touch of a corpse involved the terrible penalty of loss of caste insisted on carrying the remains * of their beloved commander to the grave, and around it stood every man of the corps who could be spared from the trenches.

Death of Major Bruere

All day the heavy guns of the enemy battered the outpost and in the evening the massive under-wall on the top of the Mess-House fell with a loud crash. No one was hurt, though the women and children had a narrow escape. Several of them however refused to abandon the shattered building, preferring the chance of a round shot or musket-ball *to the fetid, close atmosphere of an already over-crowded hovel in the interior of our position* which, after all, was perhaps hardly any safer from the fire of the enemy.

5th September Fourth Assault

The 5th at daylight the besiegers' fire was resumed with great violence, and when the sun rose large masses of the enemy were seen moving round the Residency as if they meant to storm. Every man of the small garrison was soon under arms, and for some hours they patiently awaited under an unremitting fire of cannon the enemy's onset. At ten o'clock a low rumbling sound was heard; the earth quaked; the houses were shaken; and a huge cloud of smoke shrouded Gubbins' Bastion. The garrison seizing their arms rushed toward it expecting to find a yawning chasm. The enemy had however miscalculated their distance and the bastion was safe. When the whirling clouds of smoke and dust had rolled away, the yelling assailants rushed forth and swarmed around its base. Applying a huge

Attack on Gubbins' Bastion

* "The Siege of Lucknow: A diary," by the Hon'ble Lady Inglis, page 142.

ladder with a double row of rungs they speedily began to mount. A few reached the entrance of the gun, when they were struck down by hand grenades, and a concentrated fire of musketry dashed them to earth. Again and again they attempted to clamber up the ladder. It was all in vain. After an hour they retreated in dark groups to the houses from whence they had come, leaving at the foot of the bastion a pile of their dead.

Attack on the Brigade Mess

Shortly after the explosion of the mine at Gubbins' Bastion the enemy sprung another mine close to the Brigade Mess * and advanced boldly, "but soon the corpses strewed in the garden front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously leaving their leader, a fine looking old Native officer, among the slain." At other posts they made similar attacks but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. A third mine no doubt would have been sprung by them at Saunders' post if it had not been destroyed the previous day, for when the assaults began the enemy opened out from the battery at the Lutkun Durwaza opposite the Bailey Guard Gate. The new 18-pounder battery which had been erected on the Treasury post was unmasked and boldly answered. Eight sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, proud of the battery which had been solely constructed by them and was entirely under their charge, assisted by three artillerymen, loaded and worked the 18-pounder, and after three or four rounds succeeded in silencing the 18-pounder opposed to them. Before sunset the firing had ceased, but long after the action the enemy could be seen carrying away their killed and wounded over the bridges.

September 6th. Sortie from Innes's Post

The dawn found them unusually quiet. "We were so accustomed," wrote one, "to the constant unceasing crack of the enemy's musketry that we felt uncomfortable if we did not hear it." Soon after noon Captain Fulton with a few sepoys made a sortie to blow up a house near Innes's post which, owing to the enemy having loopholed it, had become dangerous. Descending the wall which formed our defence by a ladder, Captain Fulton and a few men captured the house by a gallant rush. "I put two barrels of powder in it and retired, and to my disgust found some of the people who had gone with me loitering.

* Captain Fulton was at the time working near the spot to blow them in. "Luckily my men," he writes, "had just come out to have their grog. No damage to us, and their own labour spoilt more effectually by their own act than it would have been an hour later by us."

The consequence was, I was delayed, and the powder going off, half buried me in ruins. A sepoy by my side was buried up to his waist, and I got a very severe contusion, which I thought, rather the Doctor thought, had broken my arm, but it is mending fast, so could not have been broken." * In these few simple words a brave soldier records a generous and noble act. After the barrels had been placed in the house Fulton, as he tells, ordered the sepoys to retire. He then fired the train and ran back to mount the ladder, but found his command had been disobeyed, for the sepoys had loitered to gather some wood. Not a moment was to be lost. A few yards from him was the house containing two barrels of gunpowder. The train had been fired. The danger was imminent. But the sepoys must not perish for their disobedience. He bid them mount swiftly. But before the last man could place his foot on the lowest rung the explosion took place burying him to the waist, and a piece of timber struck Fulton. "His escape was marvellous, for the wall which was blown down was not ten feet distant from where he stood." †

Destruction of a mine at the Brigade Mess

Four days later Fulton, undeterred by his wound, went forth on another voyage of discovery. "At one o'clock," he wrote, "I went to a suspected spot, and after failing, owing to my arm, to get on a cross wall to get a bit of a peep, I got a clever little corporal to go, and we discovered another mine under the church wall. We went down, broke into the house, the enemy bolted leaving one sepoy's jacket, three pairs of shoes and three baskets. They had progressed twenty-five feet. We destroyed the house, with their works, with two barrels of powder." ‡

Death of Captain Fulton, September 14th

This is the last entry in the Diary of Captain Fulton. On the 14th September while reconnoitring from a battery in Mr. Gubbins' post he was struck dead by a round shot. "He was lying at full length in one of the embrasures, with a telescope in his hand. He turned his face with a smile on it and said, 'They are just going to fire;' and sure enough they did. The shot took away the whole of the back of Captain Fulton's head, leaving his face like a mask still on his neck. When he was laid on his back on a bed we could not see how

* "MS. Diary of Captain Fulton, R.E."

† "The Mutinies in Oudh," by M. Gubbins, page 287.

‡ "MS. Diary of Captain Fulton."

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he had been killed." * So died George Fulton, a soldier whose valour no danger could appal, whose confidence and resource no trial could exhaust. His courtesy and kindness made him dear to officers and men, and his cheerful bearing and noble temper inspired them with his own energy and cool determination. His name will stand, for unto him his comrades have given the proud title of "The Defender of Lucknow." †

16th September. Ungud takes letter from General Inglis

On the 16th of September Ungud, the pensioner, was again sent forth with a letter, done up in a piece of quill, to take to General Havelock at Cawnpore. General Inglis wrote, "Since the date of my last letter, the enemy have continued to persevere unceasingly in their efforts against this position, and the firing has never ceased either day or night * * * I shall be quite out of rum for the men for eight days; but we have been living on reduced rations, so I hope to be able to get on pretty well until the 18th proximo. If you have not relieved us by that time, we shall have no meat left, as I must keep some bullocks to move my guns about the position; as it is, I have had to kill nearly all the gun bullocks, as my men could not perform the hard work without animal food. I am most anxious to hear of your advance to reassure the native soldiers."

An impression had arisen among the natives of the garrison, and was growing stronger day by day, that further resistance was hopeless. The belief was current among them that Ungud's stories were false and that no relieving force was nigh. Some officers also had their misgivings as to the possibility of relief. Havelock might draw near,

* "Captain Birch's account: The Siege of Lucknow. A Diary." By the Honourable Lady Inglis, page 146.

"When I met two men carrying a litter with the too familiar officer stretched out on it under a bloodstained cloth and, asking who it was, heard it was Fulton, I felt that we had sustained as great a blow as when Sir Henry died, and I felt sad for the loss of so noble a fellow, when lifting the cloth I saw the pallid face of my friend with the top of the head carried away."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

† "He was a highly gifted, cool, brave and chivalrous officer, fertile in resources, and a favourite both with officers and men."—"Defence of Lucknow, by a Staff Officer," page 159.

"And with his shrewd and resolute face, and his cheerful bearing, he did more than any other twenty men to keep up the spirits of the garrison. Wherever he appeared, it was the signal to be up and doing."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 154.

"He was 'The Defender of Lucknow,' and was the heart and soul of the contest that was so long and energetically waged against such fearful odds. I knew him well and shared fully all the admiration."—"MS. Diary of Sir Joseph Fayrer, Bart."

but would he be able with a small force to cut his way through a labyrinth of streets stoutly barricaded and held by a large and disciplined body of men? Indeed it would have been strange if there had been no moments of despondency. The diminutive garrison was exhausted by want of proper food, continued watching, and cruel anxiety; and it was no small aggravation of their sufferings that no shelter could be obtained from the autumnal rains which were unusually heavy. Eighty-four days of constant battering had destroyed the roofs of the houses. "The shot fired by the enemy were yesterday (September 7) collected and 280 round shot, varying in size from a 24-pounder to a 3-pounder, were gathered from the roof of the Brigade Mess alone."* The buildings were dismantled on all sides by the enemy's cannon, and many breaches were opened. But as the works began to give way, the more determined were the garrison to rely on their own bravery and strength. It was resolved that when the outer fortifications had crumbled to pieces they would retire to the inner posts and defend them to their last breath. No man or woman or child should fall alive into the hands of the rebels.

The courage of the women had never faltered. But the heart of the most sanguine grew sick with hope deferred. "Oh these sad scenes of death and sorrow," wrote one of them, "when are they to come to an end?" On the 18th there was a partial eclipse of the sun. "To many of our weary hearts, sunshine has been eclipsed for a long long time: who knows how soon it may appear again." Now after a long night of sorrow the day of rejoicing was approaching. On Sunday morning, September 20th, the garrison as was their wont assembled for the service of God at the Brigade Mess. That holy day there came home to the captives the heart of the meaning of the noble Psalms appointed to be read, and out of their souls' travail went forth the appeal: "Hide not thy face from me in the time of trouble; incline thine ear unto me when I call; Oh hear me and that right soon." And they were reminded that "This shall be written for those that come after." "Out of the heaven did the Lord behold the earth: That he might heed the mournings of such as are in captivity and deliver the children appointed unto death." The Lord heard their mournings and He pitied them according to the multitude of His mercies. On Tuesday, September 22nd, there came to "the children appointed unto death" glad tidings of deliverance.

Sunday, 20th September

* "Defence of Lucknow, by a Staff officer," page 84.

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Letter from General Outram

Ungud crept into the entrenchment late at night bringing with him a letter from General Outram, dated September 20th. "The army crossed the river yesterday," he wrote, "and all the material being over now, marches towards you to-morrow, and with the blessing of God will now relieve you. The rebels, we hear, intend making one desperate assault on you as we approach the city, and will be on the watch in expectation of your weakening your garrison to make a diversion in our favour as we attack the city. I beg to warn you against being enticed to venture far from your works. When you see us engaged in your vicinity, such diversion as you could make without in any way risking your position should only be attempted." Hope that they should soon be saved filled the hearts of all with gladness.

23rd September

Next morning, September 23rd, the rain ceased, the sun came out and the clouds rolled away, and the sound of distant guns in the direction of Cawnpore was heard. As the day wore on, the reports became louder and more frequent. "Each boom seemed to say, We are coming to save you." Expectation grew more intense. Several imagined they heard musketry. Great was the joy and exultation. "The fire keeps approaching, Hurrah!" The sepoys whose faith and loyalty had been sorely tried began to realise that the relief so often foretold and expected was now at hand. Ungud literally danced with joy, exclaiming as each shot was heard: "Our troops have arrived (Humara kumpoo âgeea)," and jeering and snapping his fingers at his incredulous comrades he asked, "Who is the liar now?" * Till sunset the distant cannonade could be heard from time to time, and then all was quiet throughout the night. There was however but little sleep in the garrison.

24th September

In the morning the distant cannonade was again heard, and large bodies of the enemy were seen moving through the city to the right and left. No news of any kind however had reached the garrison, and as the day advanced their anxiety grew more intense. Some argued that the advancing force must have met with a check. The natives again began to lose hope. Ungud was silent. So listening, scrutinizing and guessing, they spent that long day. When evening fell the flashes of our guns could be seen in the far distance like the beacon that glittereth above the dark ocean and giveth hope and courage to the storm-tossed mariner.

25th September

On the 25th at dawn of day the garrison again heard in the distance the growl of cannon, and by sunrise it had grown into a loud sullen

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, page 298.

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Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

BAILLIE GUARD GATE OF THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW, 1858.
Verandah of "Aitken's Post" in background, to right of spectator gap in wall used as an embrasure by "Bob Aitken," it was thro' this that the relieving army entered, main gate (Baillie Guard) being heavily barricaded and closed with

roar. At 10 A.M. a sepoy penetrated into Gubbins' post, and as the surprised sentry was about to floor him with his musket, he produced a letter and was recognised as a friendly messenger. The letter was from General Outram, but it had been written before his of the 20th, and it only announced his intention shortly to cross the Ganges. The messenger could give no account of the advancing force beyond its having reached the outskirts of the city.

About 11 A.M. the cannonade died away, but in a few minutes two large fires were seen blazing in the city and crowds moving to and fro in the streets. The muttered rattle of musketry fell on their ears and volumes of black smoke were seen rolling over the house-tops. All the garrison was on the alert, and the excitement amongst these brave men was painful to behold. About 1 P.M. fugitive families were seen like a swarm of ants passing across the bridges with bundles on their heads. Soon after armed men and sepoys accompanied by large bodies of cavalry were descried following in their footsteps, and from every gun and mortar that could be brought to bear a constant shower of heavy missiles was poured upon the flying troops. But the assailants were still in activity and determined not to release the entrenchment from their iron grasp. The breaching batteries all around continued to play with astounding rapidity, and from every loophole there streamed a swift discharge of nusketry. Then, as a flight of bullets swept over the head of the garrison a whistling sound was heard and a cry arose from the soldiers, "It is the Minie." At once they understood that friends were near and they gazed searchingly about the lines, but they could only see the enemy firing swiftly and heavily from the flat roofs of the houses. Then, after the lapse of five long minutes they beheld our soldiers fighting their way through one of the main streets. Many fell at every step, but straight on they came fighting man to man. Now at the sight of them "from every pit, trench and battery, from behind the sandbags piled on shattered houses, from every post still held by a few gallant spirits rose cheer on cheer." Many of the wounded crawled forth from the hospital to join in that gallant shout of welcome. And when darkness came near, Havelock and Outram accompanied by a few Highlanders and Sikhs were at the Bailey Guard Gate. It had been barricaded and a bank of earth thrown up inside, and so the Generals entered in by the embrasure at Aitken's battery, which, having been well knocked about, admitted them, the staff, and many of the soldiers

Arrival of Generals Havelock and Outram

who had kept pace with their mounted leaders. "We hardly expected you in before to-morrow," said Brigadier Inglis. General Havelock answered, "When I saw your battered gate, I determined to be in before nightfall."

The welcome

Soon after the earth was removed, the battered gate was thrown open, and through the archway of the Bailey Guard Gate streamed Havelock's force. Men and women with their children were there to welcome them. The big, rough-bearded soldiers seized "the little children out of our arms, kissing them with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanking God they had come in time to save them from the fate of Cawnpore. . . Everyone's tongue seemed going at once with so much to ask and tell, and the faces of utter strangers beamed upon each other like those of dearest friends and brothers." * For eighty-seven days the garrison had lived in utter ignorance of all that had taken place outside. Wives who had long mourned their husbands as dead were again restored to them; others, fondly looking forward to glad meetings with those near and dear to them, now for the first time learnt that they were no more. A woman who endured the unutterable anguish of that moment has told us how on hearing the cheering her first thought was of her husband: whether he had accompanied the reinforcement. "And I was not long left in suspense, for the first officer I spoke to told me he was coming up with them, and that they had shared the same *doolie* on the previous night. My first impulse was to thank God that he had come; and then I ran out with baby amongst the crowd to see if I could find him, and walked up and down the road to the Bailey Guard Gate, watching the face of everyone that came in; but I looked in vain for the one that I wanted to see, and then I was told that my husband was with the heavy artillery and would not be in till the next morning, so I went back to my own room. I could not sleep that night." At dawn she dressed herself "and baby in the one clean dress which I had kept for him throughout the siege until his father should come." She then took him out and met a friend who told her that her husband was just coming in, that they had been sharing the same tent on the march and that he was in high spirits at the thought of meeting his wife and child again. "I waited expecting to see him, but he did not come." All that day she sat at

* "A Lady's (Mrs. G. Harris's) Diary of the Siege of Lucknow," page 120.

the door watching for him "again full of happiness." "I felt he was so near to me that at any moment we might be together again." In the evening she took the babe up to the top of the Residency to look down the road, "but I could not see him coming and returned back to my room disappointed." Dawn found her watching for her husband, "and still he came not, and my heart was growing very sick with anxiety." In the afternoon a friend came to see her. "He looked so kindly and so sadly in my face and I said to him, 'How strange it is my husband does not come in? 'Yes', he said, 'it *is* strange!' and turned round and went out of the room. Then the thought struck me: Something has happened which they do not like to tell me! But this was agony too great almost to endure, to hear that he had been struck down at our very gates." And there burst from her the same cry that Helen *wailing with* deep sobs spake among the women of Troy: "My poor *little* fatherless boy! who is to care for us now."

Remarks on the Siege

The story of the defence of the Lucknow Residency is a tale which will always stir the hearts of Englishmen and Englishwomen, for there does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic. The scene of that memorable defence was no fortress strong by nature and art, no walled city like Saragossa and Londonderry manned by its own inhabitants, but a range of fragile buildings encircled by such entrenchments as could hastily be thrown up in a few days. The garrison consisted, not of a brigade or European regiment but of a portion of one British regiment, some hundred and fifty loyal sepoys, and a motley gathering of civilians. Day by day they dwindled away, worn out by wounds, disease, and insufficient food, heat by day and cold by night, heart-sickness and the insufferable stench of putrefying corpses. The steady waste of precious lives is illustrated by the following figures. Of the 927 Europeans and East Indian men present on the 1st of July, only 577 remained alive on the day of relief (25th September), and of these many were sick or wounded. Of 765 Natives, 130 were dead and 230 had deserted. Thus, in 87 days the garrison had fallen from 1,692 to 1,179, and this included many sick and wounded. The casualties among the Artillery officers bear testimony to the severity of the losses. On the 1st July there were nine officers present, of these five were killed or died of wounds. One was three times wounded and survived; two were once wounded and recovered; and one alone remained

untouched.* Against this small and daily decreasing band of men were arrayed six thousand trained soldiers and a vast host of armed men animated by an insane and bloodthirsty fanaticism. Their heavy guns posted almost in security within fifty yards of the entrenchment poured forth for three months a nearly incessant fire, and their musketry was so searching that it penetrated the innermost retreat of the women and children and of the wounded. The combats before the walls were of frequent occurrence, and desperate attempts repeatedly made to force an entry after blowing in the defences had to be repelled. Such were the main features of this famous siege of which Lord Canning wrote :—

"That defence has not only called forth all the energy and daring which belongs to Englishmen in the hour of conflict; but it has exhibited, continuously and in the highest degree, that noble and sustained courage which against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred, and through unceasing toil and wear of body and mind, still holds on day after day and triumphs." †

Henry Havelock, Second-Lieutenant, 1815

Forty-two years before the relief of the garrison at Lucknow, Henry Havelock became Second-Lieutenant in the old Ninety-fifth, now the Rifle Brigade. He was assigned to the company commanded by Captain Henry Smith, who had served in the Peninsular War, from the battle of Vimiera to that of Corunna, and lives in history as the victor of Aliwal. Havelock took up his work as a soldier in earnest, and not only did he apply himself to the practical duty he had to perform, but he read, with close attention, all the military history to which he could obtain access. After eight years' service in England, feeling that India presented a wider field for action, he exchanged into the 13th Light Infantry, sailed for Calcutta, and landed in the

Lands in India, 1823

Capital of Bengal in May 1823. He arrived in India fully prepared for his work, and he had not been a twelve-month there before he was called upon to test his professional knowledge in the exacting school

First Burmese War

of experience. When the First Burmese War had been declared, Havelock's military attainments having become known, he was appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General in the head-quarter staff

* "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by General Sir Henry Norman, page 6.

"Two ladies were killed during the siege, and nine wives of officers and uncovenanted gentlemen died, with no less than 53 European or East Indian children."

† General Order, by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 8th December 1857.

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of the expedition. During the campaign he showed not only great administrative ability, but coolness and promptitude when commanding troops in action.* At the close of the war Havelock returned to regimental duty at Dinapore, for a few months, when he was appointed to the Adjutancy of the depot of King's troops at Chinsura, the old Dutch settlement. Here he remained three years, taking charge of the recruits as they arrived from England, and drilling them and forwarding them to their respective corps. The facts of the Burmese Campaign had, however, left a strong impression on his mind, for he had seen things done which did not correspond with his ideas of exactitude and foresight. He had studied the theory of war from the day he had become a soldier, and had meditated upon its principles. He had followed Cæsar and Alexander, and had critically analyzed the structure of the campaigns of Marlborough, Frederick, Wellington, and Napoleon: he, therefore, determined to write "A Sketch of the Military Events of the First War against the Barbarians of Ava." "I wish to present my pages," he wrote, "uniformly with the Napoleon Memoirs. I hope neither you, nor the world, will attribute this species of imitation to vanity: I think it is the best form of Military History. It is, in fact, a very trifling improvement on the plan of the Commentaries of the Roman Dictator." "The Campaigns in Ava" was published at Serampore early in 1828. Havelock, a man of intellectual vigour, had left Charter House † a good scholar and

Adjutant at Chinsura

The Campaigns in Ava

* A party to which he had been attached was sent to capture a stockade "which," as he wrote to Lieutenant Gardner, "was situated in the midst of a jungle terribly thick and tangled, and most disrespectfully near our position. The senior officer, who had just risen from a sick bed, was exhausted by fatigue, and unable to act, and I, as the only staff officer present, seized the reins at rather a critical moment. The troops did not support me, as older soldiers would have done; not that they evinced any disposition to go about, but they stood wasting ammunition in an exposed situation, when they should have pushed *en avant*, and used their bayonets, as I bid them do. I had sixteen of my friends of the 13th killed and wounded, and poor Barrett's right arm shot off. After this my pioneers (Madrassees) fairly flung down the ladders and would not budge, though I coaxed, harangued, and thrashed them by turns, all under the best fire our feeble enemy could keep up and within pistol-shot of the work. At length, with European aid, I got my ladders fixed, and carried my point just when darkness rendered the capture useless."—"Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 22.

† Nearly contemporary with him "were Connop Thirlwall, now Bishop of St. David's; George Waddington, Dean of Durham, distinguished as a scholar and a man of letters; George Grote, the historian of Greece; Archdeacon Hale, now Master of the Charter House; Alderman Thompson, member for Northumberland; Sir William Macnaghten, the talented but unfortunate envoy at Cabul; the Right Hon'ble Fox Maule, now Secretary-at-War; Eastlake, the painter; and Yates, the actor."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 7.

during all his busy, military career he studied the majestic works of the Old World. He loved Homer, and took pattern by Thucydides.* The materials of "The Campaigns of Ava" were collected with the most scrupulous care : the events are related with the strictest impartiality and wonderful clearness in detail. Havelock told the commanders their faults and suggested such remedies as the study of great campaigns had suggested to him. But his bold strictures on their tactics made many enemies, and created a prejudice against him. This prejudice was somewhat heightened by Havelock's deficiency in that buoyancy of temper which enables one to take life easily. His intellect was grave and concentrated.† He was a Puritan soldier, and he had the old Puritans' great confidence in God's government, their view and sense of a close relation with the Unseen : to him, as to them, the trials of life were divinely appointed, and sorrow was to be borne and work done in sure and certain hope. When stationed at Chinsura he was near Serampore, the home of the noble missionary brotherhood. He often visited them, and took a deep interest in their work. His strong religious beliefs impelled him to join their community, and on the 9th February, 1829, he married

* The preface of his work consists of a long quotation from Thucydides (Lib. VI, Cap. 11 and 12) in the original Greek and without a translation; and the following quotation from Bacon's Essay " of Empire ":—

" Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received : ' that a war cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent injury or provocation.' For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of war."

† " It is the fashion, especially in his own corps, to sneer at him: his manners are cold, while his religious opinions (Baptist) seclude him from Society ; but the whole of them together would not compensate for his loss. Brave to admiration, imperturbably cool, looking at his profession as a science, and, as far as I can see or judge, correct in his views."—" The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R.E., page 39.

Henry Havelock wrote to Major Broadfoot, 6th May 1843 :—"But now, before quitting this subject on which I have too long dilated, let me ask, my good friend, what it is you mean exactly by *prejudices* against me, the mention of which you reiterate? Tell me plainly. I am not aware of any. Old Willoughby Cotton, indeed, and others used to tell me that it was believed at Horse Guards and in other quarters that I professed to fear God as well as honour the Queen, and that Lord Hill and sundry other wise persons had made up their minds that no man could, at once, be *a saint* and a soldier. Now I daresay such great authorities must be right, notwithstanding the examples of Colonel Gardiner, and Cromwell, and Gustavus Adolphus (all that I can think of just now) ; but, if so, all that I can say is that their bit of red ribbon was very ill bestowed upon me ; for I humbly trust that in that great matter I should not change my opinions and practice though it rained garters and coronets as the reward of apostasy. So if these be the grounds of the *prejudices*, they are like to be sempiternal ; but if they be any others that I know not of, tell me, my good friend, plainly and roundly. *Quo lapsus, quid feci?* It is well to be upon one's guard."—" The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R.E., page 191.

Hannah, the daughter of Dr. Marshman, one of the most eminent of that illustrious band of scholars and Christian workers. Twenty-six years after, he wrote to his wife, on the anniversary of their wedding-day: "I have not repented, that I will seriously assert and maintain. On the contrary, my submission to the 'yoke' has been the source of nearly all the satisfaction and happiness which retrospect presents to me on the chequered map of my sixty years' experience." The letters to his wife and children exhibit the tenderness of disposition possessed by the resolute and strict Puritan soldier, whose chief characteristic was faithful, single-hearted devotion. Three things occupied his heart—his family, his religion, and his profession. He did not allow his piety to detract from his military duties. A holy ambition guided him. The day after his first victory he wrote: "One of the prayers, often repeated throughout my life, since my school days, has been answered, and I have had to command in a successful action." But he had to wait in patience for the atoning hour to come.

Captain, 5th June 1838

First Afghan War

The year 1838 may be regarded as the turning-point in Havelock's career; for it was then, after twenty years' service, he obtained, at the age of forty-three, the rank of Captain, and the war with Afghanistan gave the opportunity of again showing his military capacity in the field. The two most striking incidents in that unfortunate campaign, and the ones which most rivet the imagination, are the storming of Ghazni, and the heroic defence of Jellalabad. In both Havelock played a subordinate, yet not obscure, part. He has given us a vigorous account of how the "forlorn hope" at Ghazni "won gradually their way onward, till at length its commanders, and their leading files, beheld, over the heads of their infuriated opponents, a small portion of blue sky, and a twinkling star or two, and then, in a moment, the headmost soldiers found themselves within the place." *

Capture of Ghazni

After the occupation of Cabul, as the country seemed fairly tranquil, the army of the Indus was broken up, and only a small force left to maintain order. Sir Willoughby Cotton, who commanded the division, pressed Havelock who was his aide-de-camp to stay with him, and offered him, in addition, the post of Persian interpreter. But Havelock had kept careful notes of the campaign, and was anxious to publish them before the interest in the war should abate. "I am too old for fame," he wrote; "bare *lucre* for my boys' education is the only

* "Narrative of the War in Afghanistan in 1838-39," by Captain Henry Havelock, volume 2, page 76.

object." He therefore declined the offer, and hastened to Serampore, where he quickly moulded his notes into form, working from night to morn at the task. The work was set up in type at that station and despatched with all speed to England, where it was published in two duodecimo volumes: but it brought the author neither fame nor lucre. The war had never excited any enthusiasm in England, and all interest in it had ceased after the occupation of Cabul. The book had no sale, and was little read, though it deserved a better fate. It is a clear and impartial narrative, containing scenes not unworthy to rank with the account of the storming of Badajoz, and the dark retreat from Astorga to Corunna.

Narrative of the War in Afghanistan

Disappointed at the reception of his book, Havelock's thoughts again turned to Afghanistan, and in the beginning of 1841 he returned to Cabul as Persian interpreter on the staff of General William Elphinstone, who had succeeded General Cotton. A few months after his return the wild tribes began to make raids, and block the passes, and the 13th Regiment and 35th Native Infantry, under Brigadier-General Sir R. Sale, had to be sent to punish them, and open the road. Havelock obtained leave to accompany his own regiment. On entering the Khoord Cabul Pass the brigade was so vigorously attacked that Sale, who had been severely wounded, leaving an advanced guard to watch the mouth of the Pass, fell back to Buthkak, the camping-ground, one march from Kabul in the direction of Jellalabad. He sent Havelock to Kabul to bring supplies and troops, who after a week returned with them. Sale's force, now considerably strengthened, pushed its way by sheer hard fighting—in which Havelock had his share—through the Pass till it reached Gundamuk, thirty miles on the Kabul side of Jellalabad.* Here tidings reached them of the insurrection at Cabul, and Sale was asked by our Envoy to return through the Passes. On receipt of the request the General summoned a Council of War, at which Havelock was present. Not being a Commanding Officer he had no vote, but he took part in the discussion, and urged many cogent reasons for not retracing their steps. Five or six thousand men at Kabul, well

Returns to Afghanistan

* Major Broadfoot wrote:—"Sale's Camp, Gundumuk, 4th November 1841:—Suffice it to say we have had military operations far more severe than we expected: instructive professionally by showing that against even Afghans no rules of military science can be neglected with impunity, and interesting to those much employed from the difficulty of the country and the boldness of the enemy."—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R.E., page 38.

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furnished with all the munitions of war, he argued, should be able to hold their own against an armed population. Sale's brigade was small, and it had been weakened by every step in advance. It had been barely able to fight its way to Gundamuk, and now it would have to fight every yard of the way back through the mountains, amidst appalling difficulties. The supply of cartridges was scanty. The snow was on the mountains; the cold was intense; the force badly clothed; and the deficiency in transport would compel them to abandon their tents. The sick and wounded, amounting to three hundred, must be placed in a position of safety. To leave them at Gundamuk meant certain destruction; in Jellalabad they would be safe. The occupation of that fortress would give the Kabul force a point on which to retire, and secure a fortified *point d'appui* on the road to India, to which a relieving force might advance. The council resolved to move on Jellalabad.*

On the 12th of November Sale's brigades encamped under the walls of Jellalabad. During the siege the sound judgment of Havelock was of the utmost service in the Council of War, his sound knowledge of his profession, in repairing the works, and his coolness and courage, in leading the sorties. He firmly, though unostentatiously, supported Major Broadfoot in preventing the capitulation, and in persuading General Sale to make the decisive attack on the besiegers on 7th April. A wound prevented Major Broadfoot from taking a part in the engagement, and his misfortune "brought conspicuously forward one of the best officers in the service,—Captain Havelock of the 13th, who that day, to the public advantage, took my place." To Havelock was given the command of the third right column, and it was in a great measure due to his skill and daring that a complete victory was won. Nine days after General Pollock reached Jellalabad, and the relieving force was played into camp by the band of the 13th, to the tune "Oh, but ye've bin lang o' comin'." Havelock was informed that he had been appointed by the Commander-in-Chief in India Deputy Adjutant-General of

Siege of Jellalabad

* The decision has been much questioned. Sir Herbert Edwardes has said—"Of course it will always remain a moot point whether Sale could have returned or not; and if he had returned, whether it would have saved the Kabul force. From Sale's own account it is probable he could not have returned in a state of efficiency; but there were at least two men with Sale's brigade who would have made all the difference:—one—Henry Havelock—who would have recalled the discipline and spirit of poor Elphinstone's subordinates, if mortal man could do it: the other—George Broadfoot—who, in the last resort, would have dared to supply the army with a leader."—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R. E., page 41.

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the Infantry Division, and in that capacity he accompanied the avenging army to Kabul. He was present at the clearing of the Jugdalak Pass, and at Tezin where the Afghans made their final stand.* On September the 15th Pollock marched unmolested to Kabul. Havelock accompanied the expedition promptly sent to succour the captives, and after their release he proceeded as Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General with the force sent under the command of General McCaskell to take the virgin fortress of Istaliff. To Havelock the success of the expedition and the brilliant victory gained were mainly due.† On the 17th of December, 1842, the Governor-General received with considerable pomp the war-worn regiments from Afghanistan—the "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad being the first to march across the bridge of boats over the broad waters of the Sutlej. "I crossed it," wrote Havelock, "in the suite of Sir Robert Sale, borrowed for the hour as a part of the triumphant pageant with which India's ruler greeted him who was truly regarded as, under Providence, its preserver. Thus auspiciously terminated my four years' connection with Afghanistan." For his services in Afghanistan Havelock was made a C.B. He had begun the campaign as a Captain, and a Captain he came out at its close; and as his staff appointment terminated with the war he returned to the command of a company of the 13th Light Infantry.

Tezin

Major, 30th June 1843

On the 30th of June 1843, Havelock got his majority‡ without purchase, and soon after his promotion he was made Persian interpreter on the staff of the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough,

* "When the British troops ascended the hills to drive the Afghans off, a determined struggle ensued; the Afghans came down to meet them, and in more places than one on that day there was a practical exhibition of sword *versus* bayonet."—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R.E., page 160.

† "Eldred Pottinger, who was present, and whose services on that occasion were of great value, recognizing Havelock's worth, said to him that his presence at Kabul during the time of trial there would have altered the aspect of affairs. To him Havelock replied, 'I will not undertake to say that I could have saved Kabul; but I feel confident that George Broadfoot would have done it.'"—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R. E., page 163.

‡ He wrote to Major Broadfoot—"This perhaps was not a great boon after twenty-eight years' service, twenty of them in India; but it was conceded with the air of one, it being urged that the retirements were nearly all filled up, and the applicants for them of very low standing. Pattison being allowed to go out in my favour, was therefore made an act of grace to me, with the innuendo, I expect, that it closed the door to all further claim for the last Afghan campaign."—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R. E., page 198.

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whose camp he joined at Cawnpore, in time to take part in the Gwalior Campaign. On the 28th of December, 1843, at Maharajpore, the English once more encountered the Mahrattas. They fought with all their ancient valour, but had, after a desperate resistance, to yield to British bayonets. In the very crisis of its success Havelock rallied the 56th Native Infantry that were advancing at too slow a pace, reminded them that they were fighting under the very eye of their Commander-in-Chief, and placing himself at their head led them, amidst a storm of shot, against the batteries of the enemy. For Maharajpore he received his Brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy, when he had been a soldier twenty-eight years.

Maharajpore, 28th December 1843

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel

Two years after the Gwalior Campaign the first Sikh War began, and Havelock was by the side of his Chief wherever peril was greatest. At Moodkee he had two horses shot under him. His old charger, Feroze, which had carried him through the Afghan Campaign being killed by a round shot, Broadfoot remounted him on a pony belonging to one of his escort which, before he had proceeded far, was wounded by a musket-ball in the mouth. Broadfoot again mounted him with the remark that it "appeared to be of little use to give him horses, as he was sure to lose them." At Ferozeshah fell the gallant Broadfoot,* and the same conflict deprived Havelock of another friend—his old chief, Sir Robert Sale, who closed a long career of glory by that death which he coveted—death on the field. Havelock was present at the crowning victory of Sobraon, and again had a horse shot under him. It was a hair-breadth escape, as the ball struck the saddle-cloth and passed within an inch of his thigh. The charger fell, but Havelock escaped unhurt.

First Sikh War

At the close of the First Sikh War Havelock, on the recommendation of the Governor-General, was appointed Deputy Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops at Bombay, by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Hardinge mentioned to the Duke his extraordinary military merits; but Havelock never used his abilities to magnify himself. He regarded the campaign merely as a useful school for learning the

* "I have now to conclude this despatch by expressing my deep concern for the loss, in the action of the 21st instant, of that most invaluable officer, Major Broadfoot, my Political Agent for these States. He was wounded and thrown off his horse at my side, but I failed in prevailing on him to retire. He remounted his horse, and shortly after received a mortal wound in leading on the troops against the batteries in front."—"The Career of Major Broadfoot, C.B.," by Major W. Broadfoot, R.E., page 399.

actual lessons of war. "I entered on this campaign," he wrote, after Sobraon, "fancying myself something of a soldier. I have now learnt that I knew nothing. Well! I am even yet not too old to learn."

When the Second Sikh War broke out Havelock obtained permission from Sir William Cotton, who commanded the Bombay Army, to vacate his staff appointment, and join the 53rd, to which he now belonged.* It had been forwarded to the front, and Havelock started with full speed for the Punjab. But on his journey he received a peremptory order to return to his post, and a reprimand for having left it without orders from the Commander-in-Chief in India. Havelock acknowledged that he had acted wrong, and keenly felt the reprimand. "But now am I to sit down in despair? Not I, by God's blessing. If health and life be spared I hope to retrieve all."

Furlough to England

The time had now come for him to quit the trying climate, which he had braved six-and-twenty years. In November, 1849, he arrived in England, and the next two years were spent renewing his health and his intercourse with the friends of his youth. Then he returned to his old post at Bombay, which he held till the spring of 1854, when Lord Hardinge appointed him Quartermaster-General of the Queen's troops in India. On the 20th of June of the same year he obtained his regimental Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and brevet Colonelcy, and a few months later the office of Adjutant-General of the Queen's troops in India having become vacant he was transferred to that post. Two

War with Persia, 1856

years after when war with Persia was declared (1st November, 1856), Havelock was appointed, at the request of Sir James Outram, to command a division of the force which was about to proceed under the command of that officer to the Persian Gulf. Havelock joined Outram at Bushire after the first blow had been struck at the Persians, and their army routed at Kushab. Outram determined to follow up his success by an advance to the Persian Capital, and directed Havelock to prepare for an attack on Mohamerah, a strongly fortified town on the Euphrates. Havelock drew up the plan of operations which were in the main adopted by Outram, and proved completely successful. On the 26th of March the forts were occupied, but all further advance was stopped by news reaching the camp (5th April) that peace with Persia had been signed at Paris.

* He had exchanged from the 13th Light Infantry into the 39th Regiment before the Sutlej Campaign, and he had since exchanged into the 53rd.

Return from Persia

On the 15th of May, Havelock sailed for Bombay, and reached that capital on the 26th, when he heard "the astounding intelligence" that the Native regiments had mutinied, and that Delhi was in the hands of the rebels. He could not reach the Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, by the direct land route, so he determined to go by sea to Calcutta "prepared to give Lord Canning and Birch strong advice if they consult me. This is the most tremendous convulsion I have ever witnessed, though I was in the thick of Kabul affairs: the crisis is eventful."

Embarks for Galle

On the 12th of June he embarked in the steamship *Erin* for Galle. The vessel was wrecked on the coast of Ceylon, and for some hours it was momentarily expected to go to pieces; and during that time it was mainly due to Havelock that order was kept among the panic-stricken crew. At dawn all were safely landed, and on reaching shore, Havelock called on all to do what the little company of Pilgrim Fathers did, when they landed on the barren coast of Massachusetts—return thanks to Almighty God. "The folly of man," he wrote, "threw us on shore; the mercy of God found us a soft place near Caltura."

Arrives at Calcutta, 17th June

From Caltura Havelock hastened to Galle, and embarked on the *Fire Queen*, which reached Madras on the 13th of June. Here he learned that General Anson had died (27th of May) and Sir Patrick Grant, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, had been summoned to Calcutta. Grant was an old comrade of Havelock's, and they had ridden side by side at Maharajpore and Moodke; and the two Generals went together to Calcutta, arriving there on the 17th of June. On the following morning Grant introduced Havelock to Lord Canning:—"Your Excellency, I have brought you the man." Lord Hardinge had, some years before, said—"If India is ever in danger, the Government have only to put Havelock in command of an army, and it will be saved." India was now in danger, and Havelock was put in command, not of an army, but a small column of troops. It was to be formed at Allahabad, and was to consist, in addition to some artillery and a few other troops, of the 64th and 78th Highlanders, whom he had commanded on the Euphrates. Havelock was re-commissioned Brigadier-General * and received instructions that "after quelling all disturbances

* "Colonel Havelock was made Brigadier-General in Persia, and, oddly enough, here he is just appointed Brigadier again, and commanding the identical regiments he had little more than a month ago at Mohumra—the 64th and 78th Highlanders, with some artillery and a few other troops."—"The Story of Two Noble Lives," volume II, page 218.

at Allahabad he should not lose a moment in supporting Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, and Sir Hugh Wheeler at Cawnpore; and that he should take prompt measures for dispersing and utterly destroying all mutineers and insurgents." There was to be as little delay as possible in carrying out these measures. "It was not possible at the moment to give him any more precise or definite instructions, but he must necessarily be guided by circumstances; and the Commander-in-Chief had entire confidence in his well-known and often proved high ability, vigour, and judgment." The confidence of the Commander-in-Chief was not, however, shared by all. Havelock's appointment was sharply criticized, and he was called 'an old fossil, dug up and only fit to be turned into pipe-clay.' "General Havelock," wrote Lady Canning, "is not in fashion, but all the same we believe he will do well. No doubt he is fussy and tiresome, but his little, old, stiff figure looks as active and fit for use as if he were made of steel." On the 25th of June that "little stiff figure" went forth from Calcutta to prove himself a great military leader and win the gratitude of his country.

Colonel Neill arrives at Calcutta, May 23rd

Some weeks before Havelock reached Calcutta Colonel Neill had arrived there from Madras, bringing with him the 1st Madras Fusiliers, of which he was chief.* The commander was a soldier of extraordinary energy, valour, daring and activity, who had seen active service in Burma and the Crimea, and who had, as Adjutant, done much to maintain the discipline and proud traditions of the corps. On the 16th of May, news reached Madras, from Calcutta, of the mutiny of the troops at Meerut, and the capture of Delhi by the rebels, and Neill received orders "to hold his regiment in readiness to embark, fully equipped for service." "We embarked," wrote Neill, "early in the morning of the 18th, and arrived at Calcutta on the afternoon of the 23rd." A man of untiring zeal and activity, before noon his men were transferred to flats on the river, ready to proceed to Benares, where the Government had begun to send the

* It was named the First Madras European Regiment of which Neill, in 1843, published an account. "Historical Record of the Hon'ble East India Company's First Madras European Regiment: by a Staff Officer." The book, written with considerable care and ability, is well worth reading. "The First Madras European Regiment ranks the second corps in the services of the Honourable East India Company, and next to the Bombay Regiment raised in 1661, by Charles II, for the occupation and defence of the island of Bombay, and transferred to the East India Company on the 23rd September 1668." The 1st Madras European Regiment was consolidated into a regular battalion by its first commandant, the famous Colonel Stringer Lawrence, who taught Clive to be a soldier.

few troops they could spare. It was important to secure the safety of that city, not only because it was the stronghold of Brahmanism, the home of every fallen royal family, the heart and brain of every intrigue, but also on account of it being an important point on the road to Allahabad. At Benares the river and road communication meet, and then proceed side by side to Allahabad, whose strong fortress built at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges commands on one side the river, and on the other, the road. The magazines of the fortress were stored with immense quantities of arms and ammunition; but they were guarded by Native troops, and the safety of the fortress, whose strategic importance the Duke of Wellington had pointed out,* depended on the loyalty of mercenary troops. When news of the revolt at Meerut reached Lord Canning he must have recalled to mind how earnestly Outram had pleaded, the year before, for immediate measures being taken for the better security of the fortress of Allahabad.† "Allahabad is one of the most anxious cases," wrote Lady Canning,

* The Duke of Wellington wrote:—"In addition to these, I would earnestly recommend that the state of the fortress of Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, should be examined, and that its works and buildings should be put in repair, and measures adopted to fill its magazines with ordnance and stores, so as to render that fortress likewise of utility in the general defence of the frontier in case of attack from the North-West, and in case of the necessity for operations in Bundelcund, or towards Gwalior or Hindostan."—"*History of the Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough*," page 236.

† "*During the three days I passed at Calcutta when on my way home on sick leave, in May 1856, I had an interview with Lord Canning, my chief object in seeking which, was to entreat his Lordship to take immediate measures for the better security of the Fortress of Allahabad.* I informed him that the gates were held only by sepoy guards, and that if a Sevajee should arise, he might any day obtain possession, by corrupting the sepoys, or by introducing any number of followers with concealed arms among the crowds of Hindoo devotees who were allowed access on certain festival days to pay their devotions at the shrines within the Fort. True, the rule was to leave their arms at the gates; but then those gates were only protected by sepoys, and, even if they had not been gained over, how very easy it would be for determined men to overpower them by a sudden rush from the interior, wielding knives, *kookrus*, and other weapons they might have concealed on their persons, while allies distracted the garrison's attention from the outside. So urgent did I consider the necessity, that I arranged with General Penny, as I passed through Cawnpore, to have 200 European troops in readiness to despatch by bullock train to Allahabad so soon as he should receive the order from Calcutta, and I entreated his Lordship to send the order without delay. He made a note of my suggestion, and appeared impressed with the advisability of carrying it out. I then wrote to General Anson, Commander-in-Chief, informing him of what I had recommended, and begged his Excellency to see it done without delay. I then sailed, and was astonished to find on my return to Calcutta from Persia, that *nothing had been done*."—"James Outram," by Major-General Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., volume 2, page 122.

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"it is very important and there are no Europeans. Some invalids from Chunar have been sent to it, and there are some very good Sikhs." Had the measures proposed by Outram been adopted by the authorities a European regiment would have been retained at Cawnpore, to supply the Allahabad garrison. Lord Canning's first object was to remedy this grave error. As soon as the tidings of the outbreak at Meerut reached him, he began to send to Benares and Allahabad every man he could spare. On the 21st of May, Lady Canning wrote:—"Some of the Queen's 84th go by fast dawk in small detachments to Benares: eighteen a day only at first, and afterwards twenty-five a day; but they travel fast. The bullock-train * carries a hundred, thirty miles a day faster than marching, but deplorably slow for such long distances. The river is of little use, for it is necessary to go round by the Sunderbund, now that it is so low, and the distance so immense."

It was determined to send a portion of the Madras Fusiliers on steamers by the river route, and some were to be "entrained" by detachments. The railway terminus was on the bank of the river, almost opposite the fort at Howrah:—"There is a landing place and jetty," wrote Neill: "the train was to start at 8-30 P.M. My men were all on board flats in the river, where they were cool and comfortable, and out of the way of mischief. When a party of 100 men were intended to go by train the flat on which they were was hauled into the jetty. On the night on which the second party left, the flat was hauled in, but there was a squall, and consequent delay. The railway people on shore gave no assistance. As we neared the jetty, a Jack-in-office Station-master called out to me very insolently that I was late, and that the train would not wait for me a moment. He would send it off without me. A little altercation ensued. Our men were landed by their officers and went making the best of their way up to the carriages. The fellow was still insolent, and threatened to start the train, so I put him under charge of a Sergeant's guard, with orders not to allow him to move until I gave permission. The other officials were equally threatening and impertinent. One gentleman told me I might command a regiment, but that I did not command them; they had authority there, and that he would start the train without my men.

* An organized train of wagons drawn by relays of bullocks, which were picketed at regular stages along the road.

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I then placed a guard over the engineer and stoker, got all my men safely into the train, and then released the railway people:—off went the train, only ten minutes after time. * * * *. I told the gentlemen that their conduct was that of traitors and rebels, and fortunate it was for them that I had not to deal with them. The matter has been brought to the notice of Government. I have heard nothing more than that Lord Canning thinks I did what was right; and the railway people are now most painfully civil and polite."

On the 3rd of June Colonel Neill arrived at Benares with a detachment of his regiment, and found sixty of his men and three officers who had preceded him there. He had arranged to start with a detachment of his corps for Cawnpore the following afternoon, but in the course of the day, the 4th, news arrived of the mutiny at Azimghur. The Native garrison at Benares consisted at the time of the 37th Native Infantry, the Loodianah Sikh regiment, which was composed only very partially of Sikhs and largely of Hindustanees, and a part of a regiment of Irregular Cavalry. Brigadier Ponsonby, "whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism," * commanded the station, and he at once consulted Colonel Neill as to the expediency of disarming the 37th, "who had been suspected of disaffection for some time." † "He proposed waiting until the following morning to do this: I urged its being done at once, to which he agreed, and left my quarters to make his arrangements, directing me to be present with the Europeans at 5 P.M.‡ The Loodianah regiment in which Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon placed much confidence, and a party of about seventy of the Irregular Cavalry, were to join the Europeans in their demonstration."

Disarming of the troops at Benares, 4th June

The lines of the 37th were in the centre of the parade, almost midway between those occupied by the Sikhs and by the Artillery. At the hour appointed Brigadier Ponsonby arrived, "but I observed that he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy or the vigour required of the emergency." The Europeans and Artillery

* "At the Battle of Purwundurrah in the 1st Afghan War. Kayes writes:—"The English officers who led our cavalry to the attack covered themselves with glory. The native troopers fled like sheep. * * *. Captains Fraser and Ponsonby whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism still live to show their honourable scars, and to tell with mingled pride and humiliation the story of that melancholy day."—"The War in Afghanistan," J. W. Kaye, volume II, pages 94 and 95.

† "Annals of the Indian Rebellion," page 381.

‡ Three guns of No. 12 Field Battery and 30 men, under Captain Olpherts; Her Majesty's 10th, 150 men and 3 officers; Madras Fusiliers, 60 men and 3 officers.

were ordered to advance from the left : the Sikh and Irregular Cavalry from the right. "On approaching the bells of arms of the 37th the sepoys of that corps seized their arms, loaded them and opened fire upon us." * Some of our men fell wounded. The Europeans promptly returned the fire, and Captain William Olpherts poured in a shower of grape and the sepoys fell back on their lines. Brigadier Ponsonby was now struck down by the sun and begged that Neill would at once assume the command, "which I accordingly did, and directed a dash on the lines with the Europeans and Sikhs in line on each flank of the Artillery. But the Sikhs did not move from their position, for they were startled by a shot being fired in their rear. Captain Guise, commanding the Irregular Cavalry, had been shot by a sepoy of the 37th, while going to parade, and Captain Dodgson, the Brigade-Major, was ordered to take command of the corps. No sooner had he ridden up to them, and called upon them to follow him, when a trooper fired at him, and attempted to cut him down. On hearing the shot and turmoil in their rear, the Sikhs, apprehensive of treachery, turned round and began to fire at their officers. A sepoy levelled his musket at Colonel Gordon, the gallant and popular commander, and a Sikh stepping forward held his arms in front of the Colonel, and received the bullet. Then another Sikh aimed at his Commander, but was promptly shot down by two of his comrades. Shouting and yelling frantically the Sikhs now began to fire wildly in all directions, and some of their bullets went whistling through the English battery. Olpherts, after the British Infantry had gone in pursuit of the 37th Native Infantry, thinking his work was done, began to limber up his guns; but on hearing the tumult in his rear he promptly ordered them to be unlimbered again and swung them round. In a wild storm of rage, panic, and madness, the Sikhs surged forward, and Olpherts opened fire. Twice, thrice, they made impetuous charges to capture the half battery of three guns, manned by 30 Englishmen ; but storms of grape sheared them away, and, recoiling, they broke and fled in a chaotic manner towards the Infantry line. And with them went the Irregular Cavalry. Olpherts had done his work right well; and Neill completed it by driving the mutineers out of cantonments. By their daring and prompt action they saved Benares and the retention of our authority at that important base enabled Neill to succour

* Lieutenant-Colonel J C. Neill, of the Madras Army, to the Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, Benares, June the 6th.

Allahabad,—"That point," as Lord Canning wrote, "the most precious in India at the present moment." *

On the 5th of June news of the mutiny at Benares reached Allahabad. The same day an order came from Sir Henry Wheeler, Brigadier at Cawnpore, "to man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand." Preparations were instantly made; all the ladies and all non-combatants were ordered into the fort: many of the latter obeyed, and were formed into a Volunteer company, under the officer commanding the garrison; but a large number, believing it to be a false alarm, remained outside. The garrison now consisted of the sixty artillery pensioners sent from Chunar, a few Commissariat and Magazine Sergeants, and the Volunteers mustering about one hundred men. There were also four hundred men belonging to an Irregulár Sikh regiment under Captain Brasyer, and eighty of the 6th Native Infantry, the remainder being cantoned in the station about two miles away. But on receipt of the intelligence from Benares a company was sent down with two guns under the command of Lieutenant Harward of the Artillery to the bridge of boats to prevent the rebels from crossing. At the same time Lieutenant Alexander, with 150 troopers of the 3rd Oudh Irregulars, was also sent to occupy the Alopi Bagh, a garden between the fort and bridge of boats which commanded the approaches to the station. Mutiny at Allahabad

* My thanks are due to General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., K.C.B., for giving me in a long personal conversation a full detailed account of what occurred at Benares. Lord Canning wrote at the time that the disarming "was done hurriedly and not judiciously." "A portion of a regiment of the Sikhs," he wrote to the President of the India Board, "was drawn into resistance, who, had they been properly dealt with, would, I fully believe, have remained faithful." General Olpherts remarks, "Not so, as the result proved. It was done promptly and effectually. The regiment had a large number of Hindustanees who were traitors at heart though it did not suit Colonel Gordon or others to say so." General Olpherts also let me read two letters, one written by General D. T. Dodgson, K.C.B., the other by Major-General W. Tweedie, C.S.I., who were both present, which confirm his opinion and disprove the assertion that the Sikhs were drawn into resistance. "I am most positive," wrote Dodgson, "you did not open fire on the Loodianah Regiment until they had fired on your men and on the Infantry (European) and had fired on their own Commanding Officer and Adjutant, and had actually mortally wounded Ensign Hayter, and most severely wounded Ensigns Chapman and Tweedie. I saw them shot down by the Sikhs * * I know a good many of the Sikhs were loyal, but a great many were disloyal * * * Gordon had evidently the greatest difficulty in getting the Loodianah Regiment to move up in front of the 37th; else why should Ponsonby have ordered me twice to go and urge him to come up at once? And when he did get the regiment to move, it wavered and stopped more than once during the advance."

Colonel Simpson's telegram to the Governor-General

On the 2nd of June Colonel Simpson, commanding the 6th Native Infantry, sent the following telegram to the Governor-General:—"The 6th Regiment of Native Infantry has volunteered to serve against the mutineers at Delhi, if required. The effect of this in the city of Allahabad will be most beneficial. The Europeans are passing through daily to Cawnpore, and quickly. All quiet here at present." Promptly came back the reply:—"The thanks of the Governor-General in Council to the 6th Regiment of Native Infantry, their declaration of loyalty and soldier-like offer to march to Delhi will be announced in the Gazette. Inform the regiment of this." On the 4th of June appeared the General Order, thanking the whole regiment of the 6th Native Infantry, and the three companies of the 34th regiment of Native Infantry, at Barrackpore, who had "expressed themselves in the same soldier-like manner:" for this mark of their devotion, and direct that this tender of their services, at a time when so many misguided soldiers of the Bengal Army have swerved from their allegiance to the State, shall be placed among the records of Government, and shall be read at the head of every regiment and company, at a parade ordered for the purpose.* At six o'clock on Saturday evening, the 6th of June, the 6th Native Infantry were paraded to hear the message from the Governor-General. They received it with loud "European cheers," and declared their readiness to die for the "Kampane Bahadoor." †

Reply of the Governor-General

General Order, 4th June

Mutiny of the 6th Native Infantry

Three hours later the officers of the "loyal 6th Native Infantry" were seated around their mess table, discussing the foregoing event of the day, when the bugle sounded the alarm, and in the far distance was heard the rattle of musketry. Now they thought the mutineers from Benares had arrived, and that the company of the 6th were keeping the bridge against the rebels. They rushed forth from the room, "each eager to take the head of his company, and to conduct it against the rebels." On arriving at the parade they found one of their companies drawn up. They called out to the men: the answer was a volley which laid five of them dead on the ground.‡ Then the sepoys spread far and wide, slaying every European or East Indian they met. Seven young Ensigns, who had been posted to the model 6th Native Infantry, to learn their drill before joining their respective

Massacre of Europeans

* Fort William, 4th June, 1857.

† The great and noble Company.

‡ Plunkett, Stewart, Hawes, Pringle and Munro.

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regiments, were shot dead outside the Mess-house. One of the raw recruits, a lad of sixteen, who had arrived at Calcutta only in May, was left for dead on the field; but he managed, though severely wounded, to drag himself to a neighbouring ravine. At the bottom flowed a rivulet, and during the day he concealed himself in the bushes which lined its banks, and at night he contrived to scramble into a tree, to save himself from the wild beasts. So passed five days and nights. Then he was discovered and taken before an insurgent leader, who ordered him to be confined in a caravanserai. His fellow-prisoner was Gopinatt, a native catechist. The young lad was suffering excruciating pain from his neglected wounds, and cruel fever racked his bones. "Not the least of his sufferings was from thirst, and all night and day he was calling out for water. In the midst of all his sufferings he exhorted Gopinatt to stand firm, saying:—'Padre Sahib, hold on to your faith; don't give it up.' When the Mohammedans saw Gopinatt trying to show kindness to Cheek, they put him at a distance, and tried to prevent all further intercourse between them." On the 16th of June Gopinatt and his youthful companion were brought into the fort; but "poor Cheek died in the fort this evening, from exposure and the long neglect of his wounds." Thus the gallant lad was cut off as soon as he had donned his first uniform, but not before he had won his way to glory. At the time all England rang with the story, and of all the most glorious actions which make the Indian Mutiny the epic of our race, none better deserves a place in its annals. Arthur Cheek

When the garrison in the fort heard the discharge of firearms, they raced up to the ramparts in breathless silence, to ascertain the cause. "The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. So steady was the musketry, regular file firing; on, on it continued, volley after volley. Then the firing grew fainter in the far distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station." But soon the truth was known. In about half-an-hour Harward rode up to the glacis of the fort, and called out that the sepoys of the 6th Regiment had mutinied, and taken the guns away. Harward had done his best to save them. On finding that the sepoys refused to take the guns to the fort as they had been commanded, but were determined to march with them to the cantonments, he hastened to the Alopi Bagh to bring up the Irregular Cavalry. "Alexander immediately had his In the fort

horse ready and giving one to Harward got several men into the saddle as soon as possible, and started. They approached the party with the guns, near the large tank just before Mr. Lowther's house on the fort road. There Alexander made an attempt to charge them in the rear. He rushed on at a gallop, and had just raised himself in his saddle to strike a sepoy down with his sword, when the man raised the muzzle of his musket to Alexander's breast and shot him through the heart." He instantly fell from his horse; most of the Native cavalry deserted, and joined the mutineers and Harward, finding resistance hopeless, turned his horse, and "old Smuggler dashed through the sepoys like an old trump as he is, and brought his rider safe to the fort." *

In the fort the danger was extreme—a hundred men of the mutinous 6th held the main gate. It was imperative to disarm them at once: there was a grave apprehension whether the 400 Sikhs, who had heard of the punishment meted out to their countrymen at Benares, would afford any aid to the handful of Englishmen, or even remain neutral. Happily they were commanded by Captain Brasyer, a man whose active courage was combined with those rare qualities which attract the admiration and confidence of soldiers, and compels them to submit to the restraints of military discipline.† And never did they appear more conspicuous than at this grave and imminent crisis. When news of the mutiny at Benares reached the fort, two guns, loaded with grape, had been placed in a position commanding the main gate, to guard against an attack of the rebels from that station hourly expected. As soon as Harward had brought news of the revolt of the 6th, and it was determined to disarm their comrades, the Volunteers were drawn up around the guns "with loaded muskets cocked, and fingers on the triggers." In front were the Sepoy guard, "with muskets capped contrary to orders." A fuse having been lighted, the command was given to the guard to "Pile arms." A moment's hesitation, and it was obeyed. Then some, more daring than the rest, rushed forward to seize them again. At this critical moment the Sikhs wavered: pride, ambition, and revenge impelled them to throw in their lot with the sepoys. But under the spell of Brasyer, whose presence had

* "Narrative of the Outbreak in Allahabad—extracted from the Journal of the Rev. J. Owen."

† He had risen from the ranks, having been promoted for daring and cool courage displayed during the Sutlej Campaign. He had been originally posted to the Sikh regiment, as Quartermaster.

an irresistible power, they stood quiet, till the words were quickly passed: "The Sikhs are staunch." The sepoys, seeing the Sikhs firm, fell back, and trooped through the gate to join their comrades. The fort was saved: but all else was lost. The mutineers released the prisoners, some two thousand in number, from the gaols, and Allahabad became a scene of wild and desperate wickedness. The rabble wreaked their vengeance not only on the Europeans, but peaceful Hindu pilgrims who had come to the sacred city to wash their sins away were savagely robbed, and the houses of wealthy natives were gutted and set on fire. All night long the Europeans saw from the ramparts the lurid glare of the conflagration.

"Morning came," says one; "such a dismal morning I have seldom seen." It was Sunday, and Divine Service was held on the verandah of the barracks, at noon. "The service was very short, and attended by few. Most of the gentlemen were engaged in watching the fort, and several ladies were overwhelmed with grief at the recent loss of their husbands; and *all* of them had just been reduced to a state of beggary." The burning and plundering of the city went on during the day. Towards evening the garrison was cheered by the arrival of fifty Fusiliers, under the command of Lieutenant Arnold, who had been sent forward by Neill. Two days after and another detachment arrived: but those within the fort were still in considerable danger. They were threatened without by the mutineers, who had begun to invest the place; while the fidelity of the Sikhs within was doubtful. There was great scarcity of food, and for several days famine seemed to stare them in the face. The arrival of Neill on the eleventh, however, swiftly altered the aspect of affairs. On the evening of the 9th, accompanied by a party of 53 men and an officer of the Madras Fusiliers, he started from Benares. It was the most trying season of the year, and much delay was occasioned by the roads being deserted and all the post-horses taken away by the insurgents. After two days and two nights of strenuous labour Neill arrived near Allahabad, and found it closely invested, the bridge of boats partly destroyed and in the possession of the enemy. It was a blazing afternoon, and four of his men had already perished by sunstroke. He managed to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which he embarked part of his men. "The people in the fort, having by this time seen us, sent over boats some way down; by these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from an over-long

Arrival of Neill, 11th June

night march, and the intense heat."* As Neill entered the gate, the sentry said—"Thank God, sir; you 'll save us yet."

Order re-established in Allahabad

Neill took immediate measures for re-establishing authority at Allahabad. He was exhausted by his dash from Benares, but no bodily weakness could affect that intrepid spirit. "I could only stand up for a few minutes at a time," he wrote to his wife; "and when our attacks were going on I was obliged to sit down in the batteries and give my orders and directions." The attacks were crowned with success. The day after his arrival he recovered the bridge, and secured a safe passage for another detachment of a hundred men of the Fusiliers, from Benares. On the 13th he attacked the insurgents in an adjacent village,† on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. "On the 14th I could do little or nothing. All the soldiers, Europeans and Sikhs, were drinking to excess. Total disorganization would soon have ensued and the consequence to us and the safety of the fort been fatal." By the aid of Brasyer the Sikh corps were moved out of the fort, and the liquor destroyed, or handed over to the Commissariat. Active operations were resumed and the insurgents driven from the surrounding hamlets. On the 17th of June the English magistrate resumed his duties in the city, and British administration was again established in Allahabad.

Equipment of force for Cawnpore

Neill now set to work with impetuous energy to equip a small force to send forward to the relief of Cawnpore. On the 23rd of June he telegraphed to the Government of India:—"Lightly equipping four hundred Europeans, and two 9-pounders with veteran European soldiers: three hundred Sikhs with all the cavalry here, taking twenty days' rations to move by marches on Cawnpore. It will be four days at least before I can start,—carriage and provisions difficult as yet to get: things improving."

But things did not improve as swiftly as the sanguine Neill expected. On the 28th he had to telegraph to Government:—"The column will certainly march from this on the 30th, towards Cawnpore; Major Renaud, Madras Fusiliers, will command. I have the utmost confidence in him. They are well Europeaned, and must get on well."

Arrival of Brigadier-General Havelock at Allahabad

On the 30th of June, the day on which the siege of the Lucknow Residency began, Havelock arrived at Allahabad, and took over

* Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Deputy Adjutant-General, Allahabad, 17th June 1857.

† Kydgunge.

command. The following day he telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief:—"A column marched towards Cawnpore yesterday, under Major Renaud, consisting of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 120 Irregular Cavalry, and two 9-pounders. I trust it will relieve Sir Hugh Wheeler." Two hours later Havelock informed the Commander-in-Chief:—"A report of the fall of Cawnpore received from Lawrence, but it is not believed by the authorities at Allahabad. A steamer with 100 Europeans armed with Minie rifles and two 6-pounders start to-morrow to endeavour to relieve Wheeler, or co-operate with the column under Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers." * At one o'clock A.M., on July 3rd, Lieutenant Chalmers rode in from Renaud's column with the news of the destruction of Sir Hugh Wheeler's Force; and at dawn Havelock telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief:—"The news of the entire destruction of the Cawnpore force confirmed by cossid who, carrying letters from Lucknow to Allahabad, witnessed it." † The answer came back:—"If you are satisfied of the truth of the account given by the cossid you should halt Renaud's force until Havelock's column can support him." ‡ The message was addressed to the officer commanding at Allahabad, and Neill replied: "I feel confident Wheeler still holds out. General Havelock has halted Renaud's force. I would not, as it is strong enough for anything that could be brought against it; and if the report is true, *should move on steadily to Futtehpore, to be there to be overtaken by the General." Neill also informed* Sir Patrick Grant that the river steamer, with 100 Fusiliers and two guns under the command of Captain Spurgin of that corps, had started that morning, and he added—"The steamer, besides the great effect it will produce on the Ganges, will co-operate with the advance by land. If the river is open we can transport troops and stores, and have much land carriage. My opinion is we ought never, if possible, to stand, but always be advancing, if only three or four miles a day." § Havelock had sent back Lieutenant Chalmers to Major Renaud, with an acknowledgment of his letter of the previous day, which, as the General remarked, appeared to leave no doubt of the destruction of the Cawnpore force.

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 78.
† "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 78.
‡ "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 79.
§ "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 79.

"Halt, therefore," he said, "at Lohanga, and keep a good look-out to rear, front, and flanks. I will then strongly reinforce you with the column that is to march to-morrow, the 4th instant. Burn no more villages, unless actually occupied by insurgents, and spare your European troops as much as possible." * Neill, with a confidence and indiscretion displaying a total blindness to the real state of affairs, telegraphed not only to the Commander-in-Chief, but to the Governor-General, as follows—"A letter from Renaud yesterday, at Kutonghun—had a note from Sir H. Lawrence of 28th ultimo. All well there; but he says he has reason to believe General Wheeler and his force had been destroyed by treachery, and directing Renaud to stand fast on the ground his note reaches him, or according to the number of the enemy, fall back on this. I still do not believe that Cawnpore has fallen. Renaud has, I regret to say, not only halted but sent in [for] reinforcements, and has written to Captain Spurgin to join him. I only hope Spurgin will not obey him. Immediately I heard this I expressed my extreme disapproval to General Havelock. He promised to send out an order that Captain Spurgin should not leave the steamer. I wrote at the same time to Renaud by express, and trust it will reach him in time." † At Lohanga Major Renaud had received instructions not only from General Havelock but also, as Neill stated, from Sir Henry Lawrence thus pithily expressed: "Halt where you now stand, or, if necessary, fall back." He also received orders diametrically opposite, forwarded by Calcutta from Sir Patrick Grant, who, no doubt, influenced by Neill's telegrams, assumed "that the fall of Cawnpore is a fabrication, and therefore to push on thither." The next day Major Renaud marched to Kutinghee, seven miles, where he opened communication with the steamer. On the 10th July he had pushed on to Arrahpore, about ten miles from Futtehpore, when news reached him that Havelock was within five miles of him, and would join him next morning. Renaud was, however, anxious to capture Futtehpore before the General reached him. He had been wrongly informed that it was defended by only a few matchlock men; but the Nana with a large force was making down upon it in the hope of annihilating him, and, if he had made the attempt, not a man of his force would have lived to tell the tale.

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 287.

† "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 80.

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On the afternoon of the 7th of July, Havelock started forth to the relief of Lucknow. His force was composed as follows :— General Havelock starts from Allahabad, 7th July

				Men.
3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery			...	76
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment		...	...	435
78th Highlanders	...	...	...	284
84th Regiment	...	...	...	190
Volunteer Cavalry *	...	...	...	20
	Natives.			
Sikhs	...	...	...	150
Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	30

Havelock's force, including Renaud's party, amounted to 1,964 men, all told. Of these 1,964 men 1,403 were British, and 561 Natives,—a handful of men to march through a hostile country, held by a host of well-disciplined soldiers. But no disparity of numbers, no disadvantages of season, could hold back these chivalrous spirits. The weather had set in with torrents of rain, which had utterly soaked tents and baggage; and it was falling heavily as the column marched through the native city of Allahabad. "The inhabitants lined the streets, and swarmed on to the housetops in gloomy silence, curious to behold the first really offensive demonstration of their Feringhee masters, since the commencement of the outbreak." That night the column camped in a snipe swamp, with the rain still pouring on them.

The morning was fine. "The rain ceased. The sun came out and dried our draggled feathers. The Grand Trunk Road, along which our route lay, was in splendid order, and the force moved briskly on through a beautiful, flat, fertile, well-wooded country, like the Weald of Kent without the hedges." † For three days the force proceeded by regular marches, the General not caring to press his men till they had become inured to marching and the intense heat. On the 10th instant, however, news reached Havelock that Major Renaud's position had become critical.‡ He therefore determined to push forward and overtake him.

* The Volunteer Cavalry consisted of "officers of regiments which had mutinied, or had been disbanded; of indigo planters, of patrols, of burnt-out shop-keepers; in short, of all who were willing to join him."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 280.

† "Saturday Review," September 19th, 1857.

‡ "Cawnpore had suddenly fallen by an act of treachery unequalled in our annals, save by one fatal event beyond the Indus; and the rebel force thus freed from occupation had rapidly pushed down a force to the vicinity of this place, within five miles of which the Major would arrive on the morning of the 12th. He would thus be exposed to the attack of 3,500 rebels, with twelve guns." (From Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857.)

No time was to be lost. Accordingly the column pressed onward along the same noble road, which Dalhousie had made, till it reached Syanee, fifteen miles distant. Exhausted by a frightful sun the men rested for a few hours, and resumed their course at eleven at night; and in the dim grey of the morning of the 12th of July they joined Major Renaud on the road. "We drew up in line by the side of the road to receive them. We shall not (need we say) soon forget the scene. Up came the brave band, the 78th Highlanders playing on their bagpipes the 'Campbells are coming,' while all along our line a cheer arose as we welcomed them." The united force marched some seventeen miles more, and reaching Betinda, four miles from Futtehpore, halted to encamp on a fine open plain. "Arms were piled in line, ground was taken up for each corps, and the weary, wayworn men, overcome by the oppressive heat and brilliant sunshine, lay down in groups, a little in the rear, anxiously expecting the arrival of the tents and baggage, which were close behind." *

General Havelock's force joins Major Renaud's

Battle of Futtehpore, 12th July

Havelock, having taken up his position, sent out Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, with the volunteer cavalry, to investigate a little. Tytler pushed forward close to Futtehpore, and was taking a good survey of the place, when a swarm of the enemy's horse rushed out on him and his few sabres, and he was obliged swiftly to return, with the enemy in full pursuit. As soon as their white uniforms were seen emerging from some trees on the edge of the plain, the assembly was sounded, the toil-worn men sprang to their feet, unpiled arms, fell in, and stood all ready.†

The rebels thinking they had only Major Renaud's force in front, insolently pushed forward two guns and a force of cavalry and infantry, cannonaded our front, and theatened our flanks. Havelock, earnestly wishing to give his harassed soldiers rest, made no counter-disposition beyond posting 300 Enfield riflemen (64th) in an advanced copse. "But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired and my inertness fostered. It

* "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 40.

† "Immediately the alarm was sounded, and the troops all fell out so quickly and steadily, it was quite charming to see them. The camp was beautifully laid out, the guns in the centre of the road, and the troops on both sides, so they had only to move from their tents to come to the front. Out they came eager for the fray, like so many bull dogs, and as jolly as possible, although just off a long march." (Letter from a Volunteer, dated Kulleanpore, ninety-one miles from Allahabad, July 15th.)

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would have injured the *morale* of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded, so I determined at once to bring on an action." *

His dispositions were quickly made. The guns, eight in number, were formed in the centre under Captain Maude, R.A., protected and aided by one hundred Enfield riflemen of the 64th: the infantry were formed in quarter distance columns at deploying distance behind, whilst the Volunteer Horse and Irregular Cavalry guarded the flanks. And now the word to advance being given, the artillery pushed on in line with the Enfield rifles, and soon came into action with the enemy's guns. Maude's fire electrified them. "We could see the round shot ploughing them up, and the grape falling on all sides, and shells bursting over their heads. It was most refreshing. They could not stand it." † And the rifle fire reaching them at an unexpected distance increased their dismay. They fled from their guns and retreated to a second battery placed on the road in the rear. Here they again made a stand. Maude pushed his guns on through flanking swamps, in which the wheels sank deep, till after much pulling by tired bullocks and gunners they surmounted the difficulties of the ground, and arrived within point-blank range. Then the guns on both sides again exchanged salutations. In the rear of the enemy's principal battery was a large body of infantry, and moving to and fro among them, giving orders, could be seen the leader, on a richly caparisoned elephant. *Maude dismounted, laid the gun "at line of metal,"* and the first shot striking the poor beast in the rear came out at the chest, and the Nana's general's fighting was suddenly all done.‡ The rebels, on seeing their leader fall, abandoned their guns and retreated. "In succession they were driven by skirmishers and columns from the garden enclosures, from a strong barricade on the road, from the town

* From Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857. "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 86.

† "Our shot went rolling in among them just as if the old Allahabad Eleven were playing the Futtehpore." (Letter from a Volunteer, Kulleanpore, nearly one mile from Allahabad, July 15th.)

"I cannot omit to mention one first-rate shot by the artillery. We aimed at and killed the elephant on which the Syed was mounted: drilled him clean through with a round shot." (Letter of an officer present.)

"And among the many unfortunates was to be seen a disembowelled elephant whose fate it had been to carry the generals into the field." (Letter from a Volunteer, dated Kulleanpore, ninety-one miles from Allahabad, July 15th.)

‡ Colonel Maude writes :—"Stuart Beatson (our Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General) and Fraser-Tytler (Deputy Quartermaster-General) were at this time close beside me on the road, and urged me to 'knock over that chap on the elephant.' Accordingly I dismounted, and laid the gun myself, a nine-pounder, at 'line of metal' (700 yards) range, and, as luck would have it, my first shot went in under the beast's tail, and came out at its chest, of course rolling it over, and giving its rider a bad fall."—"Memoirs of the Mutiny," by Colonel Francis Maude, V.C., C.B., and John Walter Sherer, C.S.I., volume I, page 43.

wall, into and through, out of and beyond, the town." * They endeavoured to make a stand a mile in advance of it, and Palliser's Native Irregulars being sent to the front suddenly came on a party of about thirty of the mutineers of the 2nd Light Cavalry. "On seeing the enemy, Palliser called the men to charge, and dashed on; but the scoundrels scarcely altered their speed, and met the enemy at the same speed that they came down upon us. Their design was evident; they came waving their swords to our men, and riding round our party, making signs to them to come over to their side. We could not dash out upon them, as we were only four to their thirty; and when our men hung back, a dash out would only have ended in our being cut up. One or two came in at us, and one or two blows were exchanged. Palliser was unseated by his horse swerving suddenly, and then the row commenced. The 2nd Cavalry tried to get at him, and his Native officers closed round him to save him, and they certainly fought like good men and true—the few of them." While the scrimmage was proceeding, Palliser's rear men turned their horses and galloped back as hard as their horses could go, and the whole body of the enemy's cavalry appearing from behind some trees, the small band had to do the same. "I never rode so hard in my life. It was a regular run for our necks, for the whole of the fellows were behind our small party, thirsting for our blood. I had a couple of fellows just behind me, but my old horse managed to carry me along. I write this with shame and grief; but it was no fault of Palliser's, or ours. If the rascals had not left us so shamefully, we could have ridden over the thirty men, and have returned steadily before the rest of the cavalry came up. They had an immense number of regulars and irregulars. For the moment I fully believed that our men were about to join the 2nd Cavalry, and leave us to their mercy: you may imagine how jolly I felt. The poor ressaldar of Hardinge's regiment, Najub Khan, a tall, fine fellow, with a black beard, after saving Palliser, fell with his horse on crossing a ditch we had to pass, and was cruelly cut up."

Meanwhile the guns and riflemen were again with great labour pushed to the front. "Their fire soon put the enemy to final and irretrievable flight, and my force took up its present position in triumph, and parked twelve captured guns." †

* From Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 87.

† From Brigadier-General Havelock to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 88.

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Futtehpore was Havelock's first victory. The same night he wrote to his wife:—"One of the prayers oft repeated throughout my life since my school days has been answered, and I have lived to command in a successful action. The enemy sallied forth and insulted my camp. * * We fought, and in ten minutes' time the affair was decided. But away with vainglory! Thanks to Almighty God, who gave me the victory. I captured in four hours eleven guns, and scattered the enemy's whole force to the winds." *

Next day the force halted for a much needed rest, and to secure and destroy the cannon and ammunition which could not be carried on owing to want of bullocks. On the 14th of July the force marched again, and on reaching camp in the evening the opportunity was taken of quietly dismounting and disarming the Irregulars, who, in addition to their misbehaviour before the enemy at Futtehpore, had, on the march, attempted to drive away Havelock's baggage. The General, however, kept them on public duty, and informed them that every deserter would be punished with death. Their horses were given to the volunteer cavalry.†

14th July. The Irregulars disarmed

On the 15th the column started at dawn, with the knowledge that the village of Aong was strongly occupied by the enemy: that he was entrenched across the road, and had two garrison guns in position. Havelock therefore reinforced the advanced guard, under Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, by attaching to him, in addition to the small body of volunteer cavalry, six guns of Maude's battery, and the detachment of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment. Directly the volunteer cavalry came within range of the two guns behind the intrenchment, they opened fire, and the mutineers poured forth from the village and garden enclosures in perfect skirmishing order. A party pushed boldly forward and took possession of a hamlet, two hundred yards in front of their position. Both sides were soon hotly engaged; but owing to the country being thickly wooded the rebels were enabled to maintain themselves for some time against our fire, during which interval large bodies of cavalry advanced on the flanks and made repeated attempts to cut into the main column. Havelock, having only twenty horse, was compelled to protect his flanks with the

15th July. Capture of Aong

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, pages 296-98.

† Telegram from Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp Pandoo Nuddee, 15th July 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 91.

infantry in second line and by artillery fire,* and this he did with such success that the enemy finding all their attempts fruitless rode away to the rear, and made a last strenuous effort to capture the baggage. The hospital sergeant of the 25th Native Infantry, however, collecting all the invalids and stragglers in the rear, formed a small rallying square of about a hundred men, and received them with such a fire of musketry that they rode off discomfited, leaving many dead behind them.†

Meantime the Madras Fusiliers had, under the gallant Renaud,‡ carried the hamlet with a rush; Maude's guns and the withering fire of the sharpshooters began to tell, and our men gradually advancing captured the entrenchment and drove the rebels back upon the village. Here they fought fiercely; but they were thrust forth at the point of the bayonet. The artillery passed through, and the troops were halted for rest beneath the welcome shelter of some friendly mango groves. "Most grateful was their shade, inviting to repose after recent exposure to the fiery sunbeams, which seemed literally to pierce and seethe the brain. The relief was unimaginable." §

Passage of the Pandoo river

But the rest was of short duration. Authentic information reached Havelock that the bridge over the Pandoo river was not destroyed, but defended by entrenchments, and two guns of garrison calibre. He also heard that the enemy intended, as a last resource, to blow it up, and, as the river was in flood, the destruction of the bridge would seriously retard his advance on Cawnpore. Not a moment was to be lost. The assembly again sounded: the soldiers resumed their arms, and a stirring British cheer which made the welkin ring, marked their appreciation of their General, and his readiness again to engage the rebels. The heat

* From Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Pandoo Nuddee, 15th July, 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 92.

† "Saturday Review," volume IV, page 260.

‡ "Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers, to whose gallantry and intelligence I have been under great obligations. His left thigh was broken by a musket ball in the skirmish at Aong, but I hope from the fortitude with which he endures all suffering a favourable result." From Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Pandoo Nuddee, 15th July, 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 93.

"The zealous daring Renaud, Madras Fusiliers, whose courage and fortitude were proverbial. He sank rapidly after the amputation of his left leg above the knee. I had gone to see him, found him in cheerful spirits, hoped for his ultimate recovery, and now he is not. Sad realities of ruthless war.—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 81.

§ "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 51.

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was intense, but the excitement of battle kept them up. After marching two miles they suddenly, by a bend in the road, came in sight of the river, swollen by the rains, and still spanned by a narrow stone bridge. Two white puffs of smoke rose from a low ridge, a loud report followed, and a couple of 24-pounder shot crashed right into the column. Another, and another, followed in rapid succession. Several fell wounded, and a stalwart Highlander was shot dead, "half of his head having been taken off by a round shot." *

Our dispositions were soon made. Fortunately, the bridge was at a salient bend of the river in our direction, and Captain Maude at once suggested to the General his desire to envelope it with his artillery fire, by placing three guns in the road, and three on either flank. The whole of the Madras Fusiliers, being the most practised marksmen in the force, were extended as Enfield riflemen; they lined the banks of the stream, and opened a biting fire. As the column marched along the road, the enemy kept up a continuous and effective cannonade, and it being found impossible for the troops to preserve this formation they deployed, and advanced with great steadiness, in parade order, in support of the guns and riflemen. Animated by his accustomed daring, Maude's battery moved resolutely up to within three hundred yards of the bridge, unlimbered, opened fire, and quickly silenced the heavy guns of the enemy. Then a vast cloud of smoke and dust rose from the bridge, and a loud crash, like the clatter of falling bricks, was heard. From the Chief to the private soldier, all thought the bridge had fallen, and they were baffled. But when the cloud rolled along the river, they saw the parapet walls had gone, but the arch stood sound; and at this critical moment the right wing of the Fusiliers suddenly closing threw themselves upon the bridge, carried it, and captured both guns. The day was won. Havelock pushed his force a mile beyond the bridge, a halt was made, and the men utterly exhausted threw themselves on the ground.

"During twelve hours our troops had been under arms and twice engaged, and their endurance tested to the uttermost. The scorching sun glared down its unpitying rays upon their arms, which glittered with intolerable radiance, till the brain reeled and eye-balls ached with the intensity of that dazzling sheen.

"Yet, their indomitable energy rose superior to every trial—instinct with the dignity of manhood, they uttered no complaint, but bore on

* "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 54.

nobly. Night had again closed, when their long fast was terminated by a meal." *

Battle of Cawnpore

Late that night a rumour spread through camp that a heavier fight awaited them on the morrow. The General had ascertained that the Nana, with a large force had come down to meet him, and had taken up a strong position at the village of Aherwa, about four miles from Cawnpore, where the Grand Trunk Road unites with that which leads direct to the military cantonment of Cawnpore. He had also learnt that a large party of women and children were prisoners at Cawnpore, and they must be rescued at all hazards. Time was of the utmost value, so, soon after daylight, the bugle sounded, the ranks fell in, and the column again began to march. After proceeding fifteen miles the village of Maharajpore was reached, and the troops bivouacked in some mango groves, to cool, and gain shelter from a burning sun. On the arrival of the baggage food was cooked and eaten, and the baggage being kept back under proper escort, at 1-30 P.M. the column was again on the march. In the full midday heat of the worst season of the year did the troops start; each man fully armed and accoutred, with his sixty rounds of ball ammunition on him. The sun struck down with frightful force. At every step a man reeled out of the ranks, and threw himself fainting by the side of the road: the calls for water were incessant all along the line. On they trudged till they reached the junction of the two roads, and found the enemy posted about a mile behind the fork. "His entrenchments cut and rendered impassable both roads, and his guns, seven in number, two light and five of siege calibre, were disposed along his position, which consisted of a series of villages: behind these his infantry, consisting of mutineers and his own armed followers, was disposed for defence." It was evident that an attack in front would expose Havelock's force, numbering only 1,100 British and 300 Sikhs, to a murderous fire from the enemy's heavy guns sheltered in his entrenchments. The General resolved therefore to manœuvre to turn his left. He had been a close student of the great Frederick's campaigns, and he determined to pursue the tactics

* "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, pages 56-57.

"Night had set in before the bullocks could be slaughtered and skinned, and the meat delivered to the men, who were, in many cases, too wearied to get up and care for a meal. Many of them were obliged to content themselves with biscuit and porter. The night was insufferably hot, and much of the meat which had thus been neglected to be cooked was spoiled before morning, and then thrown away."—"Life of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 302.

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of "Old Frederick," at Leuthen. Like Leuthen "this country, for many miles round, has nothing that could be called a hill; it is definable as a bare, wide-waving champaign, with slight bumps on it, and reedy meres, or mires drained in our day. It is dotted with hamlets of the usual kind." * In front of the rebels' left, and nearly parallel with it, ran a line of mango groves, which acted as a screen for Havelock, as the Scheuberg "Borne Rise" did for Frederick. Placing his cavalry and some skirmishers near the fork, to attract the attention of the enemy, Havelock changed the direction of the main column, and his troops defiling at a steady pace, and screened by the clumps of mango, began to circle round the enemy's left. For some time the rebels knew not what he was about; but when the column did again come in sight they understood the object of the march, and the utmost excitement prevailed among them. They pushed forward on their left a large body of horse, and opened fire from the whole of their guns. Not a shot was fired in return; but through a storm of round shot and shrapnel, led by their General, our troops marched in silence breathing courage, eager at heart to give courage, man to man. Many fell struck by the enemy's bullets; but more fell struck by the burning sun. But on they tramped, till the enemy's left was wholly opened to their attack. They then swiftly formed line, and advanced in direct echelon of regiments and batteries from the right: a wing of the Fusiliers again covered the advance extended as riflemen. Now the British guns replied to the rebels' cannon, and the skirmishers were soon hotly engaged. But Maude's light pieces could not silence their heavy guns, strongly posted in a lofty hamlet well entrenched, from behind whose cover the infantry kept up a bickering fire. The opportunity for which the General had long anxiously waited of developing the prowess of the 78th had arrived. He gave the order to advance and ake the village. The Highlanders, led by their old commander Colonel Hamilton, moved forward with sloped arms and measured tread, egardless of the hail of grape that fell thick and fast among them. Bearing onwards, with the pipes sounding the pibroch, they approached within a hundred yards of the hamlet: when the word to charge was iven, a cheer, loud and long arose, and the Highlanders with level ayonets plunged into the village. The struggle was fierce, and the aughter great. The enemy, driven forth, fell back to the centre of

* "History of Frederick the Great," by Thomas Carlyle, volume 5, page 246.

their position, and rallied round a howitzer placed there. Havelock having halted his men quite breathless by the rush, was now joined by Major Stirling with the 64th, who had, on the left, been equally successful against another village, and had captured three guns. After a short rest, re-forming his troops, the General placed himself in their front, and pointing to the dense masses of the enemy and the frowning gun, said,—"Now, Highlanders, another charge like that wins the day." The soldiers clamoured applause. Then again Highlanders and 64th drove forward, and Havelock led them pressing straight onwards till the centre and its guns were ours. Now the 78th, worn by the labour of battle, were halted; but the 64th, 84th, and the Sikhs sweeping on, rolled up the enemy's right, and took the two guns that defended it. At this moment the Volunteer Cavalry rode up. On a tumbrel in their rear was Captain Beatson, the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. That morning he had been attacked with cholera. He was too weak to ride, but he would not lose his share of the fight, so he had himself carried into action. On seeing the retreating enemy he ordered the Volunteer Horse to follow them. Barrow, their brave commander, hiding his spurs, called out to his little band—eighteen sabres, all told—"Come on:" and with a loud shout away they rode after him, faster and faster as they neared the flying foe. A whole regiment of cavalry covered the enemy's rear, and seeing their pursuers, they stood to stop their way. But Barrow and his men giving their steeds their heads, rushed to the attack, and the rebel horse turned and rode off at full speed. "Give point, lads: damn cuts and guards," shouted Barrow; and again and again they goaded the retreating mutineers till six out of the eighteen being disabled * they were compelled to draw rein. As they rode back the soldiers greeted them with a cheer, and the old General exclaimed—"Well done, gentlemen Volunteers: I am proud to command you."

The enemy were in full retreat, but the victory was not won. After proceeding about a mile, the fugitives rallied, and with a couple

* "One trooper had been killed, and another wounded: two horses were killed, and two unable to move from wounds."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 309.

A Cavalry Volunteer wrote from the camp—"We lost one of our Volunteers in the charge, and I am going to attend his funeral this evening. His brother was with us, and it was sad to see the poor boy sobbing in the ranks, with his brother lying hacked all over, within a few yards. The poor little fellow never asked to be allowed to leave the troop."

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of guns occupied a village sheltered by a mango tope. As our infantry approached it the rebels opened on them a heavy fire, and they had to shift their ground a little, for our guns came up but slowly, in consequence of having been obliged to diverge from the direct road and advance through heavy, broken ground. As the wearied column pressed forward the fire grew warmer, and many fell. "Our noble General seemed gifted with ubiquity, as, scornful of danger, confronting death, and burning with the lust of victory, he was present wherever most needed. * * *" Again, the clear tone of his peculiar voice raised to highest pitch the courage of his men as he turned towards the Highlanders, and said—"Come, who'll take this village—the Highlanders, or 64th ?" * There was no pause to answer. Abreast the two regiments raced at the village, and drove the enemy out of it; whilst the Madras Fusiliers cleared the plantation on the right.

But the day's work was not done. No sooner had our troops, being re-formed, resumed their march, when, most unexpected, they beheld a 24-pounder planted in the road, and behind it, stretched on the plain in the form of a gentle crescent was the rebel infantry in battle array, supported by numerous horsemen and guns on their flanks. They were only some yards distant, and an immediate collision was inevitable. The scene was magnificent, and yet overawing: banners were flying, bugles sounding, drums beating, as their General rode among the serried battalions of infantry and the gathering ranks of cavalry opened to make way for him. It was the Nana himself, who had come down from Cawnpore to strike for victory. He had an army consisting of ten thousand highly-trained men; and opposed to him were nine hundred English soldiers, worn with marching and fighting during the whole of a burning, Indian day. The artillery cattle, wearied by the length of the march, had not brought up the guns: the Sikhs were in the rear. The head of the column had no sooner halted than, all at once, fire from the 24-pounder was opened, and in the next moment a round shot went tearing through the column. Our men were ordered to lie down. The enemy, seeing their foe on the ground, insolently set their drums and trumpets to sound the advance, and their infantry advanced as if to envelop our flanks, whilst their cavalry, galloping to the rear, cut up the wounded men. Their missiles fell faster and thicker. Six men of the 64th were killed, and Captain Currie, of the 84th, was struck by a round shot which carried away nearly the whole of his back. "Other

* "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 64.

poor fellows had their legs taken off, and others their arms." Havelock resolved that this state of things should not last. His charger had been shot under him, but mounting a pony he appeared before the men—"the only man who dared raise his head—so close and thick was the fire that rained upon us. He instantly, with clear and firm tone, gave the order—'The line will advance.'" Then the English line, not amounting to nine hundred men, and led by their General, went forward—"It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks, until we were within three hundred yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th, led by Major Stirling and by my Aide-de-Camp,* who had placed himself in the front, were not to be denied. Their rear showed the

* General Sir Havelock-Allan whose recent untimely death must be fresh in universal memory. On the 18th August 1857, Sir Henry Havelock recommended Lieutenant Crowe, 78th Highlanders, for the Victoria Cross and without the knowledge of his son, who was not aware of the circumstance until after his father's death, he added the following—"I recommend for the same decoration Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot. In the combat at Cawnpore he was my Aide-de-Camp. The 64th Regiment had been much under artillery fire, from which it had severely suffered. The whole of the infantry were lying down in line; when perceiving that the enemy had brought down the last reserved gun (a 24-pounder) and were rallying round it I called up the regiment to rise and advance. Without any word from me Lieutenant Havelock placed himself on his horse in front of the centre of the 64th opposite the muzzle of the gun. Major Stirling, commanding the regiment, was in front, dismounted, but the Lieutenant continued to move steadily on in front of the regiment, at a foot pace on his horse. The gun discharged shot until the troops were within a short distance when they fired grape. In went the corps, led by the Lieutenant, who still steered steadily on the gun's muzzle, until it was mastered by a rush of the 64th." When the Gazette conferring the Victoria Cross on Lieutenant Havelock reached India the officers of the 64th feeling that the recommendation and its terms reflected on them addressed a letter to Sir Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief in India, by whom it was forwarded to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. In his letter to the Adjutant-General Sir Colin Campbell stated—"This instance is one of many in which, since the institution of the Victoria Cross, advantage has been taken by young Aides-de-Camp and other Staff officers to place themselves in prominent situations for the purpose of attracting attention. To them life is of little value, as compared with the gain of public honour, but they do not reflect, and the Generals to whom they belong do not reflect, on the cruel injustice thus done to gallant officers, who, beside the excitement of the moment of action, have all the responsibility attendant on the situation." The Commander-in-Chief added—"By such despatches as the one above alluded to, it is made to appear to the world that a regiment would have proved wanting in courage, except for an accidental circumstance; such a reflection is most galling to British soldiers, indeed it is almost intolerable, and the fact is remembered against it by all the other corps in Her Majesty's service. Soldiers feel such things most keenly. I would, therefore, again beg leave to dwell on the injustice sometimes done by General officers when they give a public preference to those attached to them over the officers who are charged with the most difficult and responsible duties." Sir Colin Campbell's words were forcible and applicable

ground strewed with wounded; but on they silently and steadily came, then with a cheer charged and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour." *

After a hurried fire of musketry the enemy gave way in total rout. The Highlanders would have poured a withering volley on their retreating foe, but they had to caution each other not to fire, as their General who had led the determined onslaught was in front. Four of our guns, however, came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade, and as it grew dark the roofless artillery barracks were discovered in the advance, and Havelock's troops bivouacked that night without food or tents two miles from the cantonment of Cawnpore. "I bivouacked in good spirits," he wrote, "though without dinner; my waterproof coat serving me for a couch on the damp ground." Such were the principal circumstances of the battle of Cawnpore, with its three distinct actions.

In nine days Havelock and his veterans had marched 126 miles under an Indian sun in the hottest season of the year, each man carrying a heavy weight of ammunition, and had won four pitched battles and sundry combats against highly disciplined troops far exceeding them in number. During the four days' fighting they had killed or wounded many hundreds of their enemies, and had captured twenty-three pieces

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not only to the particular event. The Commander-in-Chief when he used the words "to those attached to them" did not intend, as has been stated, to bring a charge of nepotism against Havelock, but was referring to officers in general on the personal staff. Havelock could have had no intention of making it appear that the 64th would have proved wanting in courage except for an accidental circumstance, for in his order wired the day after the battle he signalled them out for special praise. "Your fire was reserved till you saw the colour of your enemies' moustachios—this gave you the victory." He did not consider a man should get the Victoria Cross for merely doing his duty, leading his regiment into action, but he successfully recommended Major Stirling, "a man of romantic bravery," for promotion. The Victoria Cross, he considered, was a reward for an exceptional act of bravery, and for that reason he recommended his son for it. Sir Colin Campbell, when called upon to express an official opinion, had to consider what wide operation an action of this nature must exercise, how many discussions and passions it would necessarily excite, and how much injustice it might cause.

"The 64th needs no eulogy from anybody. Stirling was romantically brave, as his death, a little later, amply showed; while 'Young Harry' was well worthy of the honours which he won, and which he has since increased in other fields of action"—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume I, page 213.

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 100.

of artillery. Their advance had been one of suffering, of privation, and of fatigue; but the burning desire to save the captive women and children nourished the energy of the British soldier. Battle after battle was won by desperate fighting; the cholera and the sunstroke slew many survivors of the combat, but on they went with unflinching resolution till the outskirts of Cawnpore were reached. Then on the morning after their crowning victory as they were about to fall in, news reached the men which quenched the hope that had burned clear in them through all the weary marching and hard fighting. And when they entered the city the evil tidings were confirmed, and they saw a scene which drove them mad with horror and excitement. But the firm hand of their commander held them in check.

City of Cawnpore

The city of Cawnpore, distant little more than six hundred miles from Calcutta, two hundred and fifty miles south-east from Delhi and forty miles south-west from Lucknow, is indebted for its importance to the commercial and strategical advantages of its position. Situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, navigable for light craft downwards to the sea a thousand miles and up the country three hundred miles, no place is better fitted to be an emporium of the traffic of the rich plains of Bengal and of that vast tract of open country which stretches from Bengal north-westward to the Himalayas. Moreover, besides being the natural highway, the Ganges formed from very ancient times the frontier defence of the people of Oudh and Bengal against their northern neighbours. When Clive decided to maintain and strengthen Oudh as a friendly state interposed between Bengal and Northern India, he selected Cawnpore on account of its advanced and commanding position as the best station in the Nawab of Oudh's dominion to canton the brigade lent to him subject to a subsidy for the protection of his frontier. In 1801 the security of the subsidy was established on the solid basis of territorial possession, and Cawnpore being comprehended within the limits of the Company's power attained the prominent military position of being the head-quarters of the field command in Bengal, a command which including the King's and Company's troops, artillery, cavalry and infantry, amounted to 40,000 effective.* The advance of our frontier to the north, however, occasioned a revisal of our military position and Cawnpore was unwisely denuded by degrees of

* "Tour along the Ganges," by Lieutenant Colonel Forrest, page 159.

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its entire European force.* In the spring of 1857 sixty-one European artillerymen with six guns were the only representatives of the English army at Cawnpore. The native troops consisted of the 1st, 53rd and 56th Native Infantry, the 2nd Cavalry and the native gunners attached to the battery: about 3,000 in number.

The cantonments at Cawnpore

The cantonments lay in a semi-circular form along the bank of the river over a tract extending six miles from the north-west to the south-east and covered about ten miles of area. At the north-western extremity about a mile from the river were the principal houses of the civil officials, the treasury, the gaol and the museum premises. Not far from the gaol and close upon the Ganges stood the magazine, a spacious building surrounded by lofty walls. Three miles from the magazine going in a straight line along the stream towards the south-east, on a slight elevation gently sloping down to the water, were the assembly rooms and the church with its white tower soaring above a clump of trees. Behind the church spread the modern city, like Gallipoli with "narrow tortuous streets of† tumble-down houses, densely packed with sixty thousand inhabitants."‡ Beyond the town to the south-east and separated from it by the Ganges Canal were on a wide plain the old barracks of the European troops, the lines of the respective native regiments with their military bazaar, containing a population of about fifty thousand, and the houses of the officers, *standing in extensive compounds or paddocks.*

Sir Hugh Wheeler

In May, 1857, the officer in command of the Cawnpore division was Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., a soldier of noble Celtic blood,§ whose long military career had been a series of noble services and of military honours. He entered the Company's army in 1803 as Ensign in the 48th and the following year was present at the hard fought contest which made Lord Lake master of Delhi. Rising slowly

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* "They even went further: at the end of 1856, they ordered the wing of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, which had been temporarily detained at Cawnpore at the request of the Chief Commander of Oudh, to proceed to Umballa."—"The Mutiny of the Bengal Army. An historical narrative. By one who has served under Sir Charles Napier," page 123.

† "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, page 179.

‡ "The city had an evil reputation. Situated on the frontier of two distinct jurisdictions, it swarmed with rascals from Oudh, on their way to seek obscurity in British territory, and rascals from our north-west provinces, on their way to seek impunity in the dominions of the Nawab."—"Cawnpore, by the Right Hon'ble Sir George Trevelyan, Bart.," page 50.

§ He was the son of Captain Hugh Wheeler by his wife Margaret, second daughter of Hugh, first Lord Massy.

through the intermediate ranks he became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1835 and commanded the 48th Bengal Native Infantry at the storm and capture of Ghazni. For his services during the first Afghan Campaign he received a C.B., and in 1846 reached the rank of Colonel. The same year he was appointed Brigadier and he commanded a brigade of infantry at the battle of Moodkee wherein he was wounded, but although then suffering from the wounds he energetically headed his brigade at the decisive and glorious action at Aliwal.* He commanded a division of Sir Hugh Gough's army of the Punjab, 1848-49, and for his eminent services in the Sikh campaigns he was made a K.C.B. in 1850, and four years later he became a Major-General.† At the time of the outbreak at Meerut he had for upwards of fifty years been attached to the Bengal Army, had served with it in quarters and in the field: he had fought and bled in its ranks, and he had a pride in the courage and devotion of the sepoy and a thorough knowledge of his language and his mode of life. He had proved himself in the hour of danger so brave, so resolute and so fertile of resource that Sir Henry Lawrence wrote to him—"You are a tower of strength to us at this juncture." ‡

* Received medal, clasp and made an A.-D.-C. to the Queen.

† The Sutlej despatches bear testimony to the splendid services rendered by General Wheeler. In October, 1848, he effected the reduction of the strong fortress of Rungur Nuggul, with the loss of only a single man; and by his conduct on this occasion earned the warmest approval of Lord Gough, then Commander-in-Chief, who formally congratulated the Brigadier on the result, which in his opinion was "entirely to be ascribed to the soldier-like and judicious arrangement of that gallant officer." In the following November Lord Gough in a despatch addressed to the Governor-General states that he "has directed the Adjutant-General to convey to Brigadier-General Wheeler his hearty congratulations and thanks for the important services which he and the brave troops under his command have rendered in the reduction of the fortress of Kullawalha." Again, in a despatch from the Adjutant-General to the Governor-General, dated Camp before Chillianwallah, January 30th, 1849, it is stated that Brigadier Wheeler in command of the Punjab division and of the Jullundur Field Force, supported by Major Butler, and Lieutenant Hodson, assaulted and captured the heights of Dulla in the course of his operations against the rebel Ram Sing in spite of the difficulties presented by rivers almost unfordable and mountains deemed impregnable. In the General Order issued by the Governor-General (April 2nd, 1849) at the termination of the war we have the following:—"Brigadier-General Wheeler, C.B., has executed the several duties which have been committed to him with skill and with success, and the Governor-General has been happy to convey to him his thanks."

‡ Lady Canning in her Diary writes:—"June 21st. Cawnpore is now the most anxious position but every one speaks alike of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his brave spirit. There is not a better soldier, and all say, if any one can hold it, he will."

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News of the revolt at Meerut reaches Cawnpore, 14th May

On the 14th of May news reached Sir Hugh Wheeler of the revolt at Meerut and the subsequent events at Delhi. Two days after he telegraphed to the Governor-General of India:—" As far as I have means of judging, the troops here and at Allahabad are at present well disposed; however there is much excitement in consequence of events elsewhere." On the 18th May he informed the Governor-General: " All at Cawnpore quiet, but excitement continues among the people." He also forwarded a message received that morning from Agra *:—" All goes on excellently here. Levies of light horse will soon clear the Doab of plunderers. Troops are hurrying from the hills and Punjab, and the final advance on Delhi will soon be made. The insurgents can only be about 3,000 in number, and are said to cling to the walls of Delhi, where they have put up a puppet king. I grudge the escape of one of them. Disorder has not come below the Haupper, and the country around Meerut will soon be quite restored to order. In our lower districts they are watched, and calm and expert policy will soon re-assure the public mind; the plague is in truth stayed." The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces committed a grave blunder when he stated that the plague was stayed, and that his message must have had an influence momentous in its consequences on Sir Hugh Wheeler's course of action cannot be doubtful. If a final advance was soon to be made on Delhi held by only 3,000 men and if order was about to be restored in the North-West, it was incumbent on the General to preserve by the display of unshaken courage and confidence the loyalty of his troops till the famed Imperial city had again fallen under our control. There was room for hope that the fall of Delhi might shake the counsels of the disloyal and altogether avert the catastrophe which threatened him. On the other hand, the General had to be governed by the perception of the necessity of providing shelter for the European residents against any outbreak due to a sudden gust of passion and fanaticism. He knew that the religious mind of the Empires had been dangerously shocked and that the Hindus although by nature a keen and good-humoured race were fierce in the matter of religion. It was suggested to him that he should occupy the magazine with its strong walls at once; no one would

Telegram to Governor-General, 18th May

* Sir George Trevelyan gives the message as if it came from Sir Hugh Wheeler and omits the words " Copy of Message received this morning from Agra. All goes on excellently here (Agra). Levies of light horse will soon clear the Doab of plunderers. Troops are hurrying from the hills to Punjab and the final advance on Delhi will soon be made."

"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 106.

have prevented him; they might have saved everything they had almost, if they had; and he has been severely criticised for not having gone there.* But against this plan there were two cogent reasons: it was situated six miles from the native lines and to withdraw the officers so far from their men was to deprive them of the moral force which alone could keep them loyal, and the removal of the sepoy guard from the magazine was affronting a great risk of producing the explosion which he was attempting to avert. His decision was finally determined by a telegram which he received from the Government of India on the 19th of May:—"You are requested to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force and to let it be known that you are doing so." The buildings most suitable for the accommodation of a European force were two large barracks,† formerly the hospital barracks of a Dragoon regiment, and at the time occupied by the depot of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment consisting of the sick, invalid women and children of the regiment. They were single-storied buildings, intended each for the accommodation of a company of 100 men, one of them was thatched and both were surrounded by a flat-roofed arcade or verandah. The walls were of brick and the usual out-offices were attached to the building.‡ In order that they might resist a sudden attack, a trench was dug around these barracks and the earth thrown up on the outside so as to form a parapet about five feet high, and they were armed at their principal points by artillery. Ten guns constituted the sole defence by artillery of the entrenchment and a mud wall not even bullet-proof at the crest was its sole bulwark. But General Wheeler had every reason to consider that they were needed not to withstand a siege but for the more urgent purpose of enabling the garrison to resist a sudden attack.

Telegram from the Governor-General

The Entrenchment

* "General Wheeler," wrote Neill, "ought to have gone there (the magazine)."

† These barracks (the hospital barracks) were situated in the centre of a very large plain, with a tolerably clear space all round them. In front was the cricket-ground, a very clear space, bounded on its left and left-front by unfinished barracks, then in the course of construction; on its right was the road, and beyond it another level plain of smaller extent terminating in a row of houses; beyond these another road, another row of houses, and then the river. To the left and left-rear of the barracks was another extensive plain, upon which the European regiments, on passing through the station, were wont to encamp: to the right and right-rear the description I have already given of the country to the right of the cricket-ground applies.—"The Mutiny of the Bengal Army. An historical narrative. By one who has served under Sir Charles Napier," page 125.

‡ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoy Army," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 193.

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On the very day Sir Hugh began their construction (20th May) he telegraphed to the Government of India: "All well here and excitement less." He also forwarded another message from Agra which declared the tide had turned: "Very few days will now see the end of it, unless the mutineers shut themselves up in Delhi and a siege be necessary some little delay must occur." The bloody lesson had to be read. Telegram to Governor-General, 20th May

No sooner had General Wheeler despatched his message to the Government than a good deal of excitement and some alarm was aroused by the conduct of the 2nd Cavalry. "That corps," as he informed the Governor-General next day, "had sent emissaries into the camps of the three Native Infantry corps, asking if they would support them in the event of an outrage. Their avowed cause of discontent was their horses, arms, &c., were to be taken from them and made over to the Europeans. I need not add how entirely without foundation. But reports of the most absurd kind are constantly circulated and are no sooner disposed of than another takes place. The Europeans shall be cared for, no mention is made of the number or when they are expected; the sooner the better." The telegram closed with the ominous announcement: "Reports just received that a crisis is approaching here." That evening the women and children were all ordered into the barracks, the officers still sleeping at the quarter-guards in the lines with their respective corps.* "Among our men," wrote a young subaltern, "I believe we are perfectly safe and if they do mutiny, we should at all events have the satisfaction of being at our posts." 21st May

On the following day (May 22nd) General Wheeler informed the Government of India "matters took a favourable turn about half-past 7 P.M. yesterday. Up to that time it appears that an outbreak was most imminent. I placed guns in position and made every preparation to meet it. The danger gave way before a quiet address to the men by their commandant through some Native officers. At 11 P.M. fifty-five Europeans of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment and about 240 troopers, Oudh Irregular Cavalry, arrived, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence to my aid. This morning two guns and about 300 men of all arms were brought in by the Maharajah of Bithoor. Their being Mahrattas, they are not likely to coalesce with others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived, I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I 22nd May

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thompson, page 30.

have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the Magistrate. At present things appear quiet, but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth."*

The Nana

The Maharajah of Bithoor mentioned by Sir Hugh Wheeler was Teerek Dhundu Punt who is better known by the familiar appellation of "the Nana," a title common among the Mahrattas. Born at a small hamlet at the foot of the Ghauts thirty miles east of Bombay, he was adopted by Baji Rao II, the seventh and last of the Brahmin Peshwas or Mayors of the Palace, who were the real heads of the great Mahratta confederacy. During our operations against the freebooting bands of Central India, Baji Rao seized an opportunity to commence war without a declaration and he attacked and burnt the house of the British Resident. At the battle of Kirkee (30th October 1817) his army was totally routed and the remainder of the campaign was the pursuit of a fugitive prince. Baji Rao's troops were swiftly scattered, his forts were taken and he himself was so hotly pursued that he finally surrendered upon the following assurance: "Baji Rao shall receive a liberal pension from the Company's Government for the support of himself and family. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the Governor-General; but Brigadier-General Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lakhs of rupees per annum." Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, was annoyed at the prodigality of these terms, but felt himself bound in honour to ratify them. A proclamation having been issued before the surrender that his dominions had been forfeited and that the Peshwa and his family were for ever excluded from the throne, Baji Rao and his family were conducted to Bithoor, a small town twelve miles up the river from Cawnpore.

Here he lived in regal state, and at his death in 1851 he left all his property amounting to £280,000 to his adopted son Dhundu Punt.† The Government of India acknowledged the adopted son's title to this immense fortune, and out of their own beneficence they continued to him the jaghir or grant of land on which Baji Rao had resided in the North-Western Province. But the annual sum of eight lakhs paid to Baji Rao they decided was a mere life grant which ceased with him. And there cannot be a shadow of doubt that the allowance was

* "The Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 108.

† It was stated by the Peshwa's widows that the will was forged.

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a life annuity meant for the support of the Peshwa and his family. In the agreement no mention is made of heirs. Sir John Malcolm, who made it, wrote at the time of "the life pension granted to Baji Rao," and the Governor-General who ratified it regarded the allowance as a personal allowance. Baji Rao stipulated that he should have a handsome allowance for the support of himself and family, and there is ample evidence in the State documents to show that he was well aware that the annuity granted was a mere life annuity. The contention of the Nana that the agreement made with Baji Rao after his dominions had been declared forfeited was a cession treaty and the annuity a perpetual rent charge, was contrary to all the facts and could not be supported by any great appearance of reason. The suggestion that Lord Dalhousie was to some extent responsible for the Mutiny in consequence of his harsh action towards the Nana is also not warranted by the facts. Lord Dalhousie merely carried out the views of the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces.

The Nana appealed to the Government at home against the decision of the Government of India and despatched his confidential man of business Azemoolah Khan, a clever Mahomedan adventurer, to London to press his claim.* His mission was in vain. On his way back to India Azemoolah stayed at Constantinople just after the repulse of the allies in their assault on Sebastapol, 18th June, and he crossed over to the Crimea in order to see as he stated "those great Roostums, the Russians, who have beaten French and English together." He paid a visit to the trenches and as he watched with marked interest the fire of the Russians he remarked laughingly: "I think you will never take that strong place."† Azemoolah returned to his disappointed master fully convinced that the power of the English was on the wane. Azemoolah Khan

* "Azemoolah was originally a khitmutghar (waiter at table) in some Anglo-Indian family; profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him, he acquired a thorough acquaintance with the English and French languages, so as to be able to read and converse fluently, and write accurately in them both. He afterwards became a pupil, and subsequently a teacher, in the Cawnpore government schools, and from the last named position he was selected to become the vakeel or prime agent of the Nana. On account of his numerous qualifications he was deputed to visit England, and press upon the authorities in Leadenhall Street the application for the continuance of Bajee Rao's pension. Azemoolah accordingly reached London in the season of 1854."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson page 54.

† "My Diary in India," by Sir William Howard Russell, volume I, page 167.

Causes of the Nana's discontent

The failure in this attempt to have the pension continued has been stated to be the chief cause of the grudge which the Nana owed our nation.* It was however natural enough that the Nana should hate those whom his adopted father had always hated and who had compelled him to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Dhundu Punt was a Mahratta endowed with the strong social and religious prejudices and aspirations of the mountaineers who had struck the last blow for Hindu supremacy. He was an exile, but the Peshwa was the acknowledged head of the Mahratta confederacy: he was the chief of the race who had triumphed over the Portuguese who had made the Moghul Emperor a prisoner, between whom and the English lay the prize of ascendancy. The power of the English he had been told by his trusted agent had begun to wane and it would be strange if he did not think the time was opportune for striking another blow for Hindu supremacy. General Wheeler made a fatal blunder when he came to the conclusion that the followers of the Nana being "Mahrattas, were not likely to coalesce with others." The Bengal sepoy and Mahratta freebooter belonged to different races, but their hopes and fears and daily habits represent the creed and philosophy of Brahmanism. Among the many lessons which the Indian Mutiny conveys to the historian and administrator none is of greater importance than the warning that it is possible to have a revolution in which Brahmin and Sudra, Mahometan and Hindu, were united against us and that it is not safe to suppose that the peace and stability of our dominion in any great measure depends on the continent being inhabited by many different races with different religious systems, for they mutually understand and respect and take a part in each other's modes and ways and doings. A shock to Hindu prejudice at Calcutta is felt at the sacred shrine of Somnath on the coast of Cambay. We became the masters of India because we were received as the welcome composers of political

* Sir George Trevelyan in the following characteristic passage states:—"But none the less did he never for an instant forget the grudge which he bore our nation. While his face was all smiles, in his heart of hearts he was for ever brooding over his rejected claim. From his hour of repulse to his hour of vengence, his life was one long irony. The lads who, with his sapphires and rubies glistening on their fingers, sat laughing round his table, had one and all been doomed to die by a warrant that admitted of no appeal. He had sworn that the injustice should be expiated by the blood of women who had never heard his grievance named; of babies who had been born years after the question of that grievance had passed into oblivion."—"Cawnpore," page 63.

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troubles, but the Mutiny of 1857 reminds us that our dominion rests on a thin crust ever likely to be rent by the titanic fires of social change and religious revolution.

Personal appearance of the Nana

Dhundu Punt was at the time of Baji Rao's death about thirty-two years of age but he looked at least forty. For his personal appearance we are indebted to the account of a European traveller who visited him four years before the Mutiny. "His figure is very fat, in fact the very expression made use of by his own moonshee* was that 'his highness was a tight man' (tung admee). His face is round, his eyes very wild, brilliant and restless; his complexion as is the case with most native gentlemen is scarcely darker than a dark Spaniard and his expression is on the whole of a jovial somewhat rollicking character." His reputation for gaiety of disposition and good humour was due not only to his outward appearance but to the lavish manner in which he entertained the European society at Cawnpore. He could not speak English but he could take a keen interest in English life and home affairs. "He through his moonshee asked me many questions about the Queen, the nobility of England, particularly mentioning and asking after Lord Ellenborough (Burra, Bahut Burra Lord Sahib—a great, a very great nobleman) for whom—whether he knew him or not—he seemed to have a great respect and veneration. Whether this was assumed or not I cannot say. He then asked me many questions about the Hon'ble East India Company and appeared exhaustless in his queries about the Board of Control."

The Nana gains the confidence of Mr. Hillersdon

The Nana whose demeanour was singularly pleasing had gained the confidence of Mr. Hillersdon, the Magistrate at Cawnpore, by the tact he displayed in business when wisdom enjoined concession. At the first symptoms of discontent among the sepoys he commented on their folly in believing that the Government were plotting against their creed. Hypocritical professions of friendship were not spared. On the news of the outbreak at Meerut reaching Cawnpore the Nana met Mr. Hillersdon and suggested that his wife and the other ladies should be sent to Bithoor where he would protect them against any number of sepoys. He also undertook to protect the treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard. His services were accepted, and on the 22nd of May 200 Mahrattas of all arms with two guns moved from Bithoor and took up their quarters at the treasury. The

* Native secretary or interpreter.

Nana attended by his body-guard accompanied them and took up his residence in the civil quarter adjoining the cantonment.

24th May On the 24th of May, the day on which the many millions beneath her gracious sway commemorate the birth of Her Imperial Majesty, no salute was fired at Cawnpore lest the natives should interpret the roar of the guns as a signal for revolt. In the evening Sir Hugh informed Lord Canning : " All is quiet here but it is impossible to say how long it will continue." The message had no sooner been despatched when "a report on very good authority" reached the General that there would be an outbreak that night or the following day. All possible preparations were made to meet it. "It was an awful day, full of agony and dread," wrote a brave woman ; "and the night was more than poor human nature, unassisted, could endure. When my husband left me that night to go to his post I never expected to see him alive again, for some of his men had been overheard wildly talking of mutiny and murder, and had made a proposal to destroy their officers." The next day "seemed like heaven, for we went to our house and spent the day quietly there—at least with such quietness as was possible with the most terrible rumours coming throughout the day and reviving all our saddest apprehensions." To the General the position of things looked so propitious that he telegraphed on

26th May the 26th of May : "All tranquil here and I think likely to continue. The disaffected disconcerted by the efficient measures, curtly but determinedly taken to meet any outbreak that might be attempted, are sobering down. I have had a most anxious and tried time of it, nor is it at an end." Sir Hugh however added, "I have entrenched our position, and can hold it against any odds ; but now I hope that I may preserve the peace of this very important station without bloodshed." Vain delusion!

30th May Four days later (30th May) Sir Hugh informed Lord Canning : "The European 32nd Foot sent by Sir Henry Lawrence are preparing to return this evening in dak carriages to Lucknow where considerable uneasiness is felt ; will be there to-morrow morning. Seventy-one men, 84th Foot, arrived up to this time. All quiet here ; but the public

31st May mind very anxious with regard to Delhi." On the 31st of May he reported to the Governor-General : "We are right as yet and I hope may continue so." And many a gallant soldier clung to the same belief, and conviction came too late to be of any use. "Thank God," wrote an officer attached to the 53rd Native Infantry to friends at

home, "I am not one of the croakers here, and have never been troubled with the nervousness some people have shown; but I feel utterly disgusted with the whole army, and I only wish that I might get orders to go out with my regiment or alone with my company against some of these people, so that we could put the men to the test, and see whether they really mean to stick to us or not, and end this state of suspense. I must now leave off and send this. If there is a row here, you may be sure I will stick to my company as long as we have any chance of their obeying us. I would give a great deal to see you all again, but I would give ten times as much to have a fair fight with these Lucknow or any other mutineers and our own regiment standing to us firmly, so that we might keep our good name amid all the disgrace the Bengal army has now fallen into."

So the days of May rolled round. General Wheeler visited the lines daily and had long conversations with the men in the hope of maintaining their confidence and of allaying the feverish excitability which had risen on account of the belief that their religion was being endangered by the use of defiled cartridges. His son was his Aide-de-Camp and the 1st Native Infantry, which bore among many honourable additions won under Lake and Gough the name of Plassey, was the young soldier's corps. The General sent him to the Native officers to reason with them as to the folly and absurdity of the statements made regarding the cartridges. The General also gave the Hindu commissariat contractor four of the new cartridges in order that he might convince himself of the absurdity of the story. But Sir Hugh Wheeler knew not that the Bengal sepoy at Dum-Dum had substantial grounds for believing that improper fat had been used in their manufacture,* and that they had "written letters to all the other regiments in the service. From reading these letters the whole army were induced to believe that the time was come when the Government intended to force them to Christianity." The men conversed with the General and his son without reserve and without any sign of sullenness but their fears were not allayed nor their anxiety lessened. On the 3rd of June General Wheeler reported to the Governor-General: "All quiet but subject to constant fits of excitement." At a late hour that evening he despatched another message to Lord Canning: "Sir Henry Lawrence 3rd Ju

* Evidence of Lieutenant M. E. Currie and Colonel A. Abbott, C.B.—"Indian Mutiny," volume I, pages 64 to 67; and statement of Hidayat Ali, subadar of the Bengal police battalion. "Friend of India," 18th February, 1858.

having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him by dak gharries out of my small force two officers and fifty men, Her Majesty's 84th Foot; my conveyance for more not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust holding my own until more Europeans arrive."

This was the last message that reached Lord Canning from Sir Hugh Wheeler and it was worthy of the gallant soldier. He had at a comrade's call denuded his own scanty command, though every day brought him fresh reports of the mutinous intentions of some around him. The very evening that he sent forth fifty men to the aid of Henry Lawrence, news reached him that an outbreak of the cavalry was imminent and he issued orders that the women and non-combatants should assemble within the entrenchment. And that night about eight hundred souls went to their prison-grave. Of these about four hundred were women and children. To guard them there were about two hundred English soldiers of all arms, eighty officers, a few civilians, and a small band of loyal sepoys.*

4th June

On the 4th of June provisions for a month had been stored and one lakh of rupees was removed within the entrenchment but nine lakhs still remained in the treasury. No steps had been taken to remove or secure the ammunition and stores which were in the ordnance and regimental magazines, for confidence in the Nana had not been lost and few believed that any great danger was imminent. It had been brought to the notice of the magistrate that at dusk on the evening of the 1st of June the Nana and his brother had been for two hours in a boat holding a consultation with certain officers and men of the 2nd Cavalry. The Nana however plausibly accounted for the occurrence by stating that it was held for the adoption of measures that should keep the troops firm and loyal. The next day (2nd June) one of the troopers who was present at the consultation, whilst drinking at the house of a courtesan, informed her that in a few days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed and the Nana paramount at

* "The European residents consisted of the officers attached to the sepoy regiments; 60 of the 84th Regiment; 74 men of the 32nd Regiment who were invalided; 15 men of the Madras Fusiliers, and 59 men of the Company's Artillery; about 300 combatants in all. In addition to these were the wives, children and native servants of the officers; 300 half-caste children belonging to the Cawnpore school; merchants (some Europeans and other Eurasians); shopkeepers, railway officials and their families."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thompson, page 23. See "Mr. Shepherd's Narrative: The Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 125.

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Cawnpore when they would fill her house not merely with rupees but with gold mohurs. The same night occurred an unfortunate incident of a cashiered officer firing on a patrol of the 2nd Cavalry. He was tried by court-martial the next day and acquitted on the plea of being unconscious at the time from intoxication. The verdict caused grave dissatisfaction among the men of the 2nd Cavalry. They muttered angrily and openly that their own muskets might also be discharged by accident some day.

Outbreak at Cawnpore, 5th June

It was the spark which set fire to the magazine. The following day the men of the 2nd sent their families to the city and at one o'clock a Native officer who was on picquet duty with fifty sowars near the entrenchments led them off towards Nawabgunge, the north-west suburb of Cawnpore, where lay the treasury and the magazine. The whole corps followed their example taking with them horses, arms, colours, and the regimental treasure chest. "The old soubhadar-major of the regiment defended the colours and treasure which were in the quarter-guard as long as he could, and the poor old fellow was found in the morning severely wounded and lying in his blood at his post." * Bhowany Sing was taken within the entrenchments where he was killed by a shell during the siege. Like many a loyal sepoy, he gave his life for the alien Government he served.

Subadar-Major Bhowany Sing

As the 2nd Cavalry proceeded towards Nawabgunge, they sent a message to the 1st Native Infantry asking the cause of their delay. The sepoys responded to the call and without molesting their officers who were urging them to be loyal marched away to join the troopers.† The Adjutant of the 56th on being informed by a Native commissioned officer of what had occurred immediately came forth from his tent and proceeding to the parade ordered the regiment to form up in front of the quarter-guard. "I formed them up," states the Native officer, "and made them ready. I received orders that, if any cavalry-man came, he was instantly to be shot. In this way we passed the night

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 39.

† "It is to be spoken to the credit of the men of the 1st Native Infantry, that when they agreed to go away with the mutineers, they first begged of their officers (who had been for some time in the habit of sleeping in the quarter-guard of the regiment to ensure confidence), to leave them, and ultimately forced them to go away into the entrenchment without hurting them."—"Mr. Shepherd's Narrative: Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 122.

"An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st Native Infantry also bolted, leaving the officers untouched upon the parade-ground."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 39.

with our officers. No one took off his uniform." At daybreak the men being dismissed assisted in recovering the horses and arms abandoned by the troopers. The Fifty-Third who had also been under arms during the night were dismissed. The lines of the Light Company of the 53rd and those of the Grenadier Company of the 56th were adjacent and after their morning meal was finished four or five grenadiers went over to the neighbouring quarters and entered into conversation with a havildar and private of the Light Company. About this time (9 A.M.) a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry rode up to the lines of the 53rd Native Infantry. He was the bearer of a message from the company of their corps that guarded the treasury, to the effect that they would not allow it to be plundered until their corps joined.* Then the havildar and private of the Light Company shouted "Glory to the great God; be prepared ye braves," and a rush was made to the quarter-guard for the colours and the treasure chest. The subadar who commanded the guard refused to play false and fell wounded at his post. Now when the General became aware of the meeting in the lines and heard the roar of the tumult he ordered Ashe's battery to open fire. As a round shot went crashing into the quarters of the 56th a sepoy shouted that they would all be killed, on which the entire corps dispersed and fled in disorder. The men of the 56th swiftly followed their example. Some of the panic-stricken sepoys concealed themselves in the neighbouring ravines and readily joined on the sounding of the assembly by an officer of the 53rd.†

The action of General Wheeler in opening fire on the native lines has been cruelly judged. He has been accused of being "prompt with

* "Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams. Captain Thomson writes: "The detachment of the 53rd posted at the treasury held their ground against the rebels about five hours."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thompson, page 40.

† This corps (53rd) appears to have been the least tainted and we may in charity suppose that many even of those who deserted and joined their mutinous comrades, did so from fear of being implicated in the consequences of the revolt notwithstanding the confidence in them evinced by their officers. As far as can be ascertained the numbers that remained faithful even after the return of the mutineers from Kullianpore are as follows, but the list is not of course a complete one, and no depositions having been received from any of the 1st Native Infantry their numbers are not known; 2nd cavalry, one subadar, two havildars, four sirdars, one native doctor; 53rd Native Infantry, six subadars, four jemadars, nine havildars, six naicks and twenty-two sepoys; 56th Native Infantry, one jemadar. three sepoys, one musician and one native doctor; all these performed good service on the day of the outbreak, bringing in arms and ammunition from the regimental magazine.—"Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams.

an ill-timed energy, and wary with a misplaced distrust." * It was, however, no longer possible to maintain even an ostensible trust. The 2nd Cavalry had mutinied and marched away towards Delhi. "Nearly the whole of the Native commissioned officers (about thirty or thirty-five in number) came to the General and reported that their remonstrances to the sepoys were of no avail, who had also that morning been tampered with by the cavalry and appeared determined to go off.† The roar and tumult in the lines confirmed the statement of the Native officers, and the General feeling that it was no longer possible to prevent the men from rising fired two or three round shot into their quarters, in order that the sepoys should disperse and join their rebellious comrades without attacking him or plundering the cantonment. Sir Hugh Wheeler's policy had been based on the supposition that if the troops did mutiny they would at once march to Delhi, and that the Nana would not take an active part against us. The regiments did move off towards Delhi, but at the last hour the Nana was persuaded to join in an enterprise which would regain him a throne and restore the power of the Mahratta confederacy.

* "Cawnpore," by the Right Hon'ble Sir George Trevelyan, Bart., page 91.

† "Mr. Shepherd's Narrative : Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 122. Mr. Shepherd adds : "While they were yet speaking the bugle sounded; and presently after we could see the two regiments drawn up in columns on their parade-ground, showing a defying front; but a shot or two from our long gun *immediately* dispersed them, and sent them at a full gallop round their lines on the outside road leading to Delhi, and branching off to Nawabgunge, where their rebellious brethren were then stationed." Captain Mowbray Thomson however writes :— "The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the General, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amidst their ranks; they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by nine-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling into the entrenchment of the native officers of the regiment."—"The Story of Cawnpore," page 39. Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams, who though not present like Mr. Shepherd and Captain Mowbray Thomson, thoroughly exhausted every available source of information, writes: "The uproar that ensued in both regiments becoming very great two shots were fired from the entrenchments into the lines of the 53rd." Lieutenant Delafosse, who, like Captain Mowbray Thomson, belonged to the 53rd and survived the massacre, writes : "The 53rd and 56th regiments appeared still loyal, remaining still in their lines, but as none of the officers were with the men and there was no one to look after them, they also were off, without anyone missing them, between 8 and 9 o'clock, taking with them the regimental treasure, colours, and as much ammunition as they could carry—that afternoon every house was burnt, fires were to be seen in every direction."

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Mutineers plunder the treasury

Rebels march to Kullianpore

On the 53rd and 56th joining the other two regiments at Nawabgunge the mutineers proceeded to plunder the treasury, break open the jail and burn and sack with the aid of the released prisoners the houses of the European residents. After the treasure amounting to nearly two hundred thousand pounds had been packed on carts and elephants the whole force set forth about midday for Kullianpore, the first stage on the Delhi road.

A deputation of Native officers visit the Nana

Meanwhile it is stated that a deputation of Native officers from the 2nd Cavalry and 1st Native Infantry waited on the Nana and said unto him : "Maharaja, a kingdom awaits you if you join our cause, but death if you side with our enemies." The ready reply was "What have I to do with the British? I am altogether yours." He then laid his hands on the heads of the Native officers and swore to join them." The deputation quite satisfied departed to join their comrades at Kullianpore.*

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* Tantia Topee in his evidence attempted to show that the Nana acted under compulsion but Tantia's evidence is the evidence of an accomplice who was at the time being tried for his life. His evidence was:—"Two days afterwards the three regiments of infantry and the 2nd Light Cavalry surrounded us, and imprisoned the Nana and myself in the treasury and plundered the magazines and treasury of everything they contained, leaving nothing in either. Of the treasure, the sepoys made over two lakhs and eleven thousand rupees to the Nana, keeping their own sentries over it. The Nana was also under the charge of these sentries, and the sepoys which were with us also joined the rebels. After this the whole army marched from that place and the rebels took the Nana Sahib and myself and all our attendants along with them and said, 'Come along to Delhi.' Having gone three kos (six miles) from Cawnpore, the Nana said that as the day was far spent it was far better to halt there then and march on the following day. They agreed to this and halted. In the morning the whole army told him (the Nana) to go with them towards Delhi. The Nana refused, and the army then said, 'Come with us to Cawnpore and fight there.' The Nana objected to this, but they would not attend to him. And so taking him with them as a prisoner, they went towards Cawnpore and fighting commenced there." The Nana had a strong force of Mahrattas and two guns to protect him and the sepoys could not so easily have made him a prisoner. They were anxious to proceed to Delhi and that the Nana should not join Wheeler in attacking them. Nerput, the opium contractor of Cawnpore, in his diary states: "When the Nana saw that all the regiments were anxious to leave for Delhi, he called the officers and sepoys and told them it was not proper to go to Delhi until all Europeans, men, women and children were destroyed; they agreed to return; and the whole rebel army returned on June 6th, and encamped near subadar's tank." Another native writer who appears by his narrative of the movements of the rebel force to have been in close proximity with it during the siege confirms Nerput's statement. He writes: "When Nana Dhundu Punt saw that the three native regiments and the 2nd Light Cavalry had completely thrown off their allegiance to the Company, and were thinking of going to Delhi, he, with joined hands, represented to the native officers that it would not be correct to proceed towards Delhi until they had entirely

On the deputation leaving a consultation was held by the Nana, his brothers, and Azemoolah, when the latter proceeded to point out the folly of proceeding to Delhi. At the Imperial city they would be overshadowed by the Moghul Court and lose their individual power and influence. It would be far wiser for the Nana to seize Cawnpore and extend his power to the sea. Azemoolah reminded them that he enjoyed special opportunities of judging 'the resources of the British. The number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the native army and now that the sepoy had mutinied the power of the English had vanished.' * His arguments convinced them as to the proper course to be pursued and the Nana with his brother Baba Bhut and Azemoolah at once hastened to Kullianpore. By the offer of unlimited plunder and a gold bangle to each sepoy they gained the ready consent of the troops to their plans. The Brahmin sepoys saluted the adopted son of the Peshwa as their Raja and Brahmin officers proceeded to assume command of their respective corps. Subadar Teeka Sing became chief of the 2nd Cavalry with the title of General, Jemadar Dugunjun Sing became Colonel of the 53rd Native Infantry, and Subadar Gungadeen, Colonel of the 56th Native Infantry.†

The rebel forces with the Nana return to Cawnpore

On the morning of the 6th of June the rebel force with the Nana at their head began their return march to Cawnpore. On entering the city their first act was to attack and pillage the houses of some leading Mahomedans, but as the day advanced the lust of plunder grew stronger and, all distinction of sect and race being forgotten, many a Hindu goldsmith and banker endured cruel torment for refusing to reveal his cherished treasures. Meantime detachments of cavalry were sent into the cantonment, who galloping hither and thither,

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destroyed the officers and European soldiers and women and children of the Christian religion; and that they should, if possible by deceiving the officers, accomplish this grand object or that they should be good for nothing. The native officers and sepoys approved this speech, and took counsel to kill all the Christians; and, plundering as they went, on Saturday, the 6th June, they returned to the subadar's tank."

* One of the two women who survived the Cawnpore massacre told me that when she was brought before Azemoolah he said to her, "Why are you crying? The Moghul Emperor has taken Delhi and driven the English from Northern India, when we take Cawnpore and Lucknow we will march to Calcutta and be masters of Southern India and your husband (the sowar who captured her) who has now been made a Colonel will then be a great man and you a great woman."

† Regarding the 1st Native Infantry there is no information.

some shouting "Victory to Raja Ram Chund," others calling out "Shout ye faithful army, Allah has routed the Kaffirs," set fire to the houses. The wind was blowing furiously at the time and the conflagration spread with rapidity, house after house taking fire. As the inmates—European, East Indian, or native converts came forth, they were cut to pieces by the troopers mad with the taste of blood. Four office clerks who lived together in a shop on the banks of the canal fighting with the energy of despair beat back their ferocious assailants. But the house was soon on fire and when driven forth by the smoke they were killed as they fled. Women, children and old men were slain and in a few hours silence settled over the charred ruins of the cantonment of Cawnpore.

The Nana proclaimed himself by beat of drum sovereign of the Mahrattas. Bapu Dhatu, his brother, with twenty horses hastened to Bithoor to announce the commencement of Mahratta rule. And the inauguration of the new government was celebrated by the agent of the Peshwa's widows and his family being blown away from the guns.* The Peshwa's brother-in-law and many Mahrattas obnoxious to the Nana were put in irons. The Nana himself took up his residence in a house situated north of the entrenchment where a gun had already been placed. At 10 A.M. the first shot was fired on the besieged. But the mutineers were more intent that day on plundering than on fighting. Through the night the havoc lasted in the city. Of all the crimes which men can commit whether from lust of plunder or in the frenzy of passion hardly one was omitted.†

June 6th First shot fired on the besieged

The commencement of the siege, 6th June

On the morning of the 6th of June Sir Hugh Wheeler received a letter from the Nana announcing his intention of at once attacking him. The announcement produced a great sensation and not without reason. All had considered that the mutineers were well on their way to Delhi and that no grave danger now threatened them. They could easily hold their own against the city rabble till the European force, which they had been led to suppose was on its way from Calcutta, had arrived. Before the morning had far advanced, the crack of musketry and the roar of guns showed that the Nana's was no idle threat. At length the men and women gazing over the low wall saw with sad hearts the flames rising from their burning homes. The sound of the approaching

* Blowing away from guns was a very favourite form of punishment with the Mahrattas.

† "Every man did what came into his mind."—Native Diary.

foe grew nearer and nearer. Lieutenant Ashe with about twenty or thirty volunteers took out his guns to reconnoitre, but they had barely proceeded five hundred yards when they found the rebel troops arrayed in force on the canal bank. The moment they made the discovery they returned at a trot and no sooner had they got within the entrenchment than the first shot struck the crest of the mud wall and glided over into the smaller barrack.* The bugle sounded "All hands to your arms" and "every individual, from a drummer or writer to the regimental officer," took up his appointed post.

Distribution of th garrison The Reda

Major Vibart of the 2nd Cavalry, who like Wheeler had been present at the storming of Ghuzni and had won by his gallantry a bronze star at Punniar, held the Redan, a frail earthwork defending the whole of the northern side. His second in command was Captain Jenkins of the same corps who had served at the siege of Multan. At the north-east battery, Lieutenant Ashe of the Oudh Irregular Artillery, who had in the Burmese Campaign proved himself a capable and brave soldier commanded one twenty-four pounder howitzer and two nine-pounders, his second in command being Lieutenant Sotheby. The south side was entrusted to the charge of Captain Empland, 56th Native Infantry, who, too, had seen service in the Punjab army. Lieutenant Eckford of the Artillery, assisted by Lieutenant Burney of the same corps and Lieutenant Delafosse of the 53rd Native Infantry, commanded the south-east battery. The main guard from south to west was held by Captain Turnbull, 13th Native Infantry, who had won his medal and clasp at the battle of Guzerat. A little beyond the main guard on the south was stationed a detachment under the command of Major Prout, 56th Native Infantry, who had served with Sir Hugh Wheeler at Maharajpore, and here was placed the little rifled three-pounder flanking the West battery, consisting of three nine-pounders, which was commanded by Lieutenant Dempster, who had been present at Chillianwallah and Guzerat. His second in command was Lieutenant Martin. On the north-west Captain Whiting, who, too, had seen service in the Sutlej Campaign, held the command. All the posts were commanded by men who were

North-eas Battery

South Side

South-eas Battery

Main Guard

North-West Battery

* "The first casualty occurred at the west battery; M'Guire, a gunner, being killed by a round shot; the poor fellow was covered with a blanket and left in the trench till nightfall. Several of us saw the bullet bounding towards us, and he also evidently saw it, but, like many others whom I saw fall at different times, he seemed fascinated to the spot."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 66.

they lodged their bullets in the same locality. But it was deep silence amidst the darkness which filled them with the greatest apprehension; for when the guns ceased firing, the enemy stealthily and silently crept forth from the shelter of the surrounding buildings and made a pounce on the barrack; then out of the vacant darkness English rifles opened on them and sent them flying back.

Captain Elmes

Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson

Glanville, while encouraging the men, was dangerously wounded. The command devolved on Captain Elmes, 1st Native Infantry, but as his services were soon after required within the entrenchment, his place was supplied by Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson of the 56th Native Infantry. His sixteen men consisted in the first instance of Ensign Henderson of the 56th Native Infantry, five or six of the Madras Fusiliers, two plate-layers from the railway works, and some men of the 84th Regiment. "This first instalment was soon disabled. The Madras Fusiliers were armed with the Enfield rifle, and consequently they had to bear the brunt of the attack; they were all shot at their posts; several of the 84th also fell; but, in consequence of the importance of the position, as soon as a loss in my little corps was reported, Captain Moore sent me over a reinforcement from the entrenchment. Sometimes a civilian, sometimes a soldier came. The orders given us were not to surrender with our lives and we did our best to obey them."

Captain Moore

Sir Hugh Wheeler with the burden of seventy years on him being physically incapable of enduring the exposure and fatigue involved in looking after the minute details of the defence and inspecting the outposts, upon Captain Moore was cast the duty of guiding the energy and valour of the garrison. And no man was more gifted by nature for the task. He was tall and fair with the joyous light blue eyes characteristic of his race and a bearing so frank and genial that men loved him, so determined and self-possessed in the midst of danger that soldiers trusted him. Twice or thrice daily he visited every post and his robust and sanguine nature brought sunlight and hope to help the toil of the defenders. His tender sympathy brought patience to the suffering women. He had an Irishman's love for bodily conflict and though one of his arms had been severely injured at the beginning of the siege he never lost the opportunity of being in the midst of a fray. Wherever there appeared most danger, he was sure to be foremost with his arm in a sling and a revolver pistol in his belt, leading and directing the men to act.* He placed scouts upon the top

* "Mr. Shepherd's Narrative: Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 127.

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of one of the barracks to watch the movements of the enemy. Whenever the signal was given that they were attempting to advance nearer, "Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans in the midst of the most brisk firing, expelling them from their covert." Their bugles sounded the advance and the charge, but no inducement could make them quit the safe side of Nos. 1 and 5. From the windows of these barracks they poured volleys of musketry thick as hail upon the defenders and volleys of foul abuse. After each discharge a din of hideous defiance rose in the air and the rebels were seen at the windows brandishing their swords and dancing a war dance. "Some of these fanatics, under the influence of infuriating doses of bhang, would come out into the open and perform, but at the inevitable cost of life." The combined pickets used to sweep through these barracks once, and sometimes twice a day, in chase. The foe "scarcely ever stood for a hand to hand fight; but heaps of them were left dead as the result of these sallies." *

Life in the out picket was one of intense suffering and full of danger, but it had an advantage. "We were somewhat removed from the sickening spectacles continually occurring in the intrenchment. We certainly had no diminished share of the conflict in the barracks, but we had not the heaps of wounded sufferers, nor the crowd of helpless ones whose agonies nothing could relieve. Men, women and children fell victims to the enemy's fire. But the survivors were more to be pitied than the dead. The pressure of famine became every day more severe. "All were reduced to the monotonous and scanty allowance of one meal a day, consisting of a handful of split peas and a handful of flour, certainly not more than half a pint together, for the daily ration." † Now and then the scanty fare was increased by some horse flesh and it became a more cherished object to shoot a horse than his rider.‡ "Our meal," writes one of

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 74.

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, pages 78, 79.

‡ "Some of our famished Esaus would have made for the cannon's mouth, and have sold their lives, but it might not be; and our hungry disgust had well nigh sunk into despair, when an old knacker came into range, that had belonged to an Irregular Cavalry-man. He was down by a shot like lightning, brought into the barrack, and hewn up. We did not wait to skin the prey, nor waste any time and consultation upon its anatomical arrangements; no scientific butchery was considered necessary in its sub-division. Lump, thump, whack, went nondescript pieces of flesh into the fire, and, notwithstanding its decided claims to veneration on the score of antiquity, we thought it a more savoury meal than any of the *recherché* culinary curiosities of the lamented Soyer. The two picquets, thirty-four in number, disposed of the horse in two meals. The head, and some mysteries of the body, we stewed into soup, and liberally sent to fair friends in the intrenchment, without designating its nature, or without being required to satisfy any scruples upon that head."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, pages 82, 83.

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the two women who survived the siege, "was a horse, but neither myself nor my parents partook of any, my poor little brother and sisters, they were dying from hunger and would have eaten the most loathsome thing; before we came to this pass I recollected throwing a bit of meat, which after a few days I carefully looked for, and finding it fortunately, shared it amongst the children." However, as the siege advanced such was the extremity of distress that a dog was eagerly hunted and greedily devoured. The besieged were at the same time afflicted by thirst. There was only one well within the entrenchment from which they could draw water. The masonry at the present time bears marks of the innumerable bullets which struck it, for the enemy invariably fired grape upon the spot as soon as any person made his appearance, or at night if they heard the crackling of the tackle. The framework of beam and brick which protected the drawers was soon shot away. The machinery went next and the bucket was thenceforward hauled up hand over hand from a depth of more than sixty feet. It was hard and tedious work fraught with immense peril. John Mackillop of the Civil Service, however, gladly undertook it and has left his name as a portent in the splendid calendar of England's heroes. "He jocosely said that he was no fighting man, but would make himself useful where he could, and accordingly he took this post; drawing for the supply of the women and children as often as he could. It was less than a week after he had undertaken this self-denying service, when his numerous escapes were followed by a grape-shot wound in the groin, and speedy death. Disinterested even in death, his last words were an earnest entreaty that somebody would go and draw water for a lady to whom he had promised it." The sufferings of the women and children grew more intense day by day as the pittance of water decreased, and the little ones tried to get a single drop of moisture upon their parched lips by sucking the pieces of old water bags, and putting scraps of canvas and leather scraps into the mouth. In silence the women bore their great agony, but the incessant cries of the babes for drink rent the hearts of the soldiers and at the cost of many brave lives it was procured.*

John Mackillop

Beside the well within the intrenchment there was another about two hundred yards from the rampart close to Barrack No. 3. "We drew no water there, it was our cemetery; and in three weeks we buried therein two hundred and fifty of our numbers." † Under the

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 87.

† *Ibid*, page 89.

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cover of night with stealthy step the bodies were thrown into it. "I have seen the dead bodies of officers," wrote a survivor, "and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank put outside the verandah amongst the ruin, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living; the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object."

Soon there was no safe corner. On Friday, the 12th of June, shells were prepared by an invalid subadar of artillery and were heated in the barracks near the racquet court for the Nunkey Nawab's battery.* On the following evening "the thatched barrack in the intrenchment was set on fire by a ball from the Nunkey Nawab's battery fired by Reaz Ali (son of Kurreem Ali, the one-eyed), an invalid subadar of artillery, for which he received a reward of ninety rupees and a shawl." All the wounded and sick were in it at the time, also the families of the soldiers and drummers. The breeze being strong, the flames spread swiftly. The enemy poured their grape upon the burning mass, out of which fled women and children. "The entreaties of the wounded to be helped out of the flames and from the falling building," writes a woman who witnessed the awful scene, "was more than one could bear, and their cries and dying groans heartrending, for they were obliged to be dragged out without any regard being paid to their excruciating pain occasioned from wounds." A few more fortunate perished in the flames, for they were spared a lingering death. In the burnt barracks all the medical stores were consumed and not one of the surgical instruments was saved. From that time the agonies of the wounded became most intense. "It was heart-breaking work to see the poor sufferers parched with thirst that could be only most scantily relieved, and sinking from fever and mortification that we had no appliances wherewith to resist." †

12th Jun[e]

The thatched barrack burnt

It was long past midnight when the rolling clatter of the musketry ceased. Then the enemy in hundreds stealthily and silently crept forward with the intention of taking by storm Ashe's battery. As they came on, no movement was made that they were observed.

* Nunkey Nir Nane Nawab, a Mahomedan nobleman, commanded the batteries at this racquet court. At the commencement of the outbreak he had been made a prisoner and his houses plundered, but subsequently he and the Nana became close allies and a command was given to him.

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 94.

They advanced to within sixty yards and were preparing to make a final rush, when Ashe and his garrison standing up manfully sent forth showers of grape, and every man taking up the loaded guns by his side poured into their midst a fire of musketry. In half an hour all had fled, leaving many slain on the field.

Dawn broke after a long night of fatigue and calamity. "When the ashes of the consumed barrack cooled the men of the 32nd Regiment who had been stationed there, raked them over with bayonets and swords making diligent search for their medals." *

Deprived of the shelter of the barracks two hundred women and children sought protection behind the breastwork and sat on the ground twelve days and twelve nights.† It was June, and efforts were at first made to shelter them from the scorching rays of the sun by erecting canvas stretchers overhead, but, as often as the paltry covering was put up, it was fired by the enemy's shells. They had only the clothes on their backs, and at night they shivered with ague brought on by the damp and steam of the ground. Many of the unfortunate creatures were accustomed to all the indulgences of life, but they bore the hardships without complaint. Their courage never faltered and their energy was equal to the occasion. They handed round the ammunition, encouraged the men to the uttermost, and with tender solicitude attended to the wounded. Kindly death came to many. A single shell killed and wounded seven of them who were seated in the ditch. Mistress White was walking with a twin child at either shoulder, and her husband by her side. The same ball slew the father, broke both elbows of the mother, and severely injured one of the children. "I saw her afterwards in the mainguard lying upon her back with the two children twins laid one at each breast, while the mother's bosom refused not what her arms had no power to administer." ‡ A small room was considered to be comparatively safe. Two girls aged about eight or nine were left in it by their parents who went out in search of food. When they returned they found only scattered remains. A shell had entered it and burst. "The remains were gathered up in a sheet and thrown into the well." §

Heroic conduct of the women

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 95.

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 99.

‡ "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 101.

§ MS. Narrative.

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There had been a week of fighting, many had been killed, many were sick with fever and dysentery, more with wounds uncured. Among the artillerymen alone fifty-nine had been killed or wounded. "With the exception of four of the numbers these fine fellows all perished at the batteries—nor were the guns themselves in much better condition; the howitzer was knocked completely off its carriage—one or two of them had their sides driven in, and one was without a muzzle; at length there were only two of them that could by any ingenuity be made to carry grape, and these were loaded in a most eccentric manner. In consequence of the irregularity of the bore of the guns, through the damage inflicted on them by the enemy's shot, the canister could not be driven home, consequently the women gave us their stockings; and having tapped the canisters, we charged these with the contents of the shot cases, a species of cartridge probably never heard of before." * The light guns of the garrison were of little avail against the enemy's heavy 24-pounders, but however unequal the strife Ashe's little battery wrought great havoc among the rebels on account of the celerity and accuracy of its fire. The gallant commander never missed a promising opportunity and with his own hand laid his gun. "When he had fired he would jump up on to the heel of the gun regardless of the exposure, that he might see the extent of the damage he had inflicted." †

On the Sunday June 14th, every man was required at his post and there was no safe spot where the women could gather together to pray to the Almighty. But the Chaplain,‡ who laboured day and night to bring blessedness to the wounded and dying, went from post to post reading the Psalms and prayers while the men stood at arms. "Short and interrupted as these services were, they proved an invaluable privilege, and there was a terrible reality about them, since in each such solemnity one or more of the little group gathered about the person of their instructor was sure to be present for the last time." That Sunday evening at 8 P.M., General Wheeler wrote to Mr. Gubbins at Lucknow: "We have been besieged since the sixth by the Nana

14th Jun

Letter from General Wheeler Mr. Gubbins

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 137.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "Mr. Moncrieff was held in high estimation by the whole garrison before the Mutiny, on account of the zealous manner in which he discharged the duties of his sacred office, but his self-denial and constancy in the thickest of our perils made him yet more greatly beloved by us all."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 106.

Sahib, joined by the whole of the native troops, who broke out on the morning of the fourth. The enemy have two 24, and several other guns. We have only eight 9-pounders. The whole Christian population is with us in a temporary intrenchment, and our defence has been noble and wonderful, our loss heavy and cruel. We want aid, aid, aid! Regards to Lawrence." The gallant old soldier added a brief postscript: "If we had 200 men, we could punish the scoundrels and aid you." Sir Henry Lawrence himself answered the letter. He wrote on the 16th of June to General Wheeler: "I am very sorry indeed to hear of your condition, and grieve that I cannot help you. I have consulted with the chief officers about me, and, except Gubbins, they are unanimous in thinking that with the enemy's command of the river, we could not possibly get a single man into your intrenchment. I need not say that I deeply lament being obliged to concur in their opinion, for our own safety is as nearly concerned as yours. We are strong *in* our intrenchments, but by attempting the passage of the river, should be sacrificing a large detachment without a prospect of helping you. Pray do not think me selfish. I would run much risk could I see a commensurate prospect of success. In the present scheme I see none. Mr. Gubbins who does not understand the difficulties of the most difficult of military operations, the passage of a river in the face of an enemy, is led away by generous enthusiasm to desire impossibilities.* I write not only my own opinion, but that of many ready to risk their lives to rescue you. God grant you His protection." † Captain Moore by desire of Sir Hugh Wheeler acknowledged the receipt of the letters and expressed his commander's regret that Sir Henry Lawrence could not send him the 200 men, "as he believed with their assistance we could drive the insurgents from

Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence to General Wheeler

Letter from Captain Moore

* Mr. Gubbins afterwards acknowledged that Sir Henry Lawrence and his chief officers acted wisely. In "The Mutinies in Oudh" he wrote: "It was hard to refuse such an appeal; but I believe that Sir Henry Lawrence acted wisely in doing so. There were but a very few boats obtainable, which were scattered at different places in the river. There would have been difficulty in collecting them together at one spot and the enemy was almost sure to be apprised of our so doing, in time to be able to dispute the passage of the Ganges. The idea suggested by some officers was, to make a demonstration opposite Bithoor, and to cross ten miles below Cawnpore, and thus gain the other side unobserved. But the risk was undeniably too great, and our garrison too weak, to allow of a body of men sufficiently large to be detached to accomplish this movement."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 173.

† "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Edwardes and Merivale, volume II, page 349.

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Cawnpore and capture the guns." In simple, brave, unselfish words he proceeds to state the undaunted resolution and devotion of the garrison. "Our troops, officers and volunteers have acted most nobly and on several occasions a handful of men have driven hundreds before them. Our loss has been chiefly from the sun and their heavy guns. Our rations will last a fortnight and we are still well supplied with ammunition. Our guns are serviceable. Reports say that troops are advancing from Allahabad; and any assistance might save our garrison. We of course are prepared to hold out to the last. It is needless to mention the names of those who have been killed, or died. We trust in God; and if our exertions here assist your safety, it will be a consolation to know that our friends appreciate our devotion. Any news of relief will cheer us." *

15th June Sally made by Captain Moore

No news of relief cheered the doomed garrison. But neither the confidence nor the resources of Moore were yet exhausted. The day after the burning of the hospital he determined to make a dash upon the enemy's guns in the hope of silencing some of them. At midnight putting himself at the head of fifty men he sallied forth from the entrenchment. Silently they crept towards the church enclosure and without firing a shot they leapt over the low wall and sprang at the gunners with their bayonets. The encounter was short and bloody. After spiking two or three guns they rushed onwards to the Mess-House where they surprised several of the rebel gunners asleep at their post, blew up one of the 24-pounders and spiked two more guns. In an hour they returned to the entrenchment leaving one of their scanty number behind and bringing back four wounded. Great was the relief of the garrison at their return. "The suspense of that night," wrote a woman, "I cannot describe; we knew that the number of the sick and wounded was large, and the idea of seeing the small number of our defenders reduced by twenty including a first rate officer, threw us into agonies of fear, every sound was hushed in no time, the stillness of death seemed to be before us, and the very infant to understand its danger. Captain Moore came back sooner than was expected, he was absent only an hour, but oh! that hour was eternity." †

It was a brilliant, daring and successful exploit. But it availed little. The next day the enemy brought fresh guns into position.

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 443.

† MS. narrative of one of the women who survived.

The rebels are reinforced by two regiments with artillery from Oudh

Orders were also issued to prepare boats for the transit of two regiments with artillery expected from Oudh. On the 16th these regiments* with some horse and artillery joined the rebels and boasted that they would take the entrenchment in two days. "They were consequently in great favour with the Nana, who directed them to be feasted with sweetmeats and to be treated with distinction." A Court composed of Babu Bhut, the Nana's brother, Azeemoolah, and two others was formed for the trial of criminal cases, and the old oriental method of administering justice and meting out punishment was resumed. Several leading citizens were paraded through the city on donkeys and their houses razed to the ground for disreputable modes of livelihood, and a man of the Bauria caste had his hands cut off for theft.

18th June

On the 18th June, a battery erected south of the entrenchment and commanded by the Meer Nawab opened fire with great violence, one more of the guns in the entrenchment was disabled and many of the garrison were killed. In the heat and fury of the cannonade an assault was made, but after a brief tough struggle the stormers were repulsed. "The courage of the British was highly extolled and the mutineers greatly depressed at their repeated failures; those of them who had already acquired wealth by plunder sought opportunities for slipping away to their homes, while such as had wives and families would not attend the batteries, nor willingly join in the assaults made on the entrenchments, but by far the greater number, the Nadaree and Aktaree regiments excepted, took their ease seated in the shops along the banks of the canal, plundering the supplies brought in, eagerly helping themselves to large quantities of sugar, and drinking sherbet to their hearts' content." On the 19th news reached the rebels of the approach of the 17th Native Infantry with guns and treasure from Azimgurh. A consultation attended by Babu Bhut, Azemoolah and General Teeka Sing was held the same day at the Nana's at which it was suggested that stratagem should be employed to induce the Europeans to leave the entrenchment when they might easily be massacred. Fighting them, it was urged, only led to guns being lost. As all present did not assent to the proposal it was suggested that another meeting should be shortly held.

Arrival of the 17th Native Infantry from Azimgurh

21st June

On Sunday morning, the 21st June, it was proclaimed by beat of drum that the Peshwa's Government had been established at Poona and

* The regiments were the 4th and 5th Oudh Locals known as the Nadaree (Nadiri), taken from that of Nadir Shah the invader of India whose name became a by-word for Victory and hence applied to a Regiment, and Akhtaree (Akhtari), or the Star Regiment.

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that the rebels ruled the city of Lucknow. During the afternoon the enemy sent a fearful discharge of grape whistling through the entrenchment. At midnight Major Vibart wrote to Sir Henry Lawrence: "We have been cannonaded for six hours a day by twelve guns. This evening for three hours upwards of thirty shells (mortars) were thrown into the entrenchment. This has occurred daily for the last eight days: *an idea may be formed of our casualties*, and how little protection the barracks afford to the women. Any aid to be effective must be immediate. In event of rain falling our position would be untenable. He assured Sir Henry Lawrence that according to telegraphic despatches received previous to the outbreak 1,000 Europeans were to have arrived on the 14th instant. "This force may be on its way up. Any assistance you can send might co-operate with it. Nine-pounder ammunition, chiefly cartridges, is required. Should the above forces arrive, we can in return insure the safety of Lucknow. Being simply a military man, General Wheeler has no power to offer bribes in land and money to the insurgents, *nor any means whatever* of communication with them. You can ascertain the best means of crossing the river. Nuguffgurh Ghaut is suggested. It is earnestly requested that whatever is done may be effected without a moment's delay. We have lost about a third of our original number. The enemy are strongest in artillery. They appear not to have more than 400 or 500 infantry. They move their guns with difficulty, by means of unbroken bullocks. The infantry are great cowards and easily repulsed." *

22nd J Genera assault made the entren ment

On Monday, the 22nd of June, the rebels after much discussion plucked up sufficient courage to determine to make a general assault. That night a storming party from barrack No. 1 threatened barrack No. 2. Captain Thomson saw the rebels collecting there from all parts and fearing that his small band would be overpowered by numbers sent to Captain Moore for more men. The answer was "Not one could be spared." Soon after the intrepid Irishman accompanied by Lieutenant Delafosse went across and said to Thomson: "I think I shall try a new dodge; we are going out into the open, and I shall give the word of command as though our party were about to commence an attack." Forthwith they sallied out, Moore with a sword, Delafosse with an empty musket. Moore in a loud voice gave the word of command: "Number one to the front." "And hundreds of ammunition pouches rattled on the bayonet-sheaths as our courageous foes vaulted out from the cover afforded by heaps of rubbish and rushed into the safer

* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 444.

quarters presented by the barrack walls. We followed them with a vigorous salute and as they did not show fight just then, we had a hearty laugh at the ingenuity which had devised and the courage which had executed this successful feint." * During the remainder of the night the rebels kept the small garrison on the alert by perpetual surprises and mock charges. At the first streak of dawn they however advanced boldly up to the doorway of the barracks. No door but only brickwork breast high with stout hearts behind it prevented their entry. Manwaring's revolver despatched two or three. Stirling, with an Enfield rifle, shot one and bayoneted another. Moore with deadly effect emptied both barrels of his gun. "We were seventeen of us inside that barrack and they left eighteen corpses lying outside the adach.† The gallant band must however have been overpowered by numbers, if Moore had not, on seeing the barracks filled with the enemy, sallied forth with twenty-five men to the rescue." Advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack, he sent a few volleys, then going ahead behind No. 4 barrack, he managed to drive them all into Nos. 1 and 2, where a few rounds of canister routed them out entirely, killing about thirty-five or forty of their number.

At the same time an assault was being made on all sides of the entrenchment by the rebel host. It was the centenary of Plassey and they vowed not to spare a soul that day, even if they should all die in the attempt. No sooner was the signal given than Regular and Irregular, Moslem and Hindu, rushed impetuously forward. Impatient of delay the cavalry charged forth from the riding-school at a hand gallop, but ere the entrenchment was reached their horses became winded, their pace slacked, and as they came on they were swept away by our artillery. They wavered a little: then, wheeling round, the few survivors fled. More cautiously the skirmishers advanced rolling before them for protection huge bales of cotton. When they had got them within a hundred yards of the wall, the main body of the infantry in the rear raised a loud shout and rushed boldly forward led by the Subadar-Major of the 1st Native Infantry, a tall powerful man who had sworn upon the holy Ganges either to take the entrenchment or perish sword in hand. A musket ball from the rampart laid him low, and round after round of canister mowed his followers down. Staggered by the

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 125.

† "The day chosen was the 23rd June, the centenary of Plassey. For many weeks a prophecy had spread throughout the land that the English rule would expire with the hundredth year and as Clive had laid the foundation of it in the mango groves of Plassey it must end on the centenary of that victory."—"Indian Mutiny," volume I, page 57.

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double fire the enemy fell back, leaving two hundred killed and wounded on the field. At dusk a party of sepoys came out unarmed and having saluted obtained leave to take away their dead.

Many and signal were the examples of bravery and devotion displayed that day. But among them one was pre-eminent. It had better be told without comment in the words of one who saw it: "This day I saw a very daring and brave act done in our camp. About midday one of our ammunition wagons in the north-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shot, and while it was blazing, the batteries from the artillery barracks and the tank directed all their guns towards it. Our soldiers being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artilleryman either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered the other wagons near it. However, in the midst of the cannonading a young officer of the 53rd Native Infantry (Lieutenant Delafosse) with unusual courage, went up, and laying himself down under the burning wagon, pulled away from it what loose splinters, &c., he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth on the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers who brought with them a couple of buckets of water, which were very dexterously thrown about by the Lieutenant, and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amid a fearful cannonading of about six guns, all firing upon the burning wagon. Thus, at last, the fire was put out and the officer and men escaped unhurt."

The little band of warriors had made good their stand against the overwhelming odds of numbers. But the contest could not long endure. The post was crumbling to pieces and was hardly any longer tenable. Day by day the garrison became more worn by want of food and sleep and wasted by disease and the constant firing of the enemy. Here are a few instances of what took place. Lieutenant Poole was struck by a musket ball and fell to the ground. Captain Thomson who went to support him was hit under the right shoulder blade. Mr. Hillersden was standing in a verandah conversing with his wife who had been recently confined when a round shot completely disembowelled him.* Mr. Heberden employed on the railway was handing

* "His wife only survived him two or three days; she was killed by a number of falling bricks dislodged by a shot and causing concussion of the brain. Mrs. Hillersden was a most accomplished lady, and by reason of her cheerfulness, amiability, and piety, universally a favourite at the station."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 107.

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a lady some water when a grape shot passed through both his hips leaving an awful wound. "He lay for a whole week upon his face." Lieutenant Eckford, more fortunate, was struck by a round shot in the heart causing instant death.* Lieutenant Jervis, who always scorned to run, was calmly walking across the open in the midst of a shower of bullets when some of his comrades cried out to him: "Run, Jervis! Run!" but he refused and was killed by a bullet through the heart. Three young subalterns had their heads taken off by round shots in the Redan.† The General stricken in age after spending three hours on the 23rd of June in the trenches cheering the men, "returned to find my favourite darling son killed by a 9-pounder in the room with his mother and sisters." ‡

24th June

The following day (24th June) Sir Hugh wrote to Henry Lawrence. "British spirit alone remains, but it cannot last for ever." § And from the brave old man was wrung the cry: "Surely we are not to die like rats in a cage." Poor Wheeler! it would have been well for him if he had perished in the wrath and rage of battle, it was in an ill day that he trusted the oath of a base Mahratta. On the morning of the 25th a note was brought to him by an elderly person, named Mrs. Jacobs,‖ who had been captured while endeavouring to escape in native clothes. The document was in the handwriting of Azemoolah, but it was attested by no signature. The superscription was: "To the subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria," and the contents ran as follows: "All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad."

25th June. Note brought from the Nana

The General called his advisers Moore and Whiting round him to deliberate on the business. His own voice was raised against making any terms, for he knew that with orientals treachery is a most lawful act when it enables men to take vengeance upon an

* "He was an excellent artillery officer and could ill be spared; besides his high military accomplishments this gentleman was an admirable linguist; and his death was a great loss to his country."—"The Siege of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 110.

† Lieutenants Smith and Redman and Ensign Supple.

‡ See page 28.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ Mr. Shepherd states the note was brought in the afternoon of the 24th, and that it was conveyed by "a very aged European lady, Mrs. Greenway." Captain Thomson states that he "recognised her as Mrs. Greenway." The confidential servant of Mr. Greenway, however, affirmed that the lady was Mrs. Jacobs and his statement is supported by the majority of the depositions.

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enemy and to satiate their hearts' animosity. Moore knew little of the feelings and passions of the East and was willing to treat. Brave to recklessness, ready to lead his men on every perilous adventure, he thought not of himself but of the helpless wounded and the women and children whose sufferings increased hourly. There was no immediate prospect of succour from Lucknow or Calcutta. In three days their scanty stock of provisions would be completely exhausted. For him and the able-bodied there was still a soldier's death, for the sick and wounded, for the women and children starvation or capitulation was the only alternative. Each day their condition was becoming more critical. The tottering defences were wasting away under the incessant cannonade of the besiegers and the monsoon rains daily expected would complete their ruin. Great numbers not merely of the soldiers but of the civilians had been slain. Every corner was filled with the sick and wounded. The few who were still in a condition to do their duty were worn by long vigils and excessive toil. Would it not then be wise to make terms, while the few could still make resistance behind those mud walls, while the failure to take them by storm was still fresh in the memory of the rebels? Whiting supported Moore. Long and anxious was the deliberation. At length the objections of the General were overcome by their exhortations and at noon Mrs. Jacobs went back to the rebel camp. On her return she had an interview with the Nana, Azemoolah, and Brigadier Jwala Pershad, and when the conference broke up it was rumoured that an agreement had been made with the English who were to give up their guns and treasure and were in return to be provided with boats to convey them to Allahabad. The rumour was confirmed by the Nana issuing orders that boats should be provided to convey them to that station. At sunset a consultation was held in the Nana's tent, when it was decided that the British should be massacred at the Suttee Choura ghaut.*

At half-past 8 P.M., Lieutenant G. Masters of the 53rd Native Infantry wrote to his father, Colonel Masters of the 7th Cavalry at Lucknow: "We have now held out for twenty-one days under a tremendous fire. The Rajah of Bithoor has offered to forward us in safety to Allahabad, and the General has accepted his terms. I am all

* "Bala, the Nana's brother, Azemoolah, Brigadier Jwala Pershad, Shal Aleo and Ahmed Alee Vakeeh were present."—"Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams.

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right though twice wounded. Charlotte Newnham and Bella Blair are dead. I'll write from Allahabad. God bless you."

26th June On Friday, the 26th of June, the enemy ceased firing. "The roaring of cannon having ceased, a weight seemed taken off each heart, the joy was general, and everybody appeared to have at once forgotten their past sufferings. It was such happiness to quit a place fraught with such misery, and so fearfully haunted with the groans of those death had snatched away, the soldiers were singing and dancing by beating time with drum sticks on an empty cask. But the merriest were the children. It was the first time since we had entered those fatal buildings that the little ones were allowed their liberty, and they were making up for lost time." Early in the day Azemoolah and Brigadier Jwala Pershad came within two hundred yards of the entrenchment and Moore and Whiting accompanied by Mr. Roche, the postmaster, went forth to meet them. The terms of the capitulation were committed to paper. They were "honourable surrender of our shattered barracks and free exit under arms, with sixty rounds of ammunition per man; carriages to be provided for the conveyance of the wounded, the women and the children; boats furnished with flour to be ready at the ghat. Some of the native party added to the remark about supplying us with flour: 'We will give you sheep and goats also.'"

Azemoolah returned to the rebel camp with the understanding that he would place the draft agreement before the Nana. In the afternoon the document was brought back by a trooper with a verbal message to the effect that the Nana agreed to all the conditions, but that the entrenchment must be evacuated that night. It was an impossible and ominous condition, and the draft was returned with an intimation that the departure could not take place before the morrow. The trooper swiftly rode back and bluntly declared that the Nana was inflexible on the point of immediate evacuation. If there were any delay his guns would again open fire. He bade the garrison remember that he knew the desperate straits to which they had been reduced, that their guns were shattered, and that a renewal of the bombardment must end in their complete destruction. Whiting with admirable coolness replied that they had no fear of the rebels ever being able to enter the entrenchment. All their assaults had been repelled. If they ever succeeded in overpowering the garrison by force of numbers there would always be sufficient men to blow up the magazine. The trooper returned to the Nana and the firm defiant language of Whiting had

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Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

GENERAL WHEELER'S CAWNPORE ENTRENCHMENTS, THE BARRACKS, 1857.

the desired effect, for he again rode back with the verbal consent that the evacuation might be delayed till the morrow. Mr. Todd, who had formerly been the Nana's English tutor, now ventured to take the instrument to the Nana and after about an absence of half an hour returned with it duly signed. Three men were sent by the Nana into the entrenchment as hostages, one of them being Brigadier Jwala Pershad. The uninjured guns and the treasure amounting to about £12,000 were then made over to the Nana. Twenty-four boats lying at the Customs ghat were seized by command of the Nana and every exertion was made to prepare them for the reception of the British on the following day. They were moved down to the Suttee Choura Ghat and there inspected by a committee of three officers who directed certain alterations to be made.*

In the evening Tantia Topee was closeted with the Nana and when the conference was over he issued orders that before daybreak the troops should march to the Suttee Choura Ghat, a landing place situated about a mile to the north-west of the entrenchment. The feudal barons with their followers were also warned to be in attendance at the ghat. A faithful native clerk visited his master in the entrenchment and on being told to procure thirty pounds for the trip revealed to him the meditated treachery. He stated all he had heard while waiting in the Nana's tent. But his voice was unheeded.

During the night an accident occurred which seemed likely to produce a renewal of hostilities. A sleepy rebel sentry dropped his musket and so caused its discharge. This alarmed the whole rebel force who opened a heavy fire he entrenchments, but ceased on receiving a message from Jwala Pershad.

With the first light of the morning some two hundred mutineers with guns marched to the Suttee Choura Ghat. On a knoll overlooking and commanding the line of boats were the ruins of a house lately burnt by the rebels. Here a body of sepoys with one gun were

* "A committee was next appointed, consisting of Captain Athill Turner and Lieutenants Delafosse and Goad to go down the river and see if the boats were in readiness for our reception. An escort of native cavalry was sent to conduct them to the ghat. They found about forty boats moored and apparently ready for departure, some of them roofed and others undergoing that process. These were the large up-country boats, so well known to all Indians. The Committee saw also the apparent victualling of some of the boats, as in their presence a show of furnishing them with supplies was made, though before the morning there was not left in any of them a sufficient meal for a rat." —"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 156.

stationed. The knoll was separated from the village of Suttee Choura from which the ghat takes its name by a ravine in which another party of mutineers were placed and twenty-five men were secretly collected behind some timber. Above the ghat is the Fisherman's temple.* The fane is now fast falling into ruins and it is hard for the traveller seated on its broken steps to realise that this is the scene of a great tragedy which enacted itself on this earth within the memory of man. All around is so calm and peaceful. No sound breaks the stillness of the air and not a breath of wind ruffles the broad waters of the Ganges. A country boat is floating down the stream and the wide brown sails catch the golden rays of the sun as it rises above the horizon on a fresh December morning. Forty years ago, as the dawn walked forth fiery-footed in the month of June, on a carpet spread before the temple sat Bala, the Nana's brother, Azemoolah, Brigadier Jwala Pershad and Tantia Topee, busy giving their final instructions and anxiously awaiting the arrival of their victims. A squadron of troops were drawn up south of the Fisherman's Temple. A quarter of mile below it was another small shrine at which a field piece and a company of sepoys had been posted during the siege to guard the ghat. The evening before they had been withdrawn in order not to raise the suspicion of the officers when they visited the boats. At dawn the gun was again put into position and a large body of mutineers guarded it. About eight hundred yards lower down was another landing place. Here, too, a gun protected by a company was stationed. These two guns commanded the river for some distance above and below and could rake the boats as they lay moored at the ghat or floated down the stream. On the opposite bank of the stream directly facing the ghat were stationed, concealed behind a sandy ridge, two guns, the 17th Native Infantry, and the 13th Native Cavalry. They were intended to cut off the retreat of any that reached the other side and attempted to make their way to Lucknow. A party of horse and foot were also told off to follow the garrison, and they were ordered on reaching the bridge which spanned the ravine and commanded the Suttee Choura Ghat to form up in line as a firing party. The design was to butcher every soul and the rebel leaders at the temple made their arrangements with infernal skill. Within the entrenchment men and women were busy all the night making preparations for their departure. Such was their condition

* Hurdeen's Julleea.

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that they did not dread any miseries in the unknown future. The women who had daily helped the men behind the battlements bore traces of their prodigious sufferings and were soiled with unremitting labour. But though they had laid aside the weakness of their sex they retained the fineness of their nature. "Little relics of jewellery were secreted by some in the tattered fragments of their dress. Some cherished a Bible or a Prayer-Book; others bestowed all their care upon the heirlooms which the dead had entrusted to their keeping to be transferred to survivors at home." * Children, shadows of themselves, clung to their mothers' rags. The men costumed in tarnished and torn uniforms presented a miserable figure. "There were few shoes, fewer stockings, and scarcely any shirts, these had all gone for bandages." † But of that ragged, starved and battered band few could depart without the highest regret from a spot where they had suffered calamities too great for tears. "They looked down the well and thought of the beloved ones consigned to its keeping." But the sick and wounded were more to be pitied than those who had gone. More than two hundred of them had to be conveyed to the river. There was no medicine to relieve their sufferings and the most cautious handling of their comrades caused them excruciating agony. In the grey of the morning of Saturday, the 27th of June, the carriage sent by the Nana for the transport of the sick and wounded and the women and children reached the entrenchment. The place was soon filled with rebel sepoys ‡ and when they saw the crumbling wall and the shattered batteries they were loud in their expressions of wonder and praise at the long defence made by the garrison. They were told but for want of food it would have been held to the last man. A few enquired after their old officers whom they missed and seemed much distressed on hearing of their death. Some were rough and insulting in their demeanour and were told by Moore that their triumph would be short and each man would have to answer for his evil deeds.§ One man bolder than the rest said to a British soldier: "Give me that musket" and placed his hand upon the weapon. "You shall have its contents, if you please, but not the gun,"

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 161.

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 162.

‡ MS. narrative. Captain Mowbray Thomson states the sepoys rushed in as soon as the first detachment left the entrenchment.

§ MS. narrative.

was the defiant reply. All was finished at last and about 6 A.M. the garrison began to leave the entrenchment. Sixteen elephants and about seventy palanquins carrying the wounded led the way. After them came the advanced guard consisting of some men of the 32nd commanded by Moore. Then followed a few more elephants and a long line of bullock carts carrying the women and children. All the men who were able to walk succeeded, and the procession was brought up by Major Vibart (the last man to leave the entrenchment) escorted by a large number of rebel sepoys belonging to his corps.* The concourse was swelled by thousands of natives of both sexes who swarmed from their dingy homes to witness the portentous pageant. Many were there to give vent to their vindictive feeling; some to pay their respects to those they had known in happier days. Servants were assembled to bid farewell to their old masters. Not a few had shared the dangers and privations of the siege. The examples of disinterestedness and heroic fidelity to be gleaned from the evidence recorded in the official papers afford some relief to the most terrible features of that tale of treachery and enormous wickedness. Out of the number of illustrations it is not easy to make selections. Here is a striking instance. A servant of Colonel Williams who commanded the 56th Native Infantry had great difficulty in reaching his mistress as the party was surrounded by sepoys. "I applied to Aminudeedeen, the Havildar-Major of the 56th, who said the thing was impossible. I appealed to him and begged him to remember the kindness he had received from the Colonel. After persuasion, he said that he could not show his face before the Colonel's lady, but directed four sepoys to take me to my mistress and prevent my being disturbed." He was taken to his mistress and found her and her two daughters in wretched plight scorched and blistered by the sun. "My mistress had a slight bullet-wound on the upper lip. She said that my master had died on the 8th of June." His mistress then told him to go and bring another servant to accompany her to Allahabad. He went. And both arrived in time to witness the opening of that great tragedy. The procession had not proceeded far when the sepoys showed that every other emotion was lost in deadly hatred. A Jemadar, three

*"The rear was brought up by Major Vibart, who was the last officer in the entrenchment. Some of the rebels who had served in this officer's regiment insisted on carrying out the property which belonged to him. They loaded a bullock cart with boxes, and escorted the Major's wife and family down to the boats with the most profuse demonstrations of respect.—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 165.

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sepoys and native doctor of the 56th Native Infantry who true to their salt had remained with their officers throughout the siege and left the entrenchment in their company were seized and carried off by their comrades notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of their Adjutant, Lieutenant Goad. They were taken before the native officer commanding a battery at the mess-house of their corps. "He said they should not have been taken prisoners having become Christians but ought at once to have been slain." And they were slain. Another murder revealed all the ferocity which the spirit of fanaticism and revenge could inspire. A litter containing Colonel Ewart, commanding the 1st Native Infantry, who had been severely wounded, fell into the rear and when passing St. John's Church was stopped by seven or eight men of his own regiment. The bearers were commanded to lay it on the ground. The sepoys then mockingly asked their wounded commander: "Is not this a fine parade and is it not well dressed up?" Two of them cut him to pieces with their swords. Turning to his wife who had walked beside the litter, the miscreants said: "Go, we will not kill you for you are a woman, but throw down all you have." She threw down a small packet at their feet, and her they also slew.

Meanwhile the long files had bent their way unmolested to the wooden bridge and leaving it to the right filed down the ravine. When the last man had entered the gorge, the troopers according to their orders formed a line across the entrance and allowed none of the crowd to pass. The procession held its course down the nullah till it came to the river where the boats were lying on their sides in the sand with about two feet of water rippling around them. The work of embarkation was long, tedious and difficult. Men and women had to wade knee-deep through the water and it was no easy task to hoist the women and children on board. It was 9 A.M. when Major Vibart clambered into his boat and gave the word "off"—a welcome sound after a weary month of incredible hardship and imprisonment. But the command fell on traitorous ears. The ominous blast of a bugle was heard and at the signal the crew leaped overboard and waded towards dry ground. Now, as if by magic, from the ruins on the heights and from behind the timber came forth a tempest of bullets and the guns on the bank threw out a hail of shot and grape which went through and through the boats. The fire was returned with spirit, and desperate efforts were made by our men to push off the boats. But all except three stuck fast. Then above the ring of the bullets and the hum of the shells was heard the crackling of fire, and

a dense cloud of smoke burst forth from the thatch roofs. In a few minutes the sick and wounded were burnt to death. To escape the scorching flames men and women with their children jumped into the water. Some waded far into the stream and were drowned; others crouched behind the boats to escape the pitiless storm of shell and musketry. It was all in vain. The 17th Native Infantry with the two guns stationed on the opposite bank of the river began work and poured into them more grape and musketry. When few were left there was a lull in the incessant fire and the troopers posted near Hurdeen's temple urged by Bala Rao and Tantia Topee entered the river and sabred those who were alive. Whilst the massacre was taking place at the ghat a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry galloped to the Savada House where the Nana was staying and informed him that his enemies, their floating wives and children were being slain. "Yes, the news was true," remarked a bystander, "for an infant of a month old was seen down the stream." The Nana answered that "for the destruction of women and children there was no necessity, and directed the sowar to return with an order to stay their slaughter." * The trooper conveyed his command, the massacre ceased, and one hundred and twenty women and children were brought out of the river and collected on the bank. Here for some hours they sat beneath the pitiless sun guarded by the sepoys till the order came that they were to be taken to the Nana. And then they were led back by the same road they had come. But now: "There were no men of the party but only some boys twelve or thirteen years of age." Many of the women were wounded. "Their clothes," writes one who watched them go by, "had blood on them. Two were badly hurt, and had their heads bound up with handkerchiefs. Some were wet, covered with mud and blood; and some had their dresses torn, but all had clothes. I saw one or two children without clothes." Another witness states: "The ladies' clothing was wet and soiled, and some of them were barefoot. Many were wounded. Two of them I observed well as being wounded in the leg and under the arm." Thus, wounded and footsore, with their clothes drenched, and dripping with blood, the forlorn victims of a cruel frenzy were led before the Nana, and he ordered them to be confined in the Savada House.

Three of the boats floated clear of the ghat. Two being crippled, drifted on to the Oudh bank and their inmates were massacred by the 17th Native Infantry with the exception of eighteen individuals sent

* "Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams.

in as prisoners to the Nana. The third, Major Vibart's boat, being of lighter draft, got into the full force of the stream.* A shot from the southern bank struck her rudder and sent her spinning round but she floated on followed by some sturdy swimmers who attempted to overtake her. Among them was Mowbray Thomson who "throwing into the Ganges my father's Ghuznee medal and my mother's portrait" struck out for the boat.† A dozen men were beating the water for dear life. Close by Thomson's side were Ensign Henderson (56th Native Infantry) and his brother who but recently landed in India. "They both swam well for some distance when the younger became weak, and although we encouraged him to the utmost, he went down in our sight though not within our reach; presently his survivor, T. W. Henderson, was struck on the hand by a grape shot. He put the disabled arm over my shoulder and with one arm each, we swam to the boat which by this time had stranded on a bank close to the Oudh side of the river." ‡

Many a gallant life was lost in attempting to push off the boat. A ball pierced the intrepid Moore through the heart; Ashe and Bolton were also struck dead. "Burney and Glanville were carried off by one round-shot, which also shattered Lieutenant Fagan's leg to such an extent that from the knee downwards it was only held together by the sinews. His sufferings were frightful, but he behaved with wonderful patience." § Alternately drifting and stranding the boat slowly proceeded down the stream. "It was impossible to steer her. Her rudder was shot away; we had no oars, for these had all been thrown overboard by the traitorous boatmen and the only implements that could be brought into use were a spar or two and such pieces of wood as we could in safety

* "Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams. Lieutenant Delafosse writes:—"Only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river, but were met by two field pieces guarded by numbers of cavalry and infantry. Before the boats had gone a mile down the stream half of our small party were either killed or wounded and two of our boats had been swamped."

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 168.

‡ "Just after I had been pulled into the boat, Mrs. Swinton, who was a relative of Lieutenant Jervis of the Engineers, was standing up in the stern, and having been struck by a round-shot, fell overboard and sank immediately. Her poor little boy, six years old, came up to me and said: 'Mamma has fallen overboard.' I endeavoured to comfort him, and told him Mamma would not suffer any more pain. The little babe cried out—'Oh! why are they firing upon us? Did not they promise to leave off?' I never saw the child after that, and suspect that he soon shared his mother's death."—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 172.

§ "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 171.

tear away from the sides." Grape and round-shot was poured upon them from either bank. At times they drifted within a hundred yards of the guns on the Oudh side of the river "and saw them load, prime and fire into our midst." Shortly after mid-day they got out of the range of the enemy's great guns. "The sandy bed on the river-bank had disabled their artillery bullocks, but they chased us the whole day, firing in volleys of musketry incessantly."

Shot, shell and musketry were however the least of the evils they had to endure that long lingering day. Blessed were the dead. For the living there was no food in the boat and they had taken nothing before starting. "The water of the Ganges was all that passed our lips, save prayers, shrieks and groans." The wounded and the slain lay entangled together in the bottom of the boat. To extricate the corpses was a work of extreme difficulty. But it was imperatively necessary on account of the dreaded consequences of the intense heat, and the importance of lightening the boat as much as possible.

The day passed. The boat had floated down the stream only six miles when at 5 P.M. it once more stranded. All efforts to move the keel an inch were in vain. It was determined to wait there till nightfall when it was hoped under the screen of darkness they would be able to disembark the women and so lighten the craft. When darkness came the rebels sent a burning boat down the stream. It drew nearer and was almost among them when "providentially the thing glided past us, though within a yard or two." They also sent a flight of arrows tipped with lighted charcoal with the object of igniting the thatched roof, and the sole shelter from sun and rain had to be thrown overboard. By dint of hard work the boat was again got adrift but the work of pushing away from the sand-banks was incessant. "We spent as much of the night out as we did in the boat. There was no moon, however, and although they did not cease firing at us until after midnight they did us little damage." *

When dawn broke and the surrounding objects gradually emerged from the darkness nothing could be seen of their pursuers and they began to hope that the rebels had abandoned the pursuit. They, however, had made only four miles in the night. Two hours passed by. Then some natives were seen bathing by the bank and a native drummer was sent with five rupees to obtain provisions. One of the bathers took

* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 174.

the money and promised to procure some flour leaving his brass drinking vessel as a pledge of his good faith. He, however, never returned. Before going he informed the drummer that orders had been sent down to seize the fugitives and that a powerful landlord whose estates lay a little further down on the Oudh side had engaged that not a soul should escape. The news stunned them. Now they seemed advancing upon inevitable destruction. "Whiting pencilled a few lines on a scrap of paper stating they had abandoned hope which he placed in a bottle and committed to the stream."

At 2 P.M. the boat again got aground off the village of Nuzzufghur and soon a multitude of men came dashing out of the hamlet and plied their musketry with terrible and fearful rapidity. "Major Vibart had been shot through one arm on the previous day; nevertheless he got out, and while helping to push off the boat was shot through the other arm. Captain Athill Turner had both his legs smashed. Captain Whiting was killed. Lieutenant Quin was shot through the arm; Captain Seppings through the arm; and Mrs. Seppings through the thigh. Lieutenant Harrison was shot dead." The rebels brought out a gun, but happily the rain came down in such torrents that they were able to fire only one shot.

As the dusk closed in a boat manned by sixty mutineers thoroughly armed was seen coming down the stream. They had been sent to pursue and destroy the fugitives. The pursuers, however, ran on a sand-bank. The energy and courage of the Englishmen grew with danger. Eighteen or twenty leapt from their boat, charged the enemy, "and few of their number escaped to tell the story."

So passed another day. The terrible agitation of the preceding thirty-six hours, the wild escape, the strenuous labour had not diminished the courage of the fugitives but had exhausted the strength of their human frames, and they fell asleep "expecting never to see the morrow." A hurricane arose during the night and some of their number awaking found that they were again afloat. "Some fresh hopes buoyed us up again." But they sped swiftly. When the great dawn came steaming up, they saw that the boat had drifted out of the navigable channel into a back-water. She again grounded. Their pursuers following like a pack of blood-hounds soon discovered them and their fire was shamefully and mercilessly continued. At 9 A.M., Major Vibart directed Captain Thomson, with Lieutenant Delafosse, Sergeant Grady and eleven privates of the 84th and 32nd

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Regiments to wade to the shore and drive away the mutineers while they attempted to ease the boat.* Reaching the shore and "maddened by desperation" they charged and drove back the foe for some distance. Then being surrounded by a swarm of natives armed and unarmed they faced about and cut their way back to the spot where they had landed. The boat had gone. "Our first thought was that they had got loose again, and were farther down the stream: and we followed in that direction, but never saw either the boat or our doomed companions any more." †

Separating to the distance of about twenty paces apart these thirteen Englishmen pursued their course step by step loading and firing upon the murderers behind them. Bareheaded beneath the burning sun, barefooted over rugged ground, they fought their way for three miles till they reached a temple on the bank of the river. A large number of men were in front waiting for them and the opposite bank was lined with rebels in case they should attempt to swim across. No time for hesitation. They fired a volley and made a rush for the shrine. As he was entering the temple Sergeant Grady fell dead shot through the head. Thomson instantly set four of the men crouching down in the doorway with bayonets fixed and their muskets so placed as to form a *cheval-de-frise* in the narrow entrance. "The mob came on helter-skelter in such maddening haste that some of them fell or were pushed on to the bayonets and their transfixed bodies made the barrier impassable to the rest, upon whom we, from behind our novel defence, poured shot upon shot into the crowd." The rebels unable to take the shrine by storm attempted to dig up its foundations. But the walls of the old temple had been too substantially laid. They then fetched faggots and piling them before the door set them alight.‡ A strong kindly breeze however blew the smoke away, and the wood sank down to

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* "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 178. Lieutenant Delafosse's Account.

† "The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, pages 178 and 179. Lieutenant Delafosse's Account.

‡ From the circular construction of the building they were able to place them right in front of the door with impunity, there being no window or loophole in the place through which we could attack them, nor any means of so doing without exposing ourselves to the whole mob at the entrance.—"The Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, page 180.

a pile of embers. A small hope beamed up that they would be able to endure their torture till night—"apparently the only friend left us"—would enable them to make a dash for liberty. But the shadow of a hope soon vanished. The rebels brought bags of gunpowder and threw them upon the red-hot ashes. Delay would have been certain destruction. They rushed out. "The burning wood terribly marred our bare feet, but it was no time to think of trifles. Jumping the parapet, we were in the thick of the rabble in an instant; we fired a volley and ran amuck with the bayonet. Seven of our number succeeded in reaching the bank of the river and we first threw in our guns and then ourselves." The ammunition in their pouches carried them under the water and they escaped the first volley. Slipping off their belts they rose again and swam pursued by a yelling, howling multitude who from both banks smote them with a rapid fire of musketry. Two were shot through the head. Private Ryan almost sinking with exhaustion swam to a sand-bank and was bludgeoned by two ruffians waiting to receive him. For two or three hours the others continued alternately swimming and floating, the sluggish Ganges slowly helping their progress. One by one their pursuers abandoned the chase. "A trooper on horseback was the last we saw of them." They then turned to the shore. A fresh foe awaited them. Two or three long-nosed alligators lay basking on a sand-bank. "The natives afterwards said that it was a miracle we had escaped their bottle-nosed brethren who feed on men."

The four sat down by the shore with the water up to their necks still doubtful of their safety. Then they heard voices and approaching footsteps, and even as some water beast basking in the sun on the river-bank hearing a sound plunges swiftly into the stream, so they again dived into the water. When they arose they heard "Saheb, Saheb, why swim away? We are friends." They replied: "We have been deceived so often, that we are not inclined to trust any one." The natives volunteered to throw away their arms as a guarantee of their fidelity. Their limbs were loosened by their grievous toil. There was a dim hope that the natives would be true to their word and so they swam to the shore. "When we reached the shallow water such was our complete prostration that they were obliged to drag us out; we could not walk, our feet were burnt, and our frames famished. We had been swimming without a moment's intermission a distance of six miles since we left Seorajpore." Thomson had no clothing but

a flannel shirt; Delafosse only a piece of sheeting round his loins; Sullivan and Murphy were naked as they were born and the three had so suffered from exposure to the sun that the skin was raised in huge blisters, as if they had just escaped death by burning. After a short rest they partly walked "supported by a native on each side of us" and were partly carried to the nearest village. Here they were hospitably entertained by the headman. The next morning an elephant and a pony were sent to convey them to the fort where Maharajah Diribijah Sing, an Oudh chief, resided. The old man received them with kindness, fed and protected them for three weeks, and provided for their escort to the camp of a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore to join the force under the command of Brigadier-General Havelock.

Meanwhile the boat containing their companions had been followed and captured, and all who were in her made prisoners, and brought on shore. After a few days these eighty men, women and children were put on carts and escorted back to Cawnpore. On the 30th of June they reached the city. The Nana who had gone to Bithoor sent orders that the men were to be shot and the women confined. "It is said that one European lady was also killed. She stood amongst the males with her child and was ordered to come out, but she said she would remain where her countrymen were. The child was asked of her but she refused to give. This provoked the mutineers and she got the fate she sought." *

Then on that same afternoon "the Nana took his seat on the throne as Peshwa; the sacred marks were affixed on his forehead; salutes were fired; and the city illuminated at night in honour of the occasion."

1st July

On the 1st of July Bala Rao returned to Cawnpore and there was great dissatisfaction among the mutineers that he was not accompanied by the Nana. The prisoners were removed from Savada to a small house in the grounds of the residence lately occupied by Sir George Parker. It had been built by a former tenant for his native mistress and hence it was known as the Bibigarh. It comprised two principal rooms about twenty feet long and ten broad, a number of small dark rooms intended for the occupation of native servants, and an open court some fifteen yards square. A narrow verandah ran along the front. In

The Bibigarh

* Translation of the diary of the Nunna Nawab, a native gentleman residing in Cawnpore. Appendix A.

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this building unfit for the occupation of a single English family were placed for a fortnight in the month of July five men and two hundred and six women and children.* Many were wounded; all worn with labour and grief. In their prison there was neither furniture nor bedding nor straw and their food was cakes of unleavened bread and lentil porridge.† Some escaped beyond the hands of their oppressors. "From the 7th to the morning of the 15th, twenty-eight people died:" so runs the diary of a native doctor.

Two days after the removal of the prisoners to the Bibigarh the Nana returned and occupied a large hotel adjacent to it, and Dhunder Punth here spent his time in drinking and toying with his favourite Sultana Adala, and in the evening when "the wine was in him" he revelled in all the orgies of an oriental court. But news had come which even in the hour of revelry and debauchery haunted him with its fatal foreshadowing. The British were advancing from Allahabad. On the 8th the tidings became more precise. The British force consisting "of European, Madras and Sikh troops" had left Allahabad. The next day Brigadier Jwala Pershad commanding the rebel army went forth to check their advance. When his troops arrived the next day at Aong the news of the approach of the 10th July
British troops was confirmed. The Nana's well-wishers and adherents, however, confidently affirmed he would prove victorious over the small force that opposed him. Two days after, Bala Rao, bringing tidings of his own defeat, returned to Cawnpore wounded in the shoulder. A council over which the Nana presided was at once held at his residence. A large number of leading rebels were present. Much dismay and vacillation prevailed. Some were for retiring and uniting their forces with the mutineers of Futtehghur, some for making one more desperate attempt to oppose the march of their victorious foe. After much discussion it was resolved to make the last great stand a few miles south of Cawnpore. On one point all were unanimous. The prisoners must be slain. The brutal resolve was mainly due to fear, the mother of all cruelty. A stern retribution they knew would be exacted

* The number of prisoners had been increased by the fugitives from Futtehghur.

† The letter, 4th of July.—"The cooks employed to procure food for the prisoners representing that the ladies refused to eat the dhall and chapaties daily supplied to them, as much meat as was procurable for the same price as the dhall was henceforth furnished instead."—"Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny," by Lieutenant-Colonel G. Williams.

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by the British troops for the innocent blood already shed and many who had aided and abetted their chief dreaded their recognition by some of the prisoners who had long resided at Cawnpore. Having decided that all the captives should be put to death the assembly dispersed.

At 5 P.M. the five men were told the Nana required their attendance. They well understood the meaning of the summons. But they walked forth with steady step: their lips moved as if in prayer. At the gate which led into the road they were shot dead by a body of mutineers and their bodies lay on the grass which bordered the highway. An hour later the women and children were hacked to pieces by five ruffians of the Nana's own guard.* When darkness, as darkness itself, and as the shadow of death fell, the groans ceased and "the doors of the building were closed." Over the events of that wicked night a gloomy mist still hangs unpenetrated and for ever unpenetrable.† Three hours after the break of day, the doors were opened and the bodies removed from the slaughter-house and thrown into a well hard by.

17th July On the morning of the 17th of July Havelock's victorious troops entered Cawnpore. Their spirits had been sustained by the excitement of action, by the hope of victory, by the fonder hope of saving the women and children. When they saw the slaughter-house and the well their hearts sank within them. A deep gloom cast its pall over the camp. The silence that pervaded it was only broken by the mournful wail of the bagpipes as the burying parties carried to their graves those who had fallen by the sword or pestilence. The General

* "The girl called the Begum, who attended on the prisoners, is one of five slave girls bought by the Peshwa, and named Hoseanee Khanum. She, it is said, carried the order for the murder of the prisoners to the sepoy guard placed over them; and on their refusing to execute it, returned and fetched five men of the Nana's own guard; one of whom was her own lover Sirdar Khan."—Memorandum by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.

† There are it is true the depositions of sixty-three witnesses, natives and half-castes, taken under the directions of Colonel Williams, Commissioner of Police in the North-Western Provinces, but they are the depositions of men who had or thought they had the rope round their neck. Their evidence is full of discrepancies and must be treated with extreme caution. There are also confidential reports from officials, private petitions, depositions of witnesses, unofficial examinations which have been studied by me with care. They showed that although the darkest tints predominate the picture was not so black as it has been painted. As Colonel Williams states: "The most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that at first was so frequently made and so currently believed that personal indignity and dishonour were offered to our poor suffering countrywomen."

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contemplating his position saw how very bad it was. He had found comfort in the hope and belief that he would rescue the beleaguered in the Lucknow Residency. He had written from Allahabad to Henry Lawrence that he was coming to his rescue. When he entered Cawnpore Ungud the spy informed him that his old friend was dead. His small force had been greatly diminished by hard fighting and disease. Could Lucknow be succoured by the shadow of an army insufficient in itself to cover even Cawnpore, destitute of cavalry, horse artillery or horse battery, and without a reserve between Cawnpore and Calcutta. A report had reached him that the Nana was at Bithoor with forty-five guns and five thousand men. He might at any time make an attack on Cawnpore. That evening the General giving himself up to his trials and sorrows sat silent at dinner with a thoughtful and somewhat gloomy brow. But the fortitude of Havelock was that highest sort of fortitude which is derived from reflection and from a belief in a living faith and was not to be shaken by reverses or dangers. After remaining some time in deep thought the gloom vanished, his eye brightened, and he exclaimed with his wonted fire:—"If the worst comes to the worst, we can but die with swords in our hands."

18th July. Havelock's force move to Nawabgunge

Major Stephenson proceeds to Bithoor. 21st July

The next morning, the 18th of July, Havelock moved his force to a well selected site in the civil station of Nawabgunge * which he proceeded to entrench. The same evening spies brought him intelligence that Bithoor was evacuated and that the Nana had fled into Oudh. He at once ordered Major Stephenson to march there with the Madras Fusiliers, the Sikhs, the Irregular Cavalry raised to sixty, and two guns. On arriving at Bithoor the following day Major Stephenson found the town evacuated. On the 21st of July Brigadier-General Havelock telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief:—"I am free to cross the Ganges. Nana Saheb's force at Bithoor is entirely dispersed. We have brought from the place sixteen guns and a quantity of animals; set fire to his palace, and blown up his powder magazine. A portion of my troops and five guns are already in position at the head of the road to Lucknow. The difficulties of a swollen, broad and rapid river, with only one small steamer and a few boats, are not slight; but the whole army is full of hope that we shall soon be united on the left bank."

* "It interposed between Bithoor and Cawnpore, covering the city and its resources in its rear, with the Ganges on its right and the canal on its left, while a network of ravines in front extended down to the river."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 322.

Havelock's position on the river

The position taken up by the General was a mound on the bank of the river sufficiently elevated to command the surrounding country and capable of accommodating and being defended in case of need by a garrison of some three hundred men. About five hundred yards from the plateau there was an island in the river partly submerged at this season of the year by the river much swollen by the incessant rain. Between this island and the Oudh bank there were two smaller islands now covered with water two or three feet deep and visible only from the reeds which sprung up upon them.* Havelock saw that these islands would be of service to him if he had to recross the river while the entrenchment on the right bank would effectually cover that operation. On the evening of the 20th the General was satisfied that the entrenchment had been made sufficiently strong for defence and he therefore determined to send the first detachment across the river next day. His decision was influenced by the fact that Neill with a reinforcement of two hundred and twenty-seven men, mostly young soldiers, and a small instalment of ammunition and stores had arrived that morning. Neill who had been made Brigadier-General had been ordered to join Havelock as second-in-command. On his arrival he was at once met by the General who knowing his man received him with all courtesy but firmly and promptly told him:—"Now, General Neill, let us understand each other; you have no power or authority here whilst I am here and you are not to issue a single order."

20 July

Arrival of Neill

Havelock's force crosses the river

At midnight on the 20th of July Havelock rode in a torrent of rain from the camp to the entrenchment, a distance of four miles, to superintend the embarkation of the Highlanders. When the ferry boats were filled they were sailed or towed across by a steamer. It was long and tedious work, for each trip involved a passage of six miles and occupied four hours. But Havelock did not return to camp till he had seen the Highlanders and three guns safely across. The 84th and three additional guns were sent across the following day. The Madras Fusiliers went over with the last detachment. On the 25th of July Havelock, leaving Neill in command of Cawnpore, crossed the river himself. Three days after his small force—1,200 Europeans all told—its stores and munitions were concentrated at Mungulwar, a strong and elevated position about six miles from the river.

At daybreak on the 29th of July, Havelock with ten light guns and 1,500 men again went forth on the desperate enterprise of

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 328.

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relieving Lucknow. When he had marched about three miles he found the enemy strongly posted near the town of Unao. "His right was protected by a swamp which could neither be forced nor turned ; his advance was drawn in a garden enclosure, which in this warlike district had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion. The rest of his force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between the village and the large town of Unao is narrow. The town itself extended three-quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in this direction. The swamp shut us on the left. Thus an attack in front became unavoidable." * Havelock opened with a fire from the Enfield riflemen in skirmishing order, and before the guns came up the Highlanders and Fusiliers ran in upon and drove the enemy from out of the bastioned enclosure. But when our men approached the village a destructive fire was poured upon them from the loopholed houses. The bullets began to fly thick and fast. Six Highlanders were struck down and Havelock's Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant Seton, fell by his side. The 64th were brought up. For an instant the murderous fire checked the British soldier. Then the heroic Patrick Cavanagh sprang forward, and "was cut literally in pieces by the enemy, whilst setting an example of distinguished gallantry." Lieutenant Bogle, 78th Highlanders, in an attempt to penetrate into a house filled with desperate fanatics of the Mussulman faith was badly wounded. The village was set on fire, but still the terrible fight continued. "It was sad, very sad, to see our men pulled out, so to speak, dead and dying from the entrance of the houses they were trying in detail to storm." † The British soldier, however, was not to be foiled. After a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, the guns were captured and, the enemy being driven from the village, our whole force debouched by the narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao and formed in line.

Battle of Unao. 29th Jul

Private Patrick Cavanag

It found the enemy rallied and re-formed with a numerous artillery hastening forward to occupy Unao. Havelock whose military glance was sure saw that it was of vital importance that he should push his men beyond the town before the enemy occupied it in force. Leaving Unao on the right he advanced till he reached a space of dry ground

* From Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Busherutgunge, 29th July 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 162.

† "Havelock's Indian Campaign."—"Calcutta Review," volume XXXII, page 33.

about half a mile in extent. All around was swamp except the high road that ran through the morass. The General drew up his force in line with four guns in the centre and two on each wing, all bearing on the high road in front down which the enemy were coming in mass to attack him.* He made no attempt to check them for he knew they had made a fatal mistake. On they advanced with drums beating and banners flying till they came almost opposite our line when they halted and opened fire. Maude's guns at the closest range blazed out in the face of the rebels and their front line was shattered. They made an attempt to deploy but guns and men were engulfed in the swamp. The British artillery and muskets played vehemently upon the dense dark mass; it wavered, broke, and rolled back. Then our skirmishers wading through the swamp lapped the rebel flank with their fire and the victory was secured. The Oudh gunners, highly trained soldiers, however maintained the conflict with singular obstinacy and perished fighting around their guns. The enemy lost about three hundred. Fifteen guns were taken, but for lack of transport they had to be burst and abandoned.

First battle of Busherutgunge, 29th July

The troops halted where they stood for a couple of hours to cook and eat and then advanced towards Busherutgunge, eight miles ahead. "It is a walled town with wet ditches. The gate is defended by a round tower, on and near which four pieces of cannon were mounted; the adjacent buildings being loopholed and otherwise strengthened. In rear of the town is a broad and deep inundation covered by a narrow chaussée and bridge." The guns pushed on in admirable order supported by the 1st Fusiliers skirmishing and the 78th Highlanders and 64th Regiment in line. The enemy's cannonade was well sustained; nevertheless our force continued to gain ground. "The 64th were then directed to turn the town by our left, and penetrate between it and the swamp, thus cutting off the enemy from their chaussée and bridge." † All our guns now opened on the earthwork and the main gateway. As soon as the 64th reached a point in line with the town their fire began to tell and the 78th Highlanders and the Madras Fusiliers were sent forward while the 84th and the Sikhs were held in reserve. As the storming party advanced the enemy's guns poured grape into their ranks. Many fell. The men were ordered to lie down and our guns plied the

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 333.

† From Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Busherutgunge, 29th July 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 161.

gateway. When the enemy's fire was mastered the order was given to rise. The men sprang to their feet, and with a shout rushed at the earthwork. Lieutenant Dangerfield was the first to mount the barricade, and his men were seen by his side. Fusiliers and Highlanders broke through the entrenchment and drove the rebels through the town to the causeway. But there was no 64th Regiment to cut off the enemy from it. Through having paused to return a fire from the walls and to some mistake regarding their instructions the movement had been delayed. The General sent his Aide-de-camp at full gallop to hasten their advance but the opportunity was lost and the enemy escaped across the causeway. The troops had been fighting from sunrise to sunset, the night was closing, so the General did not think it prudent to follow the flying foe. Moreover, the ground on both sides of the road was so flooded that it was impossible for the cavalry to act.* Havelock however rode some distance in advance to discover some suitable ground for his advanced picquets.

As he rode back over the causeway thronged with weary soldiers leaning on their arms a cry was raised "Clear the way for the General." "You have done that *well* already, men," was the prompt reply. For a moment there was silence: then their feeling found expression and "God bless the General" burst forth from them as he galloped away.

Havelock's skill and courage had won the confidence of his men, his very peculiarities, their affection. He was firm in manner, imperious in discipline, insisting that every man should do his duty and endure hardness without a murmur like a good soldier. But the soldiers knew that no man had a greater regard for their welfare and a greater admiration for their valour. They also knew that the little General could be very frank and severe in his wrath. He was always ready to praise those who deserved it but he never would condone any misconduct. That evening he wrote the following order of the day:—

"Soldiers, your General thanks you for your exertions to-day. You have stormed two fortified villages, and captured nineteen guns. But he is not satisfied with *all* of you. Some of you fought as if the cholera has seized your minds as well as your bodies. There were men among you, however, whom he must praise to the skies. Private Patrick Cavanagh, of the 64th, died gloriously, hacked to pieces by the enemy when setting a brilliant example to his comrades. Had he

* "Cavalry was utterly useless, it being quite impossible for them to act, from the flooded state of the roads."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North.

survived, he should have worn the Victoria Cross, which never could have glittered on a braver breast. But his name will be remembered as long as Ireland produces and loves gallant soldiers.

"Lieutenant Bogle, 78th Highlanders, was severely wounded while leading the way at Unao into a loopholed house filled with desperate fanatics. A special report of his gallantry will be sent to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. The 'hero of Inkerman' well knows how to appreciate heroes.

"Major Stephenson, in command of the regiment which the rebel chiefs know and fear as 'the Blue Caps,' showed throughout the day how the calmest forethought can be united with the utmost daring.

"Lieutenant Dangerfield * has merited the cross reserved for the brave. He was the first to mount the barricade at this place."

Two victories had been won. But if the road to Lucknow was to be so roughly contested there was little chance of reaching the Residency. What soldiers could do Havelock's men had achieved. They could not fight against the pestilence of the tropics. For some days cholera and dysentery had done their deadly work among them. A sixth of his force had perished: half on the battle-field, half by disease. There was now barely sufficient carriage to carry the sick and wounded. His supply of ammunition had been considerably reduced. These considerations were not however the only elements in the difficult and delicate problem before Havelock. On the morning following his victories he received a message from Neill that the troops at Dinapore on his communication south of Benares had mutinied and that the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry which he had been daily expecting would reinforce him could not now arrive for a couple of months. Having given due weight to all the circumstances Havelock made up his mind to retire to his strong position at Mungulwar till the sick and wounded had returned to Cawnpore and till reinforcements and ammunition should reach him. At Mungulwar he was in Oudh territory and would be able from time to time to strike a swift and effective blow at the enemy and by so doing relieve the pressure on the Residency. At Mungulwar he was prepared if reinforced to advance to Lucknow or to send over a detachment if needed to Cawnpore.† It was a wise decision. But Havelock was cruelly disappointed. The order was issued and was most unwelcome to his men burning for

Havelock determines to retire to Mungulwar

* Lieutenant Edward Dangerfield, 1st Madras Fusiliers.

† "Memoirs of Sir Henery Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 352.

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fresh enterprise and panting to relieve their countrymen. "The very idea of a retrograde movement filled them with consternation; its present reality calls forth the first murmur I have as yet heard." * But their General had made up his mind and was not to be moved by the murmurs of his soldiers.

On the 31st of July General Havelock telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief:— 31st July. Telegram to the Commander-in-Chief

"My force is reduced by sickness and repeated combats to 1,364 rank and file, with ten ill-equipped guns. I could not, therefore, move on against Lucknow with any prospect of success, especially as I had no means of crossing the Sone or the canal. I have therefore shortened my communications with Cawnpore, by falling back two short marches, hitherto unmolested by an enemy. If I am speedily reinforced by 1,000 more British soldiers and Major Olpherts' battery complete, I might resume my march towards Lucknow, or keep fast my foot in Oudh, after securing the easier passage of the Ganges at Cawnpore by boats and two steamers; or I might re-cross and hold the head of the Grand Trunk Road at Cawnpore."

From Mungulwar Havelock also informed Neill that he could not advance to Lucknow without further reinforcements and desired Neill to furnish workmen to form a bridge-head on the Oudh bank, to collect rations for his troops, and get ready two 24-pounders to accompany his advance; and push across any infantry as soon as they might arrive. The news of Havelock's retrograde movement created as bitter disappointment at Cawnpore as it had done among his troops. Neill was a dashing brave soldier, but he was by temperament totally incapable of taking the measure of Havelock's courage or ability or of fathoming the high motives of his conduct. A man of great ardour, of a strong will, conscious of the applause he had won by his decisive action at Benares and Allahabad,† smarting under his supersession by a soldier whose lofty nature he could not gauge, Neill allowed his injured

* "A man of less genuine metal than our General might be swayed by such demonstrations, but the superiority of his moral courage renders him unassailable, and elevates him far beyond the fear of man which bringeth a snare."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 111.

† "It must be remembered that he had been greatly praised; everywhere it was noised abroad that Neill was the man for the emergency. Neill would not stand any nonsense and so on. And of course he could not but suppose that whatever position he was in, something marked would be expected of him."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I.

vanity and hot temper to overbear his sense of discipline, and he permitted himself a license of speech which was absolutely unjustifiable.

Neill's letter to Havelock

"I deeply regret," he wrote, "that you have fallen back one foot. The effect on our prestige is very bad indeed....All manner of reports are rife in this city—that you had returned to get more guns, having lost all you took away with you. In fact the belief among all is, that you have been defeated and forced back. It has been most unfortunate your not bringing back any of the guns captured from the enemy. The natives will not believe you captured one. The effect of your retrograde movement will be very injurious to our cause everywhere....You talk of advancing as soon as reinforcements reach you. You require a battery and a thousand European infantry....(The guns) will detain you five or six days. As for infantry they are not to be had, and if you wait for them, Lucknow will follow the fate of Cawnpore....You ought not to remain a day where you are....You ought to advance again, and not halt until you have rescued, if possible, the garrison of Lucknow....Return here sharp, for there is much to be done between this and Agra and Delhi."

Havelock's letter to Neill

Havelock sent a severe reply. After characterising the letter as the most extraordinary letter he had ever received, he continued :—

"There must be an end to these proceedings at once. I wrote to you confidentially on the state of affairs. You send me back a letter of censure of my measures, reproof and advice for the future. I do not want and will not receive any of them from an officer under my command, be his experience what it may. Understand this distinctly, and that a consideration of the obstruction that would arise to the public service at this moment alone prevents me from taking the stronger step of placing you under arrest. You now stand warned. Attempt no further dictation."

3rd August

On the 3rd of August Havelock was reinforced by a company of the 84th and Olpherts' half battery under Lieutenant Smithett.* "I enquired of him minutely how his detachment had behaved. He told me that the conduct of all had been very good except his gun

* "On the 3rd of August the General received half of Captain Olpherts' battery consisting of three-horsed 9-pounders and likewise two 24-pounders."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 340.

"But he (Neill) also sent him over a few reinforcements—a company of the 84th, Olpherts' half battery, two heavy guns, and two field howitzers."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, page 198.

lascars. They had, in April last, threatened to spike the guns whenever they might be engaged with the enemy. At Benares Major Olpherts informed me that they had conducted themselves ill on the night of the mutiny." Havelock could not afford to have a single traitor in his camp. He therefore paraded the detachment and spoke to them all, both British and Natives. "I congratulated the former on having come into a camp of heroic soldiers, who had six times met the enemy, and every time defeated him and captured his cannon. The lascars at this moment were facing the detachment; I turned to them, and told them what miscreants I had this morning discovered them to be, traitors in heart to their fostering Government. I made the British soldiers disarm them, and ordered them out of the camp under a light escort, to be employed under General Neill in the labours of the intrenchment. He will look after them. If they attempt to desert, I have ordered them to be punished with death; the same if they refuse to work with other soldiers. They shall do no other duty till I am better instructed."*

Havelock had been reinforced, but his column was hardly any stronger than when he first started for Lucknow. He could then put 850 men in line out of a strength of 1,350, he now had 1,400 men. However on receiving information that the enemy had re-occupied the town of Busherutgunge he advanced upon it. "On nearing the serai we found our intelligence of its being re-occupied correct. The two heavy guns (24-pounders) and two 24-pounder howitzers were ordered to advance by the road. Six guns, the 78th Highlanders, and the Sikhs under Colonel Hamilton, were to turn the left of the village by our right; and the 1st Madras Fusiliers and the 84th Foot were to cover the turning column with the heavy guns. The movement expelled the enemy early from the serai, but they held obstinately the villages immediately on the other side of the street beyond the serai. They were turned out of this by the guns; on advancing we met four guns, posted on, and to the right and left of the road; our heavy guns silenced them, and they were withdrawn, the enemy retiring slowly, forced back but not beaten. It was purely an artillery fight, the infantry only occupying the villages when the enemy were expelled. The villages on our right and left were held to the last by the enemy,

Second battle of Busher-utgunge, 5th August

* Telegram from Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp Mungulwar, 4th August 1857.

who continued to fire at long distances; some went to the rear, and we had to send the Sikhs with two guns to hold the serai and protect our baggage." *

The enemy lost about 300 men while our loss was only two killed and twenty-three wounded, but men were dying fast from cholera. One night and a day had cost Havelock in sick and wounded 104 Europeans and a fourth of his gun ammunition. It once more became painfully evident to him that he could never reach Lucknow with his present column. He had three strong positions to force defended by fifty guns and 30,000 men, and he had only 1,010 Europeans worn by sickness, privation and endless fighting to do the work. "When I have overcome," he wrote, "the enemy's artillery fire, my wearied infantry can scarcely muster strength to capture their guns, and as I have no cavalry, the mutineers resist as long as they have the powers, and they retire without fear of pursuit." Every village was held against him. The day he made his second advance, "resolved if possible to win," General Neill sent him the most pressing representations regarding his danger from the Saugor troops which were assembling at Bithoor in his front. Havelock therefore judged and rightly judged that he was consulting the best interests of the State by attempting only that which his force was capable of accomplishing, left as it was without the hope of reinforcement. He therefore determined to again retire to Mungulwar. "The resolution which I took," he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, "was the most painful I had ever to form in my life; but imposed upon me by imperious circumstances I could not control. * * * With any hope of reinforcement I would have made the attempt; without it I felt assured that it would be madness. The whole of my staff concurred in this view of the case." †

Havelock determines to again retire to Mungulwar

6th August. Telegram to the Commander-in-Chief

On the 6th of August, the day after the second battle of Busherutgunge, Havelock telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief:— "I must prepare Your Excellency for my abandonment, with great grief and reluctance, of the hope of relieving Lucknow. The only three

* Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp Mungulwar, 6th August 1857.

† "All were of the same opinion, and we retired to our position, five miles from the river, to prevent Unao and Busherutgunge being occupied in our rear." Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp Mungulwar, 6th August 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 173.

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staff officers in my force whom I ever consult confidentially, but in whom I entirely confide, are unanimously of opinion that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involves the loss of this force.* In this I concur. The only military question that remains, therefore, is whether that, or the unaided destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow, would be the greatest calamity to the State in this crisis. The loss of this force in a fruitless attempt to relieve Colonel Inglis would, of course, involve his fall. I will remain, however, till the latest moment in this position strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge-communication with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy may enable me to strike a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out.

Construction of the bridge across the Ganges

Day and night, in sun and in rain the General, his staff and engineers were employed in improving his bridge communication with Cawnpore. The river had sunk and Lieutenant Moorsoom with a large gang of men was busy constructing a road across the islands and swamps and connecting them by a bridge of boats. Four boats lashed together and covered with planks formed a floating platform capable of holding a battery and intended to be towed across the main channel by the steamer. The whole work was under the supervision of Captain Crommelin of the Engineers who had designed and started it in opposition to the views, as regards practicability and success, of nearly every officer of the force. Mainly owing to his indomitable energy it was completed in the face of all difficulties on the 11th of August.† That

Captain Crommelin

11th August. Bridge completed. Urgent message from Neill

* "In using the word 'unanimously' which his biographers have naturally adopted, Havelock strained a point. He ignored the dissent of his vehement and impulsive son. That officer thus describes the incident: "The fact is that I voted for advancing at all hazards. Tytler and Crommelin, Tytler especially, took me to task severely about this, saying that I was prepared to sacrifice the whole force, and the interests of British India, rather than compromise my father's and my own reputation by a retreat. Tytler particularly urged: 'You must recollect that this is more than a personal question. However galling it is to the General and you to retire, you must have regard to the interests of the Government.' Crommelin agreed with him strongly, and my father then said, I 'agree with Tytler.'" "Havelock," by Archibald Forbes, page 166.

† "Too much importance therefore cannot be attached to the skill and perseverance by which Captain Crommelin of the Engineers in the face of all difficulties, in opposition to the views, as regarded practicability and success, of nearly every officer with the force, designed and constructed a causeway over a width of upwards of a mile of this inundated shore of the Ganges bridging the narrower and deeper parts. The portion of the river which had to be forced was thus reduced to nearly 700 yards, about a quarter of the original distance." "The Campaign of 1857-58."—"Calcutta Review," volume XXXII, page 216.

day a message was brought to Havelock with all haste from Neill who had so imperatively pressed on him the necessity of pressing on to Lucknow: "One of the Sikh scouts I can depend on has just come in, and reports that 4,000 men and five guns have assembled to-day at Bithoor and threaten Cawnpore. I cannot stand this; they will enter the town, and our communications are gone; if I am not supported I can only hold out here; can do nothing beyond our entrenchments. All the country beyond this and Allahabad will be up, and our powder and ammunition on the way up, if the steamer, as I feel assured, does not start, will fall into the hands of the enemy and we will be in a bad way." Havelock on receipt of the message sent his sick and wounded, his baggage and spare ammunition across to Cawnpore and remained with his fighting force in light marching order determined "that if there should be any considerable assemblage of hostile troops in my front, I would not await their attack on this strong position but take the initiative and strike a blow against them." In the course of the day spies having brought him intelligence that the rebels were again collecting in numbers at Busherutgunge, he at once put his force in motion. His advanced guard pushed the enemy's parties out of Unao where his men bivouacked that night under trees. "In the morning we advanced, the small, gaunt, care-worn remains of our force, the men almost dropping out in tens from cholera, but with courage as high and undaunted as of old." About a mile-and-a-half in advance of the old battlefield the enemy were discovered strongly posted close to the village of Boorhya-ka-Chowkee, situated on the main road. Their right rested on the village where they had established a battery, their left on a mound about 400 yards distant which they had cut down into another battery mounting three guns. A ditch and breastwork lined with infantry connected the two batteries, and cavalry was massed on their left flank. Havelock's plan of battle was soon formed. He sent the 78th, the Fusiliers, and four guns off to the right to attack the left of the enemy's position, he directed the heavy guns on the left supported by the 84th to advance along the road to encounter the enemy's right battery, and his remaining troops and guns he kept in the centre. The right soon came into action with the enemy's left. The enemy had learnt to fear a flank movement and they turned on their guns they could bring to bear, to check our advance on the right and opened fire grandly. "I certainly was never," wrote a gallant actor, "under so heavy a fire in my life. In five

Action at Boorhya-ka-Chowkee, 12th August

minutes after we came into action, every man at the gun I was laying was wounded with grape, except the sergeant and myself; and four of our gun cattle were knocked over by round shot. The other three guns suffered nearly as much, and we found our fire had little effect on the battery in our front—their guns were too well protected—so we limbered up and got out of that as fast as we could, taking ground more to the right, and then found it was possible to move still more forward and take the adverse battery in flank. This was accordingly done, and then we had our revenge, for they could only bring one gun to bear on us, while we, with our four, enfiladed their whole position." A shrapnel silenced the one gun. The British fire grew hotter and in a few moments a swarm of men were seen rushing back in confusion from the trenches. A loud cheer rang along the advancing lines. The Highlanders "like one man with body bent forward and steady tramp," * flung themselves upon the battery, bayoneted the gunners, and turned the two captured guns on the enemy. "Some artillerymen were into the battery directly after, and we had the intense satisfaction of giving the flying foe three rounds." † The Fusiliers at the same time drove the enemy's extreme left before them and their whole line was speedily in retreat. Finally Fusiliers and Highlanders vigorously pursued the rebels through Busherutgunge and over the causeway. Three hundred of them perished that day.

Havelock retraced his steps leisurely to his old quarters at Mungulwar. During the night the remainder of the ammunition and the heavy guns were sent across the river. On the morning of the 13th, the skeleton of Havelock's force marched down to the ferry.‡ The rain poured down in torrents, the road had become a swamp, and it was difficult to move the guns through the mire. The Madras Fusiliers, the Volunteer Cavalry, and four guns formed a rear-guard to cover the embarkation. But no rebel sepoy appeared to obstruct the passage. He had been taught too severe a lesson the previous day. In five

* "The sight was a beautiful one, and we upon the road could not witness it unmoved, and a hearty cheer quick as an electric shock ran through the ranks of Sikhs and Europeans alike, as we saw their steady advance upon and capture of the battery."—"Havelock's Indian Campaign," *Calcutta Review*, volume XXXII, pages 34 and 35. The writer states that the Highlanders "captured three horse battery guns." Captain Crump states that the rebels carried "off with them one gun, the team of which had escaped the shrapnel of our artillery." —*Saturday Review*, October 31st, 1857.

† *Saturday Review*, October 31st, 1857.

‡ "Our troops, however, were severely tried; the advance into Cawnpore seemed as much as it was possible for men to endure, and the excessive heat proved fatal to many during the march. But what we then endured was comparatively light, in comparison with what we encountered while advancing into Oudh, and again in returning hither."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 120.

Havelock's force recrosses the Ganges, 13th August

hours-and-a-half Havelock's whole force had crossed the stream, and one of the most difficult and dangerous of field operations had been performed without a single accident.* On reaching Cawnpore the General issued the following Order of the day:—

The General's Order of the day, 13th August

"The exertions of the troops in the combat of yesterday deserves the highest praise the Brigadier can bestow. In this, our eighth fight, the conduct of the artillery was admirable. The Fusiliers and the Highlanders were, as usual, distinguished. The Highlanders, without firing a shot, rushed with a cheer upon the enemy's redoubt, carried it, and captured two of the three guns with which it was armed. If Colonel Hamilton can ascertain the officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who first entered this work, the Brigadier will recommend him for the Victoria Cross." †

14th August

On the 14th of August Neill wrote to the Commissioner at Benares:—"General Havelock re-crossed all his men yesterday; they are much worn out by fatigue and exposure, and urgently require rest and care of their health. Loss has been great from sickness, the force is much too weak to attempt any advance on Lucknow, which must not be thought of until reinforcements arrive." The following day the General reported to the Commander-in-Chief the fearful inroads cholera was making in his small force. "The total sick and wounded is 335. The total British strength is 1,415. I do not despond. I must march to-morrow against Bithoor, but it seems advisable to look the evil in the face, for there is no chance but between reinforcements and gradual absorption by disease." ‡

The battle of Bithoor, 16th August

On Sunday morning, the 16th of August, the miserable remnant of Havelock's force, some 750 Europeans and 250 Sikhs, advanced towards

* "As the last division of the troops defiled over the bridge, they were successively broken up, and such of the boats of which they were composed, as were not embedded in the mud, were conveyed, together with the rafts, to the Cawnpore bank, and laid up for future use."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 356.

† "Colonel Hamilton reported that it was difficult to decide to whom this honour belonged, as it appeared to be divided between Lieutenant Campbell and Lieutenant Crowe. The gallant Campbell was smitten down the next day by cholera, and the distinction fell to the lot of Lieutenant Crowe."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 356.

Telegram from Brigadier-General Havelock:—"I recommend the Victoria Cross to Lieutenant Crowe, 78th Highlanders, who was the first to enter the redoubt at Bourzekee (Bourhea-ke-Chowke) Chowkee, the intrenched village in front of Busherutgunge, on the 12th instant."—"The Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 185.

‡ "The medical officers yesterday recommended repose; but I cannot halt while the enemy keeps the field, and, in truth, our health has suffered less fearfully even in bivouac than in Cawnpore."—"Indian Mutiny," volume II.

"The Superintending Surgeon represented to the General that, at the present rate of casualties, the whole force would be annihilated in six weeks."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 357.

Bithoor. The march was long and tedious and the slanting rays of the morning sun struck down many a wearied soldier. After a tramp of eight hours the column reached a wide plain covered with thick sugar-cane and tall castor oil rising high above the head. It was flanked by villages and had two streams flowing through it not fordable by troops of any arm, and only to be crossed by two narrow bridges, the further of which was protected by an entrenchment armed with artillery. After passing the second bridge the road took a turn which protected the defenders from direct fire and behind lay the town of Bithoor with brick houses rising one above another surrounded by walls and buried in trees. "One of the strongest positions I have ever seen," wrote Havelock, and the streams prevented him from attempting his favourite turning movement.

As the column advanced a strong body of the enemy's horse appeared in front to reconnoitre and was saluted by a few rounds of artillery. "At the sound of the discharge, the wearied soldiers seemed inspired with renewed energy which became keener still as they discovered the position taken up by the enemy, its centre resting on the bridge flanked by the entrenched battery which commanded the centre of our line of advance." * No pause ensued. The Madras Fusiliers followed by the artillery under Captain Crump took up position on the plain and the 78th Highlanders completed the right centre on one side of the road. Their original strength had been 284 rank and file: it was now miserably reduced. "Still it was animated by the same fine spirit as had always characterised it." Our left wing, 64th, 84th, and Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore, prolonged the line on the left to the other side of the road. As the Fusiliers advanced on the right they were suddenly assailed by a sharp fire from the high crops and a village masked by trees. Major Stephenson at once threw back two of his right companies. They encountered the sepoys of the 42nd, and the fight was so close and desperate that the bayonets crossed. The rebels were driven back with terrible slaughter. The Fusiliers rejoined the right wing which kept pressing forward with the gallant Macpherson of the 78th ever cheering on his men in front of the line.† The enemy step by step entered within their defences. Fourteen pieces played on

* "Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 128.

† "In this advance our right wing was chiefly engaged, while Captain Olpherts, always conspicuous for daring, conducted his battery far in advance of our left centre. His intention, I believe, was to take the enemy's line, had not orders to prevent him meantime been issued."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 132.

the entrenchment, but the rebels manfully continued to fight their two guns. Keeping pace with the bullocks that drew the battery the column slowly advanced till the combatants were scarcely five hundred yards apart. Then from behind their breastwork the rebels sent forth a tempest of bullets which swept through the British ranks. To return the fire was useless. The work had to be done with the cold steel. The 78th and Fusiliers moved off to the right when they got under cover of some sugar-cane and passing through it came out at the left of the breastwork which they stormed and entered. Then turning they went along inside and after about ten minutes' hard fighting they captured the battery and drove the enemy out across the bridge into the town. But our toil-worn soldiers were too exhausted to pursue and they threw themselves down to rest beneath the welcome shade of some mango trees. But short was the respite. The remaining portion of the force having driven the enemy out of some sugar-cane fields on the left, the order was given for the whole force to "go on" as the town must be cleared. Intricate as most oriental cities are it was no easy task to drive them from it. And the work was not done without severe fighting in the barricaded houses. But it was done.*

Hard fighting distinguished the battle of Bithoor and proved not only the gallantry of the British soldier but of the old Bengal sepoy. "I must do the mutineers," writes the General in his despatch, "the justice to pronounce that they fought obstinately; otherwise they could not for a whole hour have held their own, even with such advantages of ground, against my powerful artillery fire." After the combat as the General rode down the line the soldiers though worn with fighting and stricken with disease set up a loud huzza. "Don't cheer me, my men," he exclaimed, "you did it all yourselves." Havelock always regarded his own skill and courage as small compared with theirs. His congratulatory orders were conspicuous for the absence of himself; they may have been written in too florid a style but they were written not to glorify the commander but to recognise the worth of the rank and file. The day after the action at Bithoor the General issued the following Order to the Command :—

The General's Order of the day, 17th August

"The Brigadier-General congratulates the troops on the result of their exertions in the combat of yesterday. The enemy were driven,

* "A Highlander, and one of the Madras Fusiliers, possessed of but one rifle between them, in the heat of excitement, rushed into one of these houses, where they discovered seven sepoys. Not one of the seven escaped."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 134.

with the loss of 250 killed and wounded, from one of the strongest positions in India, which they obdurately defended. They were the flower of the mutinous soldiery, flushed with the successful defection at Saugor and Fyzabad; yet they stood only one short hour against a handful of soldiers of the State, whose ranks had been thinned by sickness and the sword. May the hopes of treachery and rebellion be ever thus blasted! And if conquest can now be achieved under the most trying circumstances, what will be the triumph and retribution of the time when the armies from China, from the Cape, and from England shall sweep through the land? Soldiers! in that moment, your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour will not be forgotten by a grateful country. You will be acknowledged to have been the stay and prop of British India in the time of her severest trial."

It was the last order that Havelock addressed to his comrades of many a hard fight and weary march. On his return to Cawnpore he found awaiting him the Gazette containing the announcement that Major-General Sir James Outram was to command the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions which were to be combined in one command.

"Write to Sir James Outram that I wish him to return to India immediately and the same to General Jacob. We want all our best men here." Such was the telegram that Lord Canning sent to Lord Elphinstone. The Governor of Bombay forwarded it to the Commander of the Persian Expeditionary Force with a letter and Outram lost no time in obeying the summons. On the 26th of June he arrived at Bombay. On the 9th of July as no instructions had reached him * he set sail for Galle intending to avail himself of the first opportunity to continue his voyage to the Hugli. On the 31st of July he reached Calcutta. On Friday, August 1st, Lady Canning wrote:—"The steamer arrived, and brought Sir J. Outram, whom we have squeezed into the house. He is a very dark-looking Jewish-bearded little man, with a desponding, slow, hesitating manner, very unlike descriptions, or rather the idea raised in one's mind by his old Bombay name of the 'Bayard of the East,' and this year's Bombay saying of 'A fox is a fool and a lion a coward by the side of Sir J. Outram.' He never can have done the things Sir C. Napier accuses him of, but he is not

Arrival of Outram at Calcutta, 31st July

* "After Sir James Outram's departure from Bombay, Lord Elphinstone received a telegram from the Governor-General to the effect that he should be placed in command of the troops in Central India; but a subsequent telegram ruled his despatch to Calcutta. A copy of the former was put into the General's hands at Madras, but fortunately no steamer was there available to admit of his return. The *Nubia* had just left the roads on her way to Suez."—"Life of James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, page 191.

the least my idea of a hero." At the time when action came to be demanded of him the little man with a slow desponding manner proved that he had a strength and valour rarely exampled among men. And when a great act of self-abnegation was required of him he proved the heroic character of his nature and made good his title to his old Bombay name 'The Bayard of the East.'

Lord Canning's minute

On the 2nd of August Lord Canning circulated the following minute among his colleagues:—"The mutiny of three regiments of Native Infantry at Dinapore on the 24th ultimo, and the disastrous result which has followed the attempt to relieve Arrah, against which the mutineers directed their first movements, has very seriously diminished the hope of preserving the peace of the Lower Provinces along the valley of the Ganges from Berhampore to Benares, and in the neighbourhood of the Trunk Road south of Benares. Our communications with Benares and Allahabad are threatened and our chief sources of revenue in Bengal are in jeopardy. Upon the first account of the events at Dinapore, Major-General Lloyd was removed from the command of the division. There was, upon his own showing, no room for doubt that he had been guilty of grievous mismanagement and neglect. It is now necessary that the military command in that part of India should, without a day's delay, be placed in the ablest and most trustworthy hands; and in present circumstances the authority of the commander will be exercised with much greater advantage if it be extended over the adjoining division of Cawnpore as well. The arrival yesterday of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram in Calcutta happily makes the services of that distinguished officer available to the Government of India at this juncture; and I propose that the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions should be combined in one command and entrusted to Sir James Outram." The minute was concurred in by the honourable colleagues of the Governor-General. Mr. Dorin wrote:—"I consider the appointment of Sir James Outram to the proposed command most desirable, but I think it very doubtful whether we shall be able to hold the Cawnpore Division and at the same time provide for the tranquillity of our richest Bengal districts. I shall be quite prepared to find it necessary to withdraw our troops as low as Allahabad, and to endeavour to maintain the provinces of Bengal and Behar in security till reinforcements arrive from England. Telegraphic communication with Benares is already cut off, and it is questionable whether the Grand Trunk Road continues open. Our handful

and it seems to me wiser to endeavour to hold the country of which we are reasonably sure than risk the loss of the whole by wasting our force at distant points which in our present weak position is of very little practical value." Major-General Low cordially concurred "as to the wisdom of conferring on Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram the command of all the troops in the divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore." "I don't participate," he added, "in the opinion of Mr. Dorin that there is a probability of our finding it necessary to withdraw our troops from the latter important station." Mr. Grant agreed to Sir James Outram's appointment to both divisions, but "the question of holding on or drawing in is not now for practical solution before us. In either event this appointment is the best that can be made." Barnes Peacock, always clear and forcible, wrote: "I *concur entirely* in the proposal of the Right Honourable the *Governor*-General. I trust that it will not be necessary to abandon Cawnpore. Such a measure must necessarily be fraught with the greatest mischief, and it will require much anxious consideration before it is reverted to."

Sir James Outram appointed to command the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions, 4th August

On the 4th of August was issued the following General Order:—

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to make the following appointment—

"Major-General Sir James Outram, K. C. B., of the Bombay Army, *to command the Dinapore* and Cawnpore Divisions which are to be combined in one command."

The action of Lord Canning and his colleagues has been severely criticised and a good deal of tawdry rhetoric has been poured forth on the subject. It has been urged that Havelock was superseded "by a feeble Government when their hopes had not been fulfilled" and that the authorities were guilty of a gross breach of courtesy in allowing him to hear the first news of Outram's appointment through the medium of a copy of the General Orders. There was no supersession.* Havelock did not hold and never had held "the command of the Cawnpore Division." He was a Brigadier-General, commanding a field force. His rank did not entitle him to command a division. And if his rank had entitled him, it would have been most unwise for the Government to have

* "Supersession! The first thought of a feeble Government when their hopes have not been entirely fulfilled! With what confidence could any man serve a Government which acted in this manner towards one who had shown, by his daring, his self-negation, his devotion, by his success whenever success was possible, that he had never despaired of the safety of his country. It was not in this way that Rome treated her generals. Terentius Varro carried rashness to its extreme when he fought Hannibal; yet, recognising the patriotism of his motives. Rome received Varro with applause."—"The Indian Mutiny," by Kaye and Malleson, volume III, page 345.

removed him from the command of the field force which had crossed the Ganges and was on its way to Lucknow. Outram was appointed to the Dinapore Division to restore order in Bengal and Behar and secure the base of our operations. His authority was extended to the Cawnpore Division, because Allahabad in that division was the important strategical point to which all supplies of ammunition and stores were to be forwarded and on it all reinforcements were to be concentrated. Lord Canning wanted no break of authority from Calcutta to Lucknow. He had learnt from bitter experience that it was necessary in order to overcome the reluctance, fears and selfishness of the local powers to tear the reinforcements from their grasp and to push them on without delay to the support of Havelock's force to appoint a strong man with full power and without break of authority. With regard to Havelock his hopes at the time had been amply fulfilled. Havelock had fought his way to Cawnpore and had crossed the Ganges, and won two victories. The same day that Canning proposed to his colleagues the appointment of Outram, Lady Canning wrote in her journal letter:—"Sunday, August 2nd. General Outram goes up to Dinapore on Thursday, and commands that and the Cawnpore Division." At the close of the letter Lady Canning remarks:—"I was forgetting to say how brilliantly good old General Havelock goes on. He has fought the Lucknow force twice if not three times and has taken three guns. In one battle his two thousand men (less I believe) drove thirteen thousand before them! and took twelve guns. Then he walked straight into a walled town. Here I grieve to say he had some loss, but nothing to that of the enemy. We cannot spare these real heroes." The foregoing testifies that on the day Lord Canning proposed the extension of Outram's authority over the Cawnpore Division, there was no lack of confidence in Havelock at Government House. Three days after the appointment had appeared in the Gazette Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, wrote to Havelock:—"I leave you to the unfettered exercise of your own judgment, assured that you will do whatever is best for the public service; and God grant that you may be able to avert from Lucknow the frightful atrocities committed at Cawnpore." When that letter was written Havelock's return to Cawnpore was never anticipated. No mention is made of Outram's appointment. The simple explanation of this silence seems to be that neither the Governor-General nor the Commander-in-Chief had any idea that it would in any way affect Havelock. It was most unfortunate that the first intimation of the appointment should have been conveyed to Havelock by a printed copy of the General Orders. But the painful

incident was due to a circumstance which could not have been foreseen —Havelock's return to Cawnpore.*

On the night of the 6th of August Outram embarked on board a river steamer bound for Allahabad. He took with him Mr. W. J. Money, C.S., as his Private Secretary, Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier as Aides-de-Camp, and Robert Napier of the Engineers as his Military Secretary and Chief of the Staff. Napier's experience of war began with the eventful and momentous struggle called the first Sutlej campaign. He commanded the Engineers at the battle of Moodkee where he had a horse killed under him. He was present at the great battle of Ferozeshah (21st December 1845), where he also had a horse shot under him, and having joined the 31st Regiment of Foot he was severely wounded when storming the entrenched Sikh camp. But this did not prevent him from being present a few weeks later at the crowning victory of Sobraon (10th February 1846). He was with Brigadier-General Wheeler as Commanding Engineer in the force sent to reduce the hill fort of Kotie Kangra, and it was due to his extraordinary skill and energy that thirty-three guns and mortars dragged by elephants were taken over mountain paths and the surrender of the fort secured. In recognition of his splendid services in that campaign Napier received besides the medal and two clasps the special thanks of Government and was promoted Brevet-Major (3rd April 1846). At the earnest request of Herbert Edwardes he was sent to aid in the siege of Multan (1848), where he for some time acted as Commanding Engineer and was wounded at the storming of the entrenched position. He was at the action of Surjkend and the final storm and surrender of the rebellious fortress (23rd January 1849). He was with Lord Gough at the battle of Gujrat and accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert in his pursuit of the defeated Sikhs, and was present at the passage of the Jhelum, the surrender of the Sikh army and the surprise at Attock. He was again mentioned in despatches, received the war medal and two clasps and was promoted Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel (17th June 1849). The next three years

Robert Napier

* Regarding Sir James Outram's appointment, Lord Canning wrote as follows to the Chairman of the Court of Directors :—"There is no need of his services in Rajputana, and I proposed to him to take the command of the two military divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore, his first duty being to restore order in Bengal and Behar, for which purpose every European soldier not absolutely necessary for the peace of Calcutta and Barrackpore, would be at his disposal. He undertook the charge eagerly, and left Calcutta on his passage up the river on the 6th. For the moment everything must give way to the necessity of arresting rebellion or general disorder below Benares." In another letter he remarked : "Outram's arrival was a God-send. There was not a man to whom I could with any approach to confidence intrust the command in Bengal and the Central Provinces."—"Life of Sir James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, volume II, page 196.

Napier was occupied in carrying out magnificent works of material improvement in the newly-acquired province. It was under his direction that the great highway from Lahore to Peshawar was constructed, and canals which transformed deserts into cultivated fields were begun and completed. New cantonments were planned and laid out: the frontier defences were strengthened, and to take part in frontier warfare Napier quitted for a short period his civil work. He commanded in December 1852 the right column in the first Black Mountain Hazara expedition, and in the following year he was also engaged in a similar expedition against the Bori clan of the Jawadi Afridis in the Peshawar district. He received the special thanks of Government for his services and the medal and clasp, and was promoted Brevet-Colonel in the Army (28th November 1854). Two years after he was appointed at John Lawrence's earnest request Chief Engineer of the Punjab. "I am very glad," said John Lawrence on May 6th 1854, "that the Governor-General has given Napier the Chief Engineership. He is a fine fellow, and there cannot be a question that he is the man who should get it. The work he has done since annexation is enormous and would have killed many men." * In April 1856 Napier became regimental Lieutenant-Colonel and the same autumn went on furlough to England. Sailing from England in May 1857 before news of the great revolt had reached home he arrived at Calcutta at the end of the month and was officiating Chief Engineer of Bengal when he was nominated by Outram to be his Military Secretary and Chief of the Staff. A more gifted and safer adviser could not have been chosen. Daring and resolute he was also endowed with two quiet attributes which won him the warm confidence and unaffected attachment of men. He had singular modesty as well as simplicity of character. His personal tastes were those rather of a student than of a soldier. He had a great love of art and of books—especially of poetry—but his vigorous mind had been early drawn away from the ideal to the practical and he made himself a master of the science of the civil and military engineer, and acquired a sound knowledge of the business of war which had been improved by the practical skill only to be gained in the field. In after years when Outram was asked who was the best soldier he had come in contact with, he replied without hesitation "Robert Napier."

* "And years afterwards, when the Abyssinian war was in prospect, and John Lawrence was asked whom he would send as Commander-in-Chief:—"So-and-so would do," he said, "pretty well; but if you want the thing thoroughly well done," and he doubtless thought, as he spoke, of the Grand Trunk Road and the Bari-Doab Canal, "go to Napier."—"Life of John Lawrence," by R. Bosworth Smith, volume I, page 404.

On the evening of the 15th of August Outram's steamer anchored off Bhaugulpore where he landed to inspect the defensive preparations of Mr. Yule, the Commissioner, "which I found every thing I could desire." He left shortly after daybreak on the 16th and arrived at Dinapore on the 19th where he found a panic prevailing—he learnt that the 90th Regiment, which had passed up the river four days before, had been recalled. "I immediately despatched an express to prohibit the return of the regiment but unfortunately it did not reach in time to stop the return vessels which came back yesterday evening and I regret to say with cholera on board." * Having made arrangements for the protection of the station and having ordered a detachment of 100 men of the 90th Regiment which had been kept back here to rejoin the regiment † he proceeded on his voyage. From Dinapore Outram wrote a long letter, dated the 19th of August, to the Governor-General in which he stated:—

Letter from Outram to Governor-General, 19th August

"I propose taking on two guns of the battery here (leaving the mountain train for service in Behar, if necessary hereafter, for which I intended it), and also Major Eyre's battery to Benares, which I intend, if practicable, to organize a column to advance to Lucknow through Jaunpore, between the Sye and Goomtee rivers, the only course now left by which we can hope to relieve our garrison in Lucknow; General Havelock having again retired from the attempt, and recrossed the *Ganges to Cawnpore, unable, I imagine, to cross the Sye in the face of the enemy, the bridge having been destroyed.* In addition to the artillery above mentioned, I can *only have* the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Regiment, so weakened by detachments as to amount together to less than 1,000 men, some of the Goorkhas, perhaps, and the Madras Regiment now on its way up the river; but I hope to arrange with General Havelock to effect a junction with such troops as he can forward from Cawnpore, to cross the Ganges about Futtehpore, and pass the Sye near Rye Bareilly. My column having effected its way so far, would there prepare rafts (on inflated skins) by which these reinforcements would cross the Sye. We should then be in sufficient strength, I trust, to force our way to Lucknow."

Proposes to relieve Lucknow by Jaunpore

Outram's telegram to the Commander-in-Chief

On the next day, the 20th of August, Outram sent the following message to Sir Colin Campbell who had assumed the office of Commander-in-Chief in India:—"Beg to refer to letter I yesterday addressed to Governor-General, stating manner in which I purpose relieving

* "The Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 100.

† "The Indian Mutiny," volume II, pa s 190 and 191.

Lucknow, (not prudent to entrust to telegraph) which would necessitate disembarking 5th and 90th Regiments at Benares instead of Allahabad. If not approved, Your Excellency's orders by telegraph may reach me at Benares by the time these regiments can get there." On the same day Havelock telegraphed from Cawnpore:—"My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard in entrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. I am threatened by a force of 5,000 men from Gwalior, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything; but the above are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the State much damage. I solicit Your Excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assume the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi wherever my services may be required. With 2,000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns, six of siege calibre; but I want artillerymen and officers, and infantry soldiers." This despatch had hardly gone forth when Havelock received a message from the Commander-in-Chief which brought him consolation in the darkest season of his career. Sir Colin Campbell telegraphed:—"The sustained energy, promptitude, and vigorous action by which your whole proceedings have been marked during the late difficult operations, deserve the highest praise, and it will be a most agreeable duty to me to make known to his Lordship, the Governor-General, the sense I entertain of the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions of General Sir Patrick Grant. I beg you to express to the officers and men of the different corps under your command, the pride and satisfaction I have experienced in reading your reports of the intrepid valour they have displayed upon every occasion they have encountered the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, and how nobly they have maintained those qualities for which the British soldiers have ever been distinguished—high courage and endurance. I entirely concur in the soundness of the view you have taken of your position in your telegraph of the 6th instant from Mungulwar, and of all the reasons which influenced you to defer for the present active operations."* The next morning Havelock sent the following answer:—

Havelock's telegram to the Commander-in-Chief

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief to Havelock

Havelock's answer

"I cannot express the gratification with which I have perused Your Excellency's telegram of the 9th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repays me for the labours and

* "Life of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 372.

responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken of necessity, at a most unpropitious season; my soldiers will as highly and deeply value Your Excellency's commendation. I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather, and the repose of which they stand in need; but sickness continues in our ranks—we lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to Your Excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2,000 or to 2,500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand; protect my communications with anything that comes against me; and be ready to take a part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5,000 men and 30 guns, or by the Goorkhas which are assembling at Furruckabad under rebellious Nababs, which have also a formidable artillery; but as they can partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fights; but if reinforcements cannot be sent me, I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India and retiring upon Allahabad, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season."

Havelock only stated what under certain contingencies must be inevitable. He could defeat the rebels in fight. But he could not supply the waste of a force which cholera was destroying. If prompt reinforcements were not sent he saw no other alternative but withdrawal from Cawnpore to Allahabad. He had no inclination to retire, he made no suggestion. "I have endeavoured," he added, "fully to state my case and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to Your Excellency. I do earnestly hope that you will be able to decide for prompt reinforcement." And Colin Campbell acted with prompt celerity. That night, August the 23rd, he sent the following message to Outram:—" The force under General Havelock is reduced, by casualties on service, and by cholera, which has been and still rages in his camp, to 700 men in the field exclusive of detachments which guard the entrenchment, and keep open the communication with Allahabad. He is threatened by a force of some 5,000 men, with some twenty or thirty guns, from Gwalior, besides the Oudh Force. He says, he 'is ready to fight anything, but the above are great odds, and a battle lost would do the interest of the State infinite damage; I solicit reinforcements.' His applications for assistance have been frequent, and, deeming his situation to demand immediate aid, I

Telegram from Commander-in-Chief to Outram, 23rd August

ordered the 90th Regiment to be sent to him with all possible speed as also the detachment of the 5th Regiment which was on board the Benares steamer, if it could be spared. Pray send the 90th Regiment at once to his aid. I will write to you to-morrow."

Telegram from Commander-in-Chief to Havelock, 24th August

Early next morning the Commander-in-Chief informed Havelock that he had on the 18th entreated Outram to send him without delay the 90th and also a detachment of the Fusiliers if the latter could be spared. He added:—"I despatched another telegram at 11-45 P.M. on the 22nd instant (last night), repeating my entreaty to send you the 90th. I sent this telegram to Benares, as well as Dinapore." With the views expressed in Havelock's appeal for reinforcements Sir Colin expressed his entire concurrence. "I agree in all that you say about your position, and from the moment of my arrival have felt your being made strong at Cawnpore to be of the first importance. The detention of this regiment, and other detachments, by the local authorities at different points, while on their way to Allahabad, I deeply regret. I have no artillery * * * * Captain Peel, Royal Navy, with 500 sailors and ten 8-inch guns with ammunition, &c., left this on the 20th for Allahabad."

Telegram from Commander-in-Chief to Outram, 24th August

The same day Sir Colin communicated to Outram a telegram he had just received from Havelock:—"Mr. Tucker, Civil Commissioner at Benares, informs me that it is the intention of Sir James Outram to ascend the Gogra and relieve Lucknow by Fyzabad, and that Sir James desires my co-operation by making a demonstration of re-crossing the Ganges; even to do more by striving to regain my strong position of Mungulwar, or more nearly approaching Lucknow. But I must have fresh troops to enable me to do either of these." * The Commander-in-Chief went on to say:—"Hope of co-operation from General Havelock is therefore not to be entertained. The march from Benares by the most direct road to Lucknow is a long one, some 150 miles, and the population through which you would pass hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you would turn or rather come in rear of the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow. This would be an

* "Now it must be clearly understood that the idea of taking this route was not Outram's at all but that of the Commissioner of Benares himself. The former (as we have seen) had never approved or entertained this scheme and only warranted mention of it to General Havelock as a recommendation of Mr. Tucker's ventilated for the purpose of misleading the enemy."—"James Outram," by Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., page 208.

important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore and united to Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the nullahs, full of water at this season, on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all encumbrances, such as sick, etc., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops in being conveyed by steam would suffer less than if obliged to march and reach Cawnpore many days earlier, besides relieving Havelock's anxiety about his post. In offering these remarks or suggestions to you, who are acquainted with the country, the people and the difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment or perfect freedom of action."

On reaching Benares, August the 28th, Outram found Sir Colin's promised letter. It began with these words :—"I am extremely happy and deem myself most fortunate to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged." * After informing him that Havelock had stated that his force had been reduced to 700 men in the field exclusive of the detachments required to guard his entrenchments and keep open his communication with Allahabad he proceeded to state, word for word, the remarks and suggestions he had made in his telegram regarding the relief of Lucknow by Jaunpore. *Outram also received a telegram from the Governor-General endorsing the views of the Chief. Lord Canning, like Sir Colin, allowed Outram* a free hand. "But the road by Jaunpore may have advantages of which I am not aware; and I am confident that your deliberate judgment will decide for the best. It is not probable that the relief of the Lucknow garrison will be facilitated by the abandonment of Cawnpore; but if this be the case do not hesitate to abandon it. The political importance of it, and the cost of recovering it, are not to be weighed against the relief of Lucknow." Outram had however already abandoned the project. At Ghazeepore he had received the Commander-in-Chief's telegram first informing him of the critical state of Havelock's force, and a few hours after the receipt of the message he sent late at night the following answer :—"Received your message of the 22nd instant this evening. In accordance with these orders, the 90th Regiment complete means three companies coming from Calcutta, and such portion of the 5th as I have collected, will be sent

Arrival o[f] Outram a[t] Benares, 28th August

* From Sir Colin Campbell, Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. Outram Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 209.

on by steamer to Allahabad, and thence pushed on by quickest means practicable. This prevents my carrying out any intended advance to the relief of Lucknow from Jaunpore or Rye Bareilly, as proposed in my letter to the Governor-General from Dinapore, dated 20th instant, no other European troops being available; but the necessity for reinforcing General Havelock seems imperative." When Outram put forward the proposal to advance by Jaunpore he had been wrongly informed that the bridge over the Sye had been destroyed and he considered that its destruction rendered the Cawnpore route physically impracticable as a small force could not force the passage of the river against the rebel host. When he heard of Havelock's critical condition being due to want of men he at once abandoned the scheme.

From Benares Outram despatched a telegram to Havelock to the effect that he intended to push on at once with reinforcements to Allahabad and that on September the 5th he hoped to join him at Cawnpore. During the voyage Outram had been greatly distressed and annoyed at the idea of superseding Havelock and one day on board he said to his Military Secretary:—"I know what I will do. I will go in my political capacity." This decision he communicated to Havelock in words befitting a goodly and gallant gentleman:—"I shall join you with the reinforcements, but to you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already so nobly struggled. I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as Commissioner placing my military services at your disposal, should you please to make use of me, serving under you as a volunteer. Encourage the Lucknow garrison to hold on. Spare no cost in effecting communication with Colonel Inglis." * Outram made known the proposed arrangement to the Commander-in-Chief who communicated the matter to the Governor-General. Lord Canning expressed 'himself in the warmest terms of admiration' of 'the truly handsome and generous proposals reported,' and Colin Campbell added 'God grant you may succeed.'

Arrival of Outram at Allahabad, 1st September

On the 1st of September Outram reached Allahabad. On the 3rd of September arrived the steamer and flat conveying Major Eyre's battery and a portion of the 5th Fusiliers, and on the next day the steamer containing the head-quarters of the 90th. The 4th was occupied in landing and putting together the guns, with the morning the battery went forth with the first detachment towards Cawnpore. The force amounting in all to about 653 men and 20 officers † consisted

* "James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., page 207.

† "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 211.

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besides Eyre's artillery and two 8-inch howitzers of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and a few men of the 64th and 84th Regiments. The same night Outram left Allahabad with the 90th Regiment consisting of 28 officers and 646 men.* At the second stage he was joined by a company of 87 rank and file from Benares. On the fourth day definite information reached Outram that a party of 400 rebels intended only to be the advanced guard of a larger force had crossed over to the right bank with four guns with the intention of cutting off his communication with Allahabad and ravaging the country. He at once directed Major Eyre to proceed against them, taking 100 Europeans from the 5th and 50 from the 64th Regiment, all mounted on elephants, with two guns. They were to be joined at a neighbouring village by a squadron of the 12th Irregulars under Captain Johnson.† "As Major Eyre commands the party," wrote Outram to Havelock, "he will succeed if any one can in discomfiting the scoundrels." And Eyre did succeed in discomfiting the rebels. After marching forty miles he came up at daybreak with the enemy who fled precipitately to their boats about half a mile off. "I ordered the cavalry under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Havelock to pursue them, and followed up myself, with all practicable speed, with the infantry and guns. We found the cavalry had driven the enemy into their boats which were fastened to the shore and were maintaining a brisk fire on them from the bank above.‡ On the arrival of the detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 64th Foot under Captains Johnson § and Turner, the fire of our musketry into the

Eyre's expedition to Koondun Puttee

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 212.

† "They had hastened from Benares by forced marches to overtake Sir James Outram, and when they joined Major Eyre had been twenty-four hours in the saddle and required rest." "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 394.

"I take this opportunity of mentioning that the detachment of the 12th Irregulars had already marched twenty-four miles when they received the sudden order to join me at Hulgaon, and although both men and horses had been a whole day without food they galloped on the whole way to meet me, a distance of nine miles further, guided by that energetic officer, Lieutenant Dawson, of the * * * *, who also took a conspicuous part in their subsequent operations.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 216.

‡ "Lieutenant Johnson, with prompt decision and great judgment, dismounted the greater portion of his men, and by a continued carbine fire succeeded in preventing the removal of the boats till the European infantry could come up."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 394.

§ He was severely wounded in General Havelock's relief of Lucknow and died of his wounds.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 225.

"My poor friend, the brave Captain Johnson, 5th Fusiliers, is no more. He possessed all the elements that constitute a true soldier * * I knew him from his boyhood. He held his first commission in the 60th, where he was the object of much regard. On many occasions he performed far more than what mere duty required, till at length, in the prime and flower of manhood, he died as became a soldier."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 211.

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densely crowded boats was most telling, but the enemy still defended themselves to the utmost, until the guns under Lieutenant Gordon opened fire, when the rebels instantly threw themselves, panic-stricken, into the river." A few only escaped.

Arrival of Outram at Cawnpore, 15th September

The rebels did not again attempt to molest Outram's force and at dusk, September the 15th, he arrived at Cawnpore. Havelock welcomed his former commander and old comrade in camp and field. It was natural that these men should be friends. Both were brave, resolute, energetic soldiers and their higher natures were of a kind which envy could not dim nor jealousy tarnish. Life with Havelock had been a long battle with poverty and with men, and the wages of his labour had often been denied him. By the appointment of Outram it seemed as if he was to be once more deprived of his legitimate reward, but he made no complaint and he did not allow it to affect the energetic discharge of his duty. Outram, however, had relieved the bitterness by informing him that he would not deprive him of the honour and glory of the relief for which he had so vigorously striven, and the morning after his arrival the General Commanding the Division issued the following order. It has often been printed but it cannot be too often read for there we find our nationality, our poetry :—

"The important duty of relieving the garrison of Lucknow had been first entrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement.

"Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

"The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity—as Chief Commissioner of Oudh—tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer."

Havelock responded graciously:—"Brigadier-General Havelock, in making known to the column the kind and generous determination of Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., to leave to it the task of relieving Lucknow, and of rescuing its gallant and enduring garrison, has only to express his hope that the troops will strive, by their exemplary and gallant conduct in the field, to justify the confidence thus reposed in them."

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To confirm Outram's temporary relinquishment of command is the formal purport of the following order, dated September 28th, but through it runs the fine spirit of Colin Campbell.

"Seldom, perhaps never, has it occurred to a Commander-in-Chief to publish and confirm such an order as the following one, proceeding from Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B.

"With such a reputation as Major-General Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can well afford to share glory and honour with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made with such disinterested generosity in favour of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., commanding the field force in Oudh.

"Concurring, as the Commander-in-Chief does, in everything stated in the just eulogy of the latter by Sir James Outram, his Excellency takes this opportunity of publicly testifying to the army his admiration for an act of self-sacrifice and generosity, on a point which, of all others, is dear to a real soldier.

"The confidence of Major-General Sir James Outram in Brigadier-General Havelock is indeed well justified. The energy, perseverance, and constancy of the Brigadier-General have never relaxed throughout a long series of arduous operations, in spite of scanty means, a numerous and trained enemy, and sickness in his camp. Never have troops shown greater or more enduring courage than those under the orders of *Brigadier-General Havelock*." *

* It was an act of self-sacrifice and generosity "not only," to use the words of Sir Colin Campbell, "in a point which, of all others, is dear to a soldier," but it involved other substantial sacrifices. Outram "was already a G. C. B., and any additional reward must necessarily assume the form of a permanent title with a pension attached. He therefore believed he was irretrievably surrendering the certainty of a baronetcy and its accompaniment. Further, it was understood that the treasure in the Residency, stated to be from 23 to 32 lakhs of rupees, would, in accordance with precedent, be adjudged prize-money. He elected to receive the insignificant share of a civilian volunteer, instead of the very substantial one of the General in actual command. Thus he deprived himself 'not only of all honours, but' [we quote an allusion to the subject in a private letter of his own] 'of the only means of support for the declining years of a life the chequered vicissitudes of which have afforded no opportunity of making any provision for the requirements of age.' If, in after years, the matter was mooted in his hearing, he was wont, as his custom was when his own good deeds were spoken of, to turn it off by some self-depreciatory remark, such as, 'People have made too much of it.' 'I had the chance of obtaining the highest object of my ambition, the Victoria Cross,' and so on. But it is only fair to the memory of an unselfish man, now to make public what he only revealed in confidence. The surrender of the command was no mere chivalrous impulse, but a deliberate act of self-sacrifice."—"Life of James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, volume II, pages 221 and 222.

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Havelock's force again crosses the Ganges, 18th September

On the night of the 18th the floating bridge across the Ganges was laid and the next day Havelock's force again crossed to the Oudh bank of the Ganges. On the 20th of September Eyre's heavy guns which had been covering the crossing and the rear-guard passed over.

Havelock's second advance towards Lucknow, 21st September

Battle of Mungalwar, 21st September

At daybreak the 21st September, in a deluge of rain, Havelock's column again began its advance for the relief of Lucknow. A short distance from Mungalwar they found the enemy posted on the plain commanding the line of route. His right rested on a village and walled enclosure, which afforded good cover from the luxurious growth of standing corn that rose before it as a screen, while the drizzling rain enveloped it in haze. His centre and left was covered by a line of breastworks behind which six guns were posted. They immediately opened on our guns as they came up the road drawn by elephants. Many of the detachment guarding them fell. One of the elephants had the lower part of its trunk carried away and swinging round rushed furiously through the battery.* His sagacious companions realising their danger refused to drag the guns any further, and all attempts to goad them forward were in vain. Bullocks had to take their place. After much confusion and much delay, the guns, supported by the 5th Fusiliers, were deployed on and across the road and engaged the enemy in front. Havelock determined again to adopt Frederick's favourite movement. He sent his main force to the left, and the 90th Light Infantry in dashing style soon cleared the village and plantation. A well-timed advance in front, and the rebel line was in ruin. Barrow's horsemen who had accompanied the turning column furiously charged the retreating mass and broke it again and again. Outram himself on his huge Australian horse was forward in the thick of the tumult—no sword in his hand, but a stout gold-topped Malacca known to our forefathers as 'The Penang Lawyer,' with which he whacked the fugitives. Outram and Barrow with his squadron behind in loose order pressed forward in a whirl. A turn in the road disclosed right ahead a dense body of rallied rebels. "Close up and take order," shouted Barrow, and in a word they plunged forward and rode into the mass, sabring right and left: Outram's malacca in full play. Pursued and pursuers rolled pell-mell along the road to Busherutgunge. Two guns

* "Memoirs of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 282.

"Lately arrived from the Mauritius and in perfect training."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 166.

behind an entrenchment barred the way. Barrow, his men following him, rushed at the earthwork and over it, cut down the gunners and captured the guns. The rebels were pursued and sabred through the town till the great *serai* beyond was reached. A hundred and twenty killed, two guns, and the regimental colour of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry captured, attested the vigour of the pursuit.

The troo[ps] reach Bu[n]nee, 22nd Septemb[er]

The troops bivouacked for the night at the *serai*. On the morning of the 22nd September the weather still being rainy the column again advanced. About 3 P.M. the Sye was reached, and great was the delight at discovering that the rebels in their precipitous flight had neglected to destroy the bridge over the wide stream. A mile in front of the bridge the force was halted along the road, and a royal salute was fired in the hope that its welcome sound would reach the beleaguered garrison. But the wind was in the wrong direction. Here the troops rested for the night, as much rest as hungry men could get in a swamp with rain pouring down on them.

Battle o[f] the Alum[bagh], 23r[d] September

At 8 A.M. of the 23rd September Havelock's force continued its march towards Lucknow. The road lay through a wide sheet of water. For ten miles no rebel was seen. Then about 2 P.M., the cavalry discovered the enemy three miles in front, his centre and right posted on some mounds, and his left resting on the Alumbagh, a garden house built by one of the princes of Oudh for his favourite wife. Like all the garden homes erected by the Moslem nobles, it was admirably adapted for defence, as a strong lofty wall with turrets at each angle enclosed a garden about five hundred yards square, rich in flower and shrub, with a fine house carved with the numerous quaint devices of oriental taste in the centre, a mosque adjoining, and numerous offices for followers.

The enemy, whose line extended nearly two miles, had ten thousand trained troops and a great superiority in cavalry and artillery. No sooner had the head of our column come within range than two of their guns fired straight down the road. The first shot knocked over three officers of the 90th. The ground was favourable to the enemy; he was on a slightly elevated dry plateau, while the British troops were crowded on a road through a marsh, and owing to the depth of the water it was impossible to leave it. A short delay occurred owing to the 1st Brigade having to be halted in order to let the 2nd Brigade pass it, and "the shot of the enemy's guns told a good deal in our ranks." The movement having been executed, the column again went forward, case shot raining all the time, till a bit of dry ground was discovered on the left

of the road. To reach it a deep ditch full of water had to be crossed, and as Neill's horse plunged down he nearly fell.* "Whilst he did so," writes Neill, "a round shot grazed the horse's quarters passing a few inches behind me." On reaching the dry spot the brigades were deployed in front of the enemy, Neill's forming the centre and left, whilst Hamilton's was extended further to the left so as to overlap the enemy's line. Olpherts' battery and the volunteer cavalry sent to cover the movement of the latter brigade dashed up the road at full speed. Into the deep ditch they plunged down without a check, horses and drivers splashed and struggled in the water; yet the guns were landed on the other side. "Forward at a gallop," shouted Olpherts—Neill waved his helmet, and a loud cheer was raised as the cannon swept by the first brigade—Eyre's heavy battery having come up, soon silenced the enemy's guns and dispersed their cavalry. Then the first brigade advanced, and at the same time the 2nd turning attacked the rebels on the flank and their rout was complete. One of their guns, however, continued to bowl "9-pounders at us for the last half hour down the road." "So at it I went," wrote Lieutenant Johnson, "with five and twenty men. Greatly to my relief, they never fired a shot as we came on; and we took the gun without much difficulty. We chopped up a few of the men, and the rest ran away * * *. I lost one man killed and a few men and horses wounded: my own mare got a shot through the back." † Thus tersely a British subaltern describes one of the finest acts of gallantry performed in a campaign famous for its brave deeds.‡ The enemy still held the Alumbagh, and two guns withdrawn from the field

* "Lives of Indian Officers," by John William Kaye, volume II, page 401.

† "Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life." From the Letters of Major W. T. Johnson of the Native Irregular Cavalry, page 172.

‡ Marshman thus describes Johnson's gallant actions:—"They stood the shock of this heavy ordnance—so rarely seen in the field—only for a few moments, and then broke up in confusion. Our troops and guns followed them as closely as the nature of the ground would permit. But one of their guns, planted on the road, and admirably served by the well-trained artillery—men of the Oudh force—still continued to send destruction among our troops, when Lieutenant Johnson by an act of gallantry not surpassed in any action during this campaign, without waiting for orders, charged it with twenty troopers of his Irregular Cavalry, sabred the gunners, and silenced the gun. Finding himself unsupported a thousand yards in advance of the force, and the enemy keeping up a galling fire from neighbouring cover, he was compelled to abandon it and retire; but the dread inspired by this dashing charge deterred the enemy from serving it again, and the troops were free from its molestation during their further advance."—"Life of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, pages 403 and 404.

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kept up a brisk fire from the embrasures in the wall. As every shot was telling, a wing of the 5th Fusiliers which was on the right of the line was ordered to clear the enclosure, and they stormed it in the most gallant way. On entering they however found that Captain Barton of the 78th, one of the flanking brigade, had almost simultaneously with his company found his way through the main gate. In about ten minutes every sepoy was thrust out of the Alumbagh; Barrow and Outram, accompanied by their few horsemen and Olpherts' guns, pursued vigorously and chased the routed rebels almost to the Yellow House, close to the Char Bridge. Here they found the enemy strongly entrenched and fed with fresh troops from the city, and as night had set in Outram determined to withdraw the squadron. As he rode back a messenger brought him a despatch. When the pickets had been posted and the troops preparing to bivouac for the night were drawn up in line Outram told them the glad tidings—Delhi had been taken. And there was a peal of sound from the hearts and throats of the soldiers. That night as they lay in the wet fields there came through the volleying rain the boom of the heavy guns at Lucknow and they longed for the glorious day to follow.

News of the fall o[f] Delhi

The morn broke fine after the stormy night, and sore was the disappointment of the men to find that no advance was to be made till to-morrow. The troops had been marching for three days, under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed and badly housed in mud huts, and it was thought necessary to pitch the tents in order that they should have an opportunity of drying their garments and enjoying a day's rest. The tents were pitched and the baggage massed in the rear. The men unsuspicious of danger had strolled away, when the enemy creeping round under cover of the trees and tall crops suddenly dashed forth shouting vociferously. "This so terrified the drivers and other camp followers, that they hastily fled, abandoning the baggage. So simultaneous was their flight, and so rapid, that it resembled the sound of a rushing storm sweeping over the plain, which was scattered with numerous unclad dusky forms, like figures of animated bronze." * The soldiers of the 90th forming the baggage guard received the rebels with great gallantry, but lost some brave officers and men; shooting down, however, 25 of the troopers and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven to a distance by two guns of Captain Olpherts' battery. But over six heavy guns were unable to silence two of the

Halt at Alumbag[h] 24th Septemb[er]

* "The Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 179.

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enemy's 9-pounders concealed in a thick wood near the Char Bridge. "Fired with double charges at a great elevation the balls ricochetted through the camp causing many casualties." *

Four routes to the Residency

The day was passed by Havelock and Outram in maturing plans for the morrow. They had a choice of four routes by which to advance upon the Residency. The first by the Cawnpore Road to the Char Bridge, and thence direct through the heart of the city for a mile-and-a-half, to the Bailey Guard Gate. But the road was known to have been cut by trenches and crossed by palisades at short intervals, the houses also being all loopholed. "Progress in this direction," as Havelock stated, "was impossible."

The second route was to force the Char Bridge, and then to turn to the right and advance by a circuitous lane along the left bank of the canal till open ground was reached, then turn to the left and advance to the Residency by the plain between the Kaiser Bagh and the river.

The third route was to avoid the direct road altogether, proceed at once from the Alumbagh to the right and continue advancing outside the canal till the Dilkoosha (Joy of the heart) Palace was reached, then turn to the left and crossing the canal by the bridge, strike the plain between the Kaiser Bagh and the river.

The fourth route was to proceed as in route three to the Dilkoosha Palace and Park, seize it, and under cover of that strong position bridge the Goomtee. Then, after crossing the river, gain the Fyzabad and Lucknow road at the Kokrail bridge and proceeding down it, seize the iron bridge and the Badshah Bagh, an enclosed palace and garden which offered an admirable defensive position.†

The fourth route along the northern bank of the Goomtee was the one which best commended itself to Havelock. "I had brought up canal boats from Cawnpore," he wrote, "intending to bridge the Goomtee, and coming round by its left bank to the north-west of the city to have seized the iron and stone bridges, thus placing myself on the enemy's communications. I should have hoped from this plan great results. But it was doomed never to be tried." ‡ It was not tried, because after a reconnaissance made on the 24th September Colonel

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 407.

† "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, V.C., pages 218 and 219.

"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 406.

‡ *Ibid.*, page 426.

Napier reported that the incessant rain had rendered the country impracticable for artillery. And Havelock was desirous of taking not only the light field pieces but the heavy guns with him.* It was therefore resolved to advance by the second route, that meant to force the Char Bridge, turn to the right, half circle round the city and establish themselves in the Fureed Buksh, a palace adjacent to the Residency. It was arranged that the sick and wounded with the hospital, the baggage, and the food and ammunition reserves were to be left at the Alumbagh under the charge of Colonel M'Intyre of the 78th Highlanders, with six officers, forty-two non-commisioned officers, and two hundred and fifty men. The soldiers were directed to take sixty rounds of ammunition in their pouches; an equal reserve per man was to be carried on camels. Havelock also succeeded in overcoming Outram's objections to take Eyre's 24-pounders.† The Parole of the day was 'Patience.'

Determination to advance by second route

The morning broke dull and gloomy. The rain had ceased, but the sky was covered with low hanging clouds and the country had been transformed into a veritable sea of mud. At 8 A.M. the column of attack was formed in front of the Alumbagh. "Toil, privation, and exposure had left traces on the forms of our men, and yet daring, hope and energy seemed depicted on their countenances." Soon after Outram accompanied by his staff galloped up, and informed Havelock that he thought it advisable to modify the plan resolved on the previous day. A map of the city was spread out on a table and as the two Generals were intently studying it a round shot hit the earth within a few yards of them and bounded over their heads. Then a loud thud was heard distinctly: a round shot had struck one of the gun bullocks fairly on the left ribs. "A large dark slump swelled out on the poor beast's white flank and in two or three seconds it quietly sank down and died." Another beast took its place. To the soldiers eager to go straight against the rebels and fight by the

Morning of the 25th of September

* Sir Henry Havelock-Allan wrote:—"My father was always of opinion that No. 4, *viz.*, the trans-Goomtee route, was the one that ought to be followed, but he desired to take the heavy guns with us."—"History of the Indian Mutiny," by T. Rice Holmes, Appendix K.

Mr. Marshman states:—"It was reported that it would be impossible to move even the light field pieces across the country."

† "He (Havelock) always held a strong opinion on the question of heavy artillery, based on the manifest difficulties which the want of it had entailed on Napoleon at Acre; on Wellington at Burgos; and on Lake at Bhurtpore. This view was fortified by his own observation of the all but fatal result of having left the heavy guns at Candahar when the army marched to Ghuznee. He had, therefore, formed the fixed determination never to leave them behind him when there might possibly be occasion for their use."—"Life of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.," by John Clark Marshman, page 421.

Residency the conference between the two Generals seemed interminable. At length the welcome word "Forward" was given. Neill's brigade headed by two companies of the 5th Fusiliers in column of sections and Maude's battery led the way. Outram rode by Maude's side with the leading gun, followed by two of his staff, Chamier and Sitwell. No sooner had the brigade passed our advanced picquets than a murderous fire was poured on it from a double-storied house full of musqueteers and from the loopholed walls of the large surrounding gardens, from a battery on each flank, and from two guns "which were loaded in the lane behind the Yellow House and then run out on the main road, carefully laid, and admirably served." At this moment there came the order to halt. The Fusiliers lay in the ditch on each side of the road to escape the storm, and Maude's guns were deployed and engaged the enemy. Round shot, grape and bullets went crashing through the trees which lined the road and struck many down. Shot followed shot, and bullet after bullet was poured into the advancing column. Outram's arm was shot through by a musket ball; "but he only smiled, and asked one of us to tie his handkerchief tightly above the wound."* Then his Aide-de-Camp, Sitwell, received a similar wound. Almost at the same moment the Sergeant-Major of Maude's battery had the whole of his stomach carried away by a round shot. "He looked up to me for a moment with a piteous expression, but had only strength to utter two words 'Oh God' when he sank on the road." Just then another round shot took off the leg high up the thigh of the next senior Sergeant, John Kiernan, a splendid specimen of the Irish soldier. "He was as true as steel." Fast as the men of the leading gun detachments fell, their places were taken by volunteers from other guns. But soon there would be no men to fill the gaps. In this desperate situation Maude asked Outram "calm, cool and grave" if they might again advance. But the order to halt had come from Havelock, and Outram did not care to alter it. Happily at this moment Major Battine, of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, Havelock's galloper, once more made his appearance and gave the welcome order to advance.† "Steadily and

Advance of the column

* "Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 292.

† Lieutenant-Colonel Battine, who acted as galloper to Havelock, tells me that it was he who brought it, as well as the original order to us to halt, and explains that the first was necessary because the rear of the column was not ready when we moved off. Considering that it was close upon 9 o'clock, and that we had been about three hours under arms, the delay seems a little difficult to understand."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 292.

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cheerily Maude pushed on with his brave men "* and the infantry drove the enemy on the surrounding gardens and the Yellow House.† On went the column till it was checked half a mile beyond the Yellow House by a sharp bend in the road. Two hundred yards in front flowed the canal. Straight before them was the Char Bridge. A battery of six guns, including a twenty-four pounder with a breastwork in front, defended it on the Lucknow side. To the right and left of it were lofty houses loopholed and held by musketeers. Lieutenant Arnold with the skirmishers of the Madras Fusiliers was sent forward to hold the canal bank on the left of the road and check the fire that streamed from the houses. Outram with the 5th Fusiliers went to the right to clear the walled gardens from which the bridge derives its name, and to proceed on till he gained the high banks of the canal, whence he could bring a flanking fire to bear on the bridge. Two of Maude's guns (there was no room for more) unlimbered at the bend of the road and replied to the rebel artillery. "The first discharge from one of the enemy's guns disabled one of Maude's guns, the greater portion of the detachment serving it being killed or wounded." Volunteers were called for from the infantry and Private Jack Holmes of the 84th was the first man to respond, and his example was followed by others.‡ The formidable fire of the enemy increased every moment and their musketry and artillery mowed down the men as fast as they took their places at the guns. For half an hour the unequal contest was maintained. The skirmishers were unable to keep down the enemy's musketry. No sign of Outram. "In this crisis, Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser-Tytler, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General to the Force, rode up and immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the position under a most heavy fire. Forming the opinion that the bridge might be carried by a bayonet charge, while as the enemy's fire was evidently superior and further delay would not only be useless but would disperse the troops, he represented his views to Brigadier-General Neill and prevailed on that officer to allow the attempt to be made.

Private Jack Holmes

Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser-Tytler reconnoitres the position

* "Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 412.

† And then the walled enclosures on either side of the road from which the enemy's infantry had been firing were cleared by our infantry, those on the right by the 5th Fusiliers and part of the 84th, and those on the left and a village that we had now reached by the remainder of the 84th and 64th, but with considerable loss.—"Lives of Indian Officers," by J. W. Kaye, volume II, page 405.

‡ "Among whom were Lieutenants Pearson and Aitken."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 293.

"The gallantry displayed by Private Holmes throughout the day caused me to recommend him for the Victoria Cross."—General Fred A. Willis, C.B., *Times*, March 23rd, 1890.

On receiving permission he carried the order to advance to the 1st Madras Fusiliers and assisted in collecting the men who had been dispersed under cover of some huts for shelter." * At the welcome signal to advance Arnold, before the Fusiliers had time to collect, dashed on to the bridge with his skirmishers and a few men of the 84th. Havelock and Tytler spurred their horses and in a moment were by his side. Torrents of grape shot and musket shot bursting out swept them away. Arnold fell hit through both thighs; Tytler came down with his horse killed under him. Havelock and Corporal Jacques alone remained. "They were the target for many muskets." "We'll soon have the beggars out of that, Sir," said the Corporal, as he stood by Havelock's side, loading and firing as fast as he could. Havelock waved his sword and called on the rest to advance. Before the rebels had time to reload, they leapt forward with a terrible shout, dashed across the bridge, cleared the breastwork, stormed the battery and bayoneted the gunners. The Char Bridge was won.

Corporal Jacques

The Char Bridge carried

At that moment Outram emerged from the Charbagh garden on the margin of the canal in time to see the capture of the guns.† The loopholed buildings near the bridge were stormed and held, and the road made clear for the rest of the column.

* "Fraser-Tytler at Char Bagh (written by Havelock-Allan)," 16th August 1859.—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 562. No mention is made in this paper of the *ruse* which Havelock-Allan says he practised on Neill to force the latter to give the order to advance. In a paper written two years after the event he distinctly stated that it was Colonel Fraser-Tytler who prevailed on Neill to allow the attempt to be made to carry the bridge by the bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonel Maude in a letter dated 20th October 1859, wrote:—"On the 25th September 1857, on our entry into Lucknow your conduct from first to last was the theme of universal praise. In the early part of the day I remember you exposing yourself to a tremendous fire while reconnoitring the enemy's battery; and I believe it was in consequence of your representations that General Neill ordered the celebrated charge of the Madras Fusiliers, in which you joined, and which indeed relieved me from a most unequal contest. I believe you had a horse killed under you during the charge."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, pages 563-64.

† Mr. Marshman in his Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock writes that Sir James Outram was just in time "to witness the charge of the Fusiliers." And to the Fusiliers has hitherto been given the whole credit. General Frederick A. Willis, C.B., in a letter to the *Times*, dated 23rd March 1890, however states:—"That General Outram when he came up complimented the 84th and Madras Fusiliers for the dash and gallantry they had displayed in the capture of these guns." General Frederick Willis, when he was Captain Frederick Willis and at the time commanding the 84th Regiment, in a letter, dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857, wrote as follows:—"Maude worked his guns very bravely and steadily. I was in a native house when a gallant young Lance-Corporal came running up and said, 'Oh, Sir! the Madras Fusiliers

On Tytler regaining his feet he became aware that two of the enemy's guns behind the Yellow House were opening upon the bridge from our right rear. He promptly made his way through the brigade to General Havelock and reported to him on the advisability of their being immediately captured by infantry; "as from their situation, no artillery could be brought to bear upon them: and their fire was telling with fearful effect on the rear of our column and train of baggage, crowded in a narrow road between walls." * The General directed him to order the nearest available regiment to take the guns. The 90th were at hand and he guided them to the spot. The rebels were strongly posted, but headed by their gallant commander, Campbell,† with Tytler holding on by the mane of his horse, the 90th made a rush and took the two guns in the face of a heavy fire of grape. Olpherts who with conspicuous gallantry had assisted in their capture carried them off in triumph attached to his spare limbers through a most galling cross-fire of musketry from the loopholes of neighbouring houses and walled gardens.‡ For this act of gallantry

Captu guns the 9(Light Infan

Capta Olphe carries the gu

(who had not as yet been in the front) are ordered up to spike the battery. We can't let them go in front of the 84th.' 'Certainly not,' I said, 'if you will collect eight or ten men, I will go over the bridge with you. We got some men, and as the Fusiliers came up we all charged together. (This is not known, and it was thought the Madras Fusiliers were the only people first up. General Neill, though, knew some of the 84th were there, for he saw us start; but, alas! for me and the regiment, he was killed late in the evening, otherwise we should have been particularly mentioned, for we fought all the day under his eyes). As we rushed into the road we received a shower of grape, which took five men on my right, and cut their legs right from under them. I was struck above the left knee and came down, but picked myself up, and finding no bones broken, rushed on for bare life, and we were all cheering like madmen, and that one round was the last the enemy fired from those guns: the battery was ours, and the Lance-Corporal shot down a gunner just as he was going to fire another gun. I have recommended him for distinguished conduct, and he has also got the Cross; he continually deserved it, for I never met a more untiring skirmisher, always in front, and always gallant."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B.

* Letter from Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, Great Malvern, Worcestershire, 14th August 1859.—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 562.

† "Colonel Campbell, commanding the 90th Light Infantry, had won his C.B. in the Crimea, and was a very intelligent and capable, as well as a brave officer. He was wounded, later in the day, by a ball below his knee, from which he afterwards died in the Residency."—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and John W. Sherer, C.S.I., volume II, page 299.

‡ Extract from despatch by Brigadier Eyre, commanding Artillery at Lucknow, between September 1857 and March 1858.

Olpherts received the Victoria Cross.* "Bravery is a poor and insufficient epithet to apply to a valour such as yours," wrote Outram.

The 78th Highlanders were told to hold the bridge and occupy the adjacent houses until all the troops and baggage had passed and then to follow protecting the rear. The main column with Outram and Havelock at their head turned sharply to the right and advanced along the narrow lane skirting the canal. Ankle deep in slush they slowly proceeded and great was the difficulty in dragging the heavy guns over the soft ground. The wheels often sank deep in the ruts and Olpherts kept alive the spirits of the men as they did the tedious work of extricating them by telling them "The sound of your guns is music to the ladies at Lucknow." † The column followed the sandy lanes by the canal until it debouched on the Dilkoosha road near the 32nd hospital. Leaving the 32nd barracks on the left they followed the road across the open country to the Secundra Bagh and thence, still

Route of the main column with Outram and Havelock

* Field Force Orders by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., Commanding, 9th (14th?) October 1857 :—

Brigadier-General Havelock, in virtue of the power delegated to him in General Orders, whilst he commanded the Allahabad Moveable Column and Oudh Field Force as separate bodies, has been pleased to award the Victoria Cross to the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates—

1. Captain William Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, for highly distinguished conduct on the 25th of September 1857, when the troops penetrated into the City of Lucknow, in having charged a battery of the enemy's guns, at the head of a party of the 90th Light Infantry, in face of a heavy fire of grape, and afterwards returning, under a severe cross-fire of musketry, to bring limbers and horses to carry off the captured ordnance, which he accomplished.

Field Force Orders by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., 17th October 1857 :—

1. In consequence of subsequent information laid before Brigadier-General Havelock, he is pleased to modify, as follows, paragraph 1 of Field Force Orders of the 9th inst nt (*sic*). Order Books will be carefully corrected accordingly.

Paragraph 1 of Field Force Orders, dated 9th October 1857.—Captain William Olpherts, Bengal Artillery, for highly distinguished conduct on the 25th September 1857, when the troops penetrated into the city of Lucknow, in having charged, on horseback, with Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, when gallantly headed by Colonel Campbell, it captured two guns, in the face of a heavy fire of grape; and returned, under a severe cross-fire of musketry, to bring up limbers and horses to carry off the captured ordnance, which they accomplished.—"Memories of the Mutiny," by Colonel F. C. Maude, V.C., C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., page 559.

† "We had stopped once or twice on our way round the outskirts to let the heavy guns close up, and at one of these halts the General (Neill) was repeatedly cheered by his men and the artillerymen, which made him very happy, and he laughed so when Captain Olpherts (who is a splendid officer) called out to his men, 'The sound of your guns is music to the ladies in Lucknow.' "—"Lives of Indian officers," by John William Kaye, volume II, page 406.

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clinging to the road which there makes a sharp angle to the left, they entered a walled passage in front of the pile of buildings surrounded by a lofty wall known by the name of Moti Mahal.* The enemy had evidently been taken by surprise by the route adopted, because from the Char Bagh no serious opposition was made till the Moti Mahal was reached. Then the enemy plied them with grape shot from four guns posted in front of Cæsar's Garden (Kaiser Bagh), the palace of the King of Oudh,† and musketry from the Khoorsheyd Munzil, the Palace of the Sun, a strongly built house distant a few hundred yards due north.‡ Two of the heavy guns under Major Eyre opened on the Kaiser Bagh battery and silenced it. The force halted and intelligence arrived that the 78th with the rear-guard were strongly pressed. A party was sent back to meet and guide them, but the day wore away and no evidence of their presence could be found. Then, about three, the Highlanders were seen moving along the road in front of the palaces on the left flank, and an order went forth that the forces without the wounded, baggage, and heavy guns was to start again. Leaving the Moti Mahal they went, concealed from the view of the enemy, along a narrow lane, and then through the grounds of Mr. Money's house till they struck one of the main roads. As they emerged they were greeted by a lively artillery and musketry salute. A large massive gate near the King's stable marred their advance. For a time it resisted the efforts of Captain Olpherts, who was foremost with the men of his battery, to blow it open. "At length it yielded to his endeavours and the insurgents who had been concealed within it were despatched." The column pushed on under the rush of shells, shrapnel and bullets; officers, men and horses fell faster and faster; but they bore onwards till a narrow passage leading to the Chuttur Munzil § brought them out of the jaws of death. Here they halted, sheltered

* "The Moti Mahal," or Pearl Palace, includes three buildings. The one which on account of the pearl shape of its dome gave the name to the whole pile stands on the north of the enclosure. It was built by Saadut Ali Khan who was the first Vizier who received in 1819 the title of King of Oudh from the British Government. The narrow passage is now a road and the wall has dropped.

† "Kaiser Bagh," a stucco palace built by the last King of Oudh. It was commenced in 1848 and completed in 1850.

‡ It was the Mess-House of the 32nd.

§ Chuttur Munzil, or Umbrella house, so called from the gilt umbrellas (*chutturs*) or domes which crown the summit. It was built by Nasir-ud-deen (1827) for a seraglio, and it was surrounded by a strong high brick wall intended to secure the seclu sion of the mates.

by the brick walls which lined the lane, and waited for the 78th to join them.

The 78th at the Char Bridge

As long as the main column were in sight the 78th had been unmolested at the Char Bridge, and they employed themselves in throwing into the canal the guns which they had captured. They were so occupied when the rebels suddenly came down the Cawnpore Road in force and attacked them. For three hours they were engaged in a destructive contest, for the enemy were posted in a little temple from which they poured a heavy musketry fire. Then the Highlanders could no longer stand long on the defensive and they went forth with an irresistible rush and carried the shrine by storm. But the rebels, not to be beaten, brought up their field pieces and continued the fight for another hour. While this combat was in progress, all the rear with the companies of the 90th that formed its guard had crossed the bridge and marched on.

The Highlanders had right well done the duty assigned to them. But, still eager for the fray, they again became the assailants and dashing forward they captured the guns, and running them to the canal hurled them also into the water. Then they set forth to join the column. But the last hour of fighting had caused them to lose the touch of the main body, and when they emerged from the narrow lane by the canal all trace was lost. Here they found two roads. Instead of taking the one to the Secundra Bagh as the main body had done, they turned sharp to the left and entered the narrow street called Huzerutgunge. All at once the tall houses seemed a flame and a hail of bullets fell on them. Ensign Kerbey carrying the Queen's colours was shot down. As he fell the colour was grasped by a bandsman named Glen, from whom it was taken by Sergeant Reid. A few paces further, and Sergeant Reid was struck. Assistant Surgeon Valentine M'Master seized the colours and rushing forward joined his comrades as they pressed on returning the fire.* Above the ring of the musket and the rifle could be heard the roar of guns to the front and right. Louder grew the booming as the Highlanders advanced up the street. Then suddenly they burst into a wide open space and through the smoke they saw on their flank an entrenched battery in front of the great gateway of the Kaiser Bagh. It was hard at work firing on the main column as they emerged from the narrow track between the Moti Mahal and the Mess-House. Forward the Highlanders swept and stormed the battery. After spiking

*"Havelock," by Archibald Forbes, page 195.

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Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

KHÂS BAZÁR, LUCKNOW, 1857.

The street by which General Havelock entered the Residency.

the largest gun they pressed on to the right till they joined Outram and Havelock opposite the engine house near where Bruce's bridge *now stands.*

The sun had set and the dark hour of night was coming swiftly upon them. Five hundred yards in front was the Bailey Guard, the goal of long toil and grievous labour, and Havelock and his men were anxious to win it at once.* Outram more than fearless in battle, being familiar with the ground foresaw the awful sacrifice of life the forcing of the narrow street would entail. He therefore suggested a halt of a few hours' duration in order to enable the rear-guard with which were all the heavy guns, baggage, and wounded to come up. By that time he reasoned the Chuttur Munzil would be in their possession and from that post the light artillery would have kept down the fire from the Kaiser Bagh, and the force could have worked their way to the Residency by opening communication through the intervening palaces, "in a less brilliant manner, it is true, but with comparatively little loss." † At the same time he offered to show the way through the street, if Havelock preferred it. Havelock preferred it, and with the "ultimate sanction" of Outram he ordered the main body of the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs to advance, for they had, owing to having entered the

* "The opportunity to rest, though at first acceptable to the wearied soldiers soon became irksome, so great was their eagerness to reach our desired goal, the Baillie Guard. This was evident from the numerous murmurs amongst the mass of men now exposed to the enemy's fire in several directions."—"Journal of an English officer in India," by Major North, page 198.

† Havelock in his official report states :—"Darkness was coming on and Sir James Outram at first proposed to halt within the courts of the Mehal for the night."—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 222. For Mehal Havelock no doubt meant the Chuttur Munzil. In a private letter written a few days after the relief Havelock writes :—"Night was coming on, and Sir James was desirous of halting and passing the dark hours in the palace of *Furreed Buksh.* But I so urgently represented the importance of achieving at once a communication with the beleaguered garrison and restoring their confidence, that I prevailed."—"Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock," by John Clark Marshman, page 426. The *Furreed Buksh* was in immediate juxtaposition to the Chuttur Munzil. When Havelock's despatch was published, Outram wrote a letter to the Commander-in-Chief in which he stated: "I proposed a halt of only a few hours' duration, in order to enable the rear-guard, with which were all our heavy guns, the baggage, and the doolies containing our wounded, to come up, by which time the whole force would have occupied the Chuttur Munzil in security, which we were then holding, and from which we could have effected our way to the Residency by opening communication through the intervening palaces; in a less brilliant manner, it is true, but with comparatively little loss; at the same time offering to show the way through the street, if he preferred it."—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, Appendix C.

passage last, become the head of the column. The lane led into a courtyard surrounded by flat-roofed houses with a lofty archway at the centre of the far end. As the troops entered the courtyard a heavy musketry was opened from the tops of the houses, and through loopholes in the parapet that ran along the top of the archway. "This fire knocked down numbers of our poor soldiers; and the fire that we gave in return was useless, as the sepoys were protected by the parapet that ran along the whole front of the flat-roofed houses; and the houses themselves had all the doorways on the other side, so could not be entered from where we were." * General Neill sat his horse near the archway giving orders, with consummate coolness, meant to prevent too hasty a rush through the archway. One of the guns had not been got out of the lane. He sent an officer back to see what was the reason of the delay. As he turned his head to watch for its appearance a mutineer took a steady aim at him through a loophole in the archway, fired, and the bullet struck Neill on the head behind and a little above the left ear. Then, like an ash that on the crest of a far-seen hill is smitten with the axe of bronze, even so he fell, and his body was brought to the ground, as his frightened horse galloped towards the lane.

Death of General Neill

On going through the archway Olpherts posted his gun, and the Highlanders and Sikhs led by Outram and Havelock pushed forward towards the Residency. The guns of the enemy at the Kaiser Bagh smote them from the rear. Olpherts boldly answered, but his one gun could not keep down their fire.† Many officers and men went down. On reaching the Khas Bazar the head of the column was met in front by a crushing fire. Then the Highlanders drove forward through the narrow street, heedless of the bullets poured upon them from every window and the missiles hurled on them from the flat roofs of the houses. They rushed in all their eagerness beyond the turning that led to the Residency. Outram quickly halted the leading companies and ordered them to fall back. Then, placing himself at the head of the centre companies, he led them, followed by the rear companies and Brasyer's Sikhs, down the right path and they pressed straight onwards, slaying and being slain as they went, till they reached the Bailey Guard and the goal was won.

* "Lives of Indian officers," by John William Kaye, volume I, page 408.

† Extract from a letter addressed by Sir James Outram to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated Alumbagh, 2nd January 1858.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, Appendix C.



Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Besto.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896

While the Highlanders and Sikhs were running the fiery gauntlet, the remainder of the column with the guns whose advance had been stopped by deep trenches cut across the street were being guided by Lieutenant Moorsom* by a comparatively sheltered street parallel to Outram's route. After crossing the Paeen Bagh or Lower Garden, they went past the palaces till they reached the enemy's battery near the Clock Tower. The rebels taken in reverse slung the guns round. "At that moment, from the right hand corner, I saw the unmistakeable light of a port-fire and the semicircle it described as it was lowered to the vent of a gun : so I was not surprised when a shower of case-shot came whistling in our faces, and I tried my best to get together a dozen men to charge the gun before they could re-load it. But the man who fired it, and I believe he was alone, disappeared in the darkness." Through the abandoned Clock Tower the column marched straight to the Bailey Guard gate. Faint with heat and excessive toil, and many staggering under wounds, the soldiers threw themselves on the ground to rest while a portion of the barricade was being removed—"the moon rising calm and bright above us, and looking down coldly on our entry when at length all obstacles were removed."

Lieute[nant] Aitken sallies forth w[ith] a part[y of] sepoys

As the column was advancing Lieutenant Aitken of the 13th Native Infantry heard at the Bailey Guard the shouts of our men and sallied forth with a party of his sepoys to meet them. At the battery they met. The soldiers in the excitement of the moment unfortunately mistook the sepoys for rebels and bayoneted three of them. "It is all for the cause," said a heroic sepoy to his comrades, as his life blood flowed away. Lieutenant Aitken proceeding on with his men occupied the face buildings and the enclosures of the Tehree Kothee. Here and in the short street from the Paeen Bagh many of the force and some of

* Lieutenant William Moorsom "had conducted a successful survey of the city in 1856 and had executed an admirable map of a large portion of the city immediately surrounding the Residency, including the palaces of Furreed Buksh, &c., and part of the suburbs in that direction. It is from the survey made by him that all the plans had been derived which were of such essential service throughout the siege and during the mutiny operations" * * * "Happening to be in Calcutta at the time when General Havelock was forming his staff, Lieutenant Moorsom was placed upon it; and having most fortunately preserved rough copies of his survey he was able greatly to assist the General's operations by means of them, as well as by his own personal knowledge of the city. It was thus that he was able to guide in through the palaces the second column of Havelock's army and afterwards to lead the way when further operations in the palaces were necessary."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 338.

Lieutenant Johnson and Dr. Greenhow go out in search of the wounded

the guns remained till morning. During the night Lieutenant Johnson accompanied by his friend, Dr. Greenhow, and half of his troop of Irregular Cavalry went out in search of the wounded. They found a number who were brought in on the horses led by Johnson's troopers and were saved by this act of daring gallantry and devotion from the fate which befell many of their comrades.

The majority of the wounded, the heavy guns, and a large number of ammunition wagons were with Colonel Campbell and his small party of the 90th not exceeding 100 men, who had been left in the walled passage in front of the Moti Munzil Palace. On the evening of the 25th he sent word that he was invested by the enemy and could not advance without reinforcements. The following morning a detachment of 250 men under command of Major Simmons, 5th Fusiliers, and part of the Sikhs under Captain Brasyer were sent to reinforce him. They occupied Martin's house and garden * between Colonel Campbell's position and the Palace, but as they were unable to move from that position, Colonel Napier received orders to proceed to their assistance with 100 men of Her Majesty's 78th under Colonel Stisted and two guns of Captain Olpherts' battery and Captain Hardinge's sowars. "Captain Olpherts," Napier writes, "strongly objected to his guns being taken and on considering the reason that he offered I took it upon myself to dispense with them, merely taking spare bullocks." Olpherts accompanied the party as a volunteer. Guided by Kavanagh, a civilian well acquainted with the locality, Napier led the party by one of the side outlets of the Palaces along the river bank to Major Simmons' position under a smart fire of the enemy. A further reinforcement of some men of the 32nd under Captain Lowe, some Sikhs and 50 of the 78th also reached them. "We had an uncommonly unpleasant day of it," wrote Captain Lowe. They had got jammed up in a road between two walls, and were exposed to fire whenever anyone showed himself; and round shot were being sent

26th September

* "As we gradually emerged from the cover of the palace of the Terad (*Furhut*) Buksh we had to cross a nullah up to the waist under a very heavy fire, some being killed and wounded before we entered a house just on the other side, and called by the name of *Martin's* house; two poor Sikhs had their legs just bowled off as we were entering the house."—"Havelock's Indian Campaign," *Calcutta Review*, volume XXXII, page 39.

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Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

BAILLIE GUARD GATE, LUCKNOW, 1857.

Showing the Clock Tower and the Khâs Bazár, the street up which the relieving

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into the house our men were put into for the day. What rendered it more mortifying was that the brutes fired at us out of our old mess-house and my quarters."* Owing to the strong musketry fire it was impossible to move the guns during the day. One of the 24-pounders which had been used against the enemy the previous day was left in a most exposed position. When it grew dark Private Duffy, acting under the directions of Olpherts, crept out unobserved by the enemy and succeeded in attaching two drag ropes to the trail of the gun. They were fastened to the limbers, the bullocks were yoked, and the gun was fortunately drawn in. Whilst aiding in the operation Captain Crump, a quick and daring soldier of great intellectual power, was killed. To Private Duffy was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Under cover of the night the hospital and reserve ammunition were quickly and safely transported along the river bank to the entrenchment by a path practicable for camels and doolies, but quite impracticable for guns.† At 3 A.M. the whole force proceeded undiscovered through the enemy's posts, until the leading division had reached the outskirts of the grounds of the Chuttur Munzil; the heavy guns and wagons were safely parked in a garden, which Napier had reconnoitred the previous day. But this had hardly been done when a body of sepoys were discovered in an adjacent garden within the Chuttur Munzil enclosures by some men of the 90th, 5th Fusiliers, and 32nd, "who gallantly charged in, led by Colonel Purnell, 90th, and Captain McCabe, 32nd, and almost annihilated them, securing the garden itself as the rear of our position." A continuous position along the rear was secured. In the morning 150 men of the 32nd under Captain Lowe had been sent to clear the Captain's Bazaar and adjoining posts occupied by the enemy. The party was in three divisions—the first, under Captain Bassano, on the right; the second, in reserve, under Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry, attached to the regiment; and the third under

* "All that afternoon and night the shot and musketry were flying about like hail, while from a 32-pounder on the other side of the river shot were coming in with frightful precision, generally striking the wooden rafters of the house and sending splinters of wood here and there, frightfully wounding our brave but for the time helpless men."—*Calcutta Review*, volume XXXII, pages 39-40.

† "Captain Hardinge made several journeys to bring up fresh doolies until every sick and wounded man was removed. He also took away the camels laden with Enfield ammunition." From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding the Forces, dated Lucknow, 16th October 1857.

Lieutenant Lawrence. The first two advanced under cover of the thick bushes between our trenches and the road, while the third came out through Innes' post. The enemy being taken quite by surprise fled precipitately to the river and were nearly all shot or drowned in endeavouring to swim across the stream. Lawrence then led his party towards the iron bridge, and owing to the distinguished bravery of Corporal Samuel Cole and Private Michael Power succeeded in capturing a 9-pounder gun just as a second round of grape was about to be fired at them.* Returning with the gun Lawrence joined Lowe and then proceeded to the Captain's Bazaar and while doing so captured an 18-pounder gun. Lowe then proceeded to the Tehree Kothee with part of his men and finding it unoccupied pushed on to the Furhut Buksh palace where he found Aitken's detachment. Therefore, when Napier's men established themselves in the enclosure of the Chutter Munzil the communication between that palace and the Residency on the river face was virtually complete and measures were immediately taken to open a road for the guns through the Chuttur Munzil.

Corporal Samuel Cole and Private Michael Power

The massacre at the Dooley Square

Unhappily a single grave misadventure marred the complete success of the operations of the day. Mr. Bensley Thornhill of the Civil Service had in the morning volunteered to go out and bring in his cousin, Lieutenant Havelock, and the rest of the wounded. As he was well acquainted with Lucknow, his offer was accepted. He proceeded safely along the river bank to the Moti Munzil. On his return he missed his way and guided the bearers of the doolies containing the wounded, with the escort, into the square where Neill fell.† The moment they entered a murderous fire of musketry was poured upon them from the houses. Through the archway they rushed into the street. They were met by a more murderous fire. From a lofty building opposite the rebels plied them with such volleys of musketry that soldiers and bearers were swiftly mowed down. "They then fired upon us within a few paces so that their bullets would tear through several men." Staggered by this double fire in front and

* Captain Hughes later in the day "led a party again towards the iron bridge, and killing a great number of the enemy in the houses about spiked two large mortars which, however, he was unable to bring away. He was, as I regret to say, dangerously wounded whilst forcing a door of a house. As the party retired they blew up a large magazine of the enemy's powder." "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 276.

† It is now called "Dooley Square."

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rear the bearers threw down their loads and fled. The insurgents dashed forward then and speedily cut the wounded to pieces. One dooley containing Lieutenant Havelock and a wounded soldier of the 78th went on. Private Henry Ward insisted on it. He remained by its side and vowed he would shoot the first man who abandoned the litter. The brave deed did not go unrewarded and the Victoria Cross was bestowed on Private Henry Ward.

No sooner did Thornhill discover his grave error than he rushed back through the archway to try and turn the rear doolies. A ball broke in pieces his arm, another grazed his temple. The doolies which happily had not entered the courtyard turned back and reached the Residency. But about thirty or forty were left in the street and in the square. A body of nine sound men, two wounded officers, and three wounded soldiers rushing in the tumult through an open door found themselves in a small house and were swiftly cut off by the enemy who kept a brisk fire on the doorway. It was returned by Private McManus of the 5th Fusiliers. The steps outside the doorway being partially sheltered by a pillar, he for half-an-hour briskly returned their fire. "He killed numbers of them; and the fear of his intrepidity was so great, that he had at last often only to raise his piece to cause all the enemy to stoop and leap their loopholes." Their number grew greater and greater and closer and closer they advanced, pouring forth torrents of abuse and taunts. "Why do you not come out into the street?" they cried. Their leader called on his men to rush forward, as there were only three men in the house. "To undeceive them, we gave a loud cheer, wounded and all joining. We barricaded the doorway partly with lumber, which we found in the house, partly with sand-bags, to obtain which we stripped the dead natives close about the door of their waist-cloths. The bodies of these natives about the doorway also offered an impediment to their making a rush on us. From their position at this time the mutineers could fire freely on our doolies in the square." In one of the doolies lay Captain Arnold of the Madras Fusiliers. Private Ryan was sorely distressed at the cruel fate that awaited one of his officers and he called for a volunteer to assist him in removing him. McManus had been wounded but he instantly came forward. The barricade was removed. The two rushed across the gateway through the deadly fire into the square. They tried to lift the dooley but found

Private Ryan

it beyond their strength. They then took Arnold out of the litter and carried him to the house. "The ground was torn by musket-balls about them, but they effected their return in safety, though Captain Arnold received a second wound through the thigh while in their arms. A wounded soldier was also brought in, in this way, and he also, poor fellow, received two mortal wounds while being carried in; the men who carried them miraculously escaping."

Private Hollowell

An hour passed and three out of the nine had received wounds which disabled them. Private Hollowell of the 78th was unshaken. He besought his comrades not to lose heart as he continued firing on the foe. The moment the rebels left their shelter to make a rush, he with unerring aim brought down one of them and they scuttled back. Again they came out and he laid low their leader. "He was quite an old man dressed in white, with a red 'cummerbund' (waistband) and armed with sword and shield." Then the noise in the street ceased. A quarter of an hour passed, not a shot broke the stillness. Then a dull rolling noise in the street was heard. It sounded as if the enemy were bringing down a gun. It turned out to be a screen on wheels "against which at the distance of a few yards a Minie rifle had no effect." They rolled it against the door, and then proceeded to mount the roof, scrape through the plaster, and throw quantities of lighted straw into the room. It was quickly filled with volumes of stifling smoke and set ablaze. "Thus situated we knew not what to do. Numerous plans were suggested and abandoned. At last we raised the three most helpless among the wounded and dragging them after us rushed from the back-door which led into the square." They reached a shed on the north side of the square. During the rush Lieutenant Swanson of the 78th received a second wound of which he died. The party now consisted of Dr. A. C. Home, of Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, and six men capable of using arms; four of the wounded were "capable of standing sentry." The first house in which they took shelter commanded the archway and they were able to prevent the rebels from entering the square and murdering the wounded. But now they were no longer able to protect them and the rebels rushing into the square butchered them. After the bloody work was over the enemy again opened fire on them through the doorways and numerous loopholes in the walls. They dug holes in the roof of the shed and fired down on them. To escape instant death the few survivors broke through a mud wall into a courtyard on the north side, "where we providentially found two

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pots of water." They were soon discovered by the enemy and driven back into the shed. Darkness had now fallen. The enemy ceased firing but their footsteps could be heard as they paced backwards and forwards on the roof over their heads. The dead bodies of sepoys lay mingled among the living and wounded, "some of them delirious." Brief was the respite allowed them for repose, a repose broken by the frequent alarm that "the enemy was approaching." And then they again sank "to sleep from exhaustion." About 2 A.M. they were roused by the sound of heavy firing near them and the rush of the enemy over their heads. Relief had come at last. Instantly the cry arose "Europeans," "Europeans!" They then gave one loud cheer and shouted "Charge them!" "Charge them!" "Keep on your right." The firing suddenly ceased. The last gleam of hope vanished away. To attempt to carry away the wounded was hopeless. They resigned themselves to their fate. Dawn broke. Soon after they heard firing in the distance. "This time it had no effect upon us." Nearer and nearer it approached. Then Ryan suddenly jumping up, shouted: "Och boys! them's our own chaps!" "We then all jumped up and united in a cheer, and kept shouting to keep on their right. At the same time we fired at the loopholes from which the enemy were firing. In about three minutes we saw Captain Moorsom appear at the entrance hole of the shed and beckoning to him he entered, and then by his admirable arrangements we were all brought off safely, and soon after reached the palace with the rear-guard of the 90th Regiment." *

Losses sustained by Havelock's Force

This was the last event in what is known in history as the First Relief of Lucknow. The bringing in of the wounded and the heavy guns greatly increased the severity of the losses. In his despatch, dated the 30th of September, Havelock wrote:—"The killed, wounded and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers who, I much fear—some, or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe †—amounted up to the evening of the 26th to 535 officers and men." Of this number 31 officers and 504 men had been killed or wounded in the advance from Alumbagh and 207 had been killed outright during the six days

* "Account given by Dr. A. C. Home, of Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, of the defence made by a party belonging to the escort which accompanied the doolies and wounded on the 26th September."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 323.

† All the missing were of course killed. Outram put the rear-guard casualties at 61 killed and 77 missing.

of continual fighting that followed the crossing of the Ganges.* The loss in officers killed and wounded was specially serious. Colonel Tytler and Lieutenant Havelock were severely wounded: Colonel Campbell, in command of the 90th, was shot in the leg and died after suffering amputation of the limb. "For promptitude and vigour of action, cool judgment and impetuous bravery he was pre-eminent." Major Cooper, Brigadier Commanding Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bazeley, a volunteer with the force, were killed. Captain Pakenham of the 84th, an able officer and devoted soldier, was shot dead, as he was cheering his men on, when entering the city. "Of him it might with truth be said that he 'foremost fighting fell.'" Many noble soldiers fell that day. But the bravest of the brave was Neill. He had during his short but active career in Bengal, "made himself," as Lord Canning wrote, "conspicuous as an intelligent, prompt and gallant soldier, ready of resource and stout of heart." But a far finer testimony than any a Governor-General could pen remains of his worth and bears witness to the devotion of the men to their favourite commander. A soldier of the 78th Highlanders wrote on September 28th to his brother: "And here, when success had crowned our efforts, shocking to relate, our brave General Neill fell. He was an honour to the country, and the idol of the British Army."

Success was bought at a heavy sacrifice of life. But Havelock's veterans enjoyed something even greater than the glory of victory. They had the proud consciousness of having by their indomitable spirit baffled the strength of a highly disciplined army, and of having delivered from death a host of women and children. "Rarely has a commander," wrote Lord Canning, "been so fortunate as to relieve by his success so many aching hearts, or to reap so rich a reward of gratitude as will deservedly be offered to Brigadier-General Havelock and his gallant band, wherever their triumph shall become known." The story of their triumph is well known wherever our English is spoken, and the more its history be examined the more will it be seen to be one of the most sublime episodes in our national history. The nature of the British soldier was then seen at its very best.

The wasted garrison in the Residency entrenchment had now been reinforced by more than two thousand men, but neither their dangers

* "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B.

nor their privations were at an end. With the increase in troops the circuit of the position had to be enlarged. On the 26th of September Outram assumed command of the forces, and on the 27th September the palaces extending along the lines of the river from the Residency to near the Kaiser Bagh, were occupied by our troops. These palaces, as mere shelter, gave excellent accommodation, as a military position they had great disadvantages. The northern face was well protected by the River Goomtee, but the east and the south-east faces were surrounded by buildings and in contact with the city. "The position was too extensive for our force, nearly all of which was occupied in guarding it; but it was susceptible of no reduction, so that most desirable as it was that we should have occupied some of the interior buildings as flanking defences, we were unable to do so, but were obliged to confine ourselves to the palaces and gardens and to erect precautionary defences against any means of annoyance the enemy could devise."

26th September
27th September

At 2 P.M. on September 27th, the Madras Fusiliers were ordered to parade for a sortie under command of Major Stephenson of the same regiment, for the purpose of capturing the Garden Battery opposite to our Cawnpore battery. A few men of Her Majesty's 32nd, under Lieutenant Warne, 7th Bengal Cavalry, Captain Kemble, 41st Bengal Infantry, Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal Engineers, and Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, accompanied the party. Some artillerymen under the command of Captain Evans, to explode the guns, and two sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry under the order of Lieutenant McLeod Innes with picks to help in knocking down obstacles should it be necessary also accompanied them. The party proceeded through the Tehree Kotee across the road in rear of the Clock Tower and then took ground to the right. Immediately they had crossed the road they became exposed to the enemy's fire from a large house. It was attacked, but instead of being taken possession of, it was merely passed through. On debouching from the house the party found themselves on the road in front of an embrasure with a gun in it which poured forth grape. Headed by Major Stephenson, the soldiers rushed in and the enemy abandoned the gun. As the bursting party had not come up, Captain Evans was compelled merely to spike it. Meanwhile a party under Captain Fraser proceeded to reconnoitre a little further, when they came on another battery of the enemy consisting of a 24-pounder and an 18-pounder gun. These two were

27th September Sortie against the Garden Battery.

Sergeant Lidster Corporal William Dowling

abandoned and Sergeant Lidster, Madras Fusiliers, spiked the former and Corporal Dowling the latter, " being at the same time under a most heavy fire from the enemy." * From all around the enemy poured upon them their missiles, and Captain Fraser sent back to Major Stephenson to say he required a reinforcement. On this Captain Galway proceeded with a few men to the spot. He found that owing to the number of the enemy it was impossible to hold the position. He returned and reported this to Major Stephenson, who ordered the party to retire on the main body. " One of the Madras Fusiliers sergeants being badly wounded, Captain Galway, Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, Private Smith, Her Majesty's 32nd, and myself," writes Lieutenant Warner, " with great difficulty managed to get him back to the main body. This private was, I regret to say, killed in the retreat." † Major Stephenson then ordered us to retreat, " which was done by the same route by which we had advanced. During the retreat, we were exposed to a heavy fire from the houses. The conduct of Corporal Cooney and Private Smith of the 32nd, who were both killed, was most noble." The first sortie was a comparative failure and " without a much larger body of men the complete conquest and destruction of the whole Garden Battery could not have been accomplished."

Private Smith

The column

28th September

On the 28th, the Palace buildings extending in the direction of the Khar Bazaar, were explored by Captain Morrison who, with a party of 50 men of the 90th, and 5th Fusiliers, gallantly drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet, killing a considerable number of them. Captain Morrison then placed a picket in a house commanding the Cheena and Khar Bazaars.

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* From Captain M. Galway, commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers, to the Deputy Adjutant-General, dated Lucknow, November 1857.—" Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 272. Memorandum regarding the sorties of the 27th September, dated Chuttur Munzil, 8th November 1857. J. McLeod Innes, Lieutenant, Engineers.—" Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 281. From Lieutenant A. C. Warner, Adjutant, 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain Wilson, Official Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison, dated Lucknow, 7th November 1857. —" IndianMutiny," volume II, page 280.

† From Lieutenant A. C. Warner, Adjutant, 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain Wilson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison, dated Lucknow, 7th November 1857.—" Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 280. " One Sergeant severely wounded, and since dead, must have been left on the ground had not a private of the 32nd Regiment in the most gallant manner, with the assistance of Captain Galway, taken him up and carried him to a place of safety." From Captain M. Galway, commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.—" Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 229.

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On the following day three sorties were made simultaneously, one from the left Square Brigade Mess, the other from the Sikh Square to the right of the Brigade Mess, and a third from the Redan, towards the iron bridges. At daybreak the party intending to take the guns to the front and right of the Brigade Mess and Sikh Square fell in and filed out of the Third Sikh Square. The advance consisted of 20 men of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment under Lieutenant Cooke, the main body of 140 men of Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders under Captain Lockhart and the reserve of ninety men of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Captain Galway. Lieutenant Innes commanded the Engineers, and Lieutenant J. Alexander the Artillery. Major Apthorp, Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Ousely, knowing the ground, accompanied the force. The men of the 32nd, creeping forward under cover of some broken ground, suddenly burst forth with a cheer and, led by Lieutenant Cook and Private Kelly, captured the first gun, a brass 12-pounder, and the 32nd, by occupying a house in the rear, enabled the artillery to burst it unmolested. The enemy then rallied round a gun to the right, but the 78th Highlanders led by Captain Lockhart, who was slightly wounded, swept forward and, before the rebels could reload it, Sergeant James Young bayoneted one of the gunners and the gun was taken.* The leading Highlanders rushed on to the right, but their progress was again barred by a small gun and some wall pieces at the end of a narrow lane. After a difficult detour Lieutenant Ousely, 48th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Aitken, 18th Native Infantry, took these pieces in flank by getting into a house above them, and "with a cheer and volley routed the enemy." "This manœuvre was most skilfully and gallantly executed. Sergeant Higgins, with four men of the Madras Fusiliers, and Private Brown, 32nd, are stated to have been the first men at the gun. Mr. Lucas, a volunteer well known for his bravery, was mortally wounded here."† Major Apthorp and Captain Forbes, with the Fusiliers under Captain Galway, occupied the houses commanding the guns, which were dismantled from their carriages and sent into the garrison. The batteries and barricades were destroyed, the houses blown up, and under cover of the falling

28th September. Three sorties. Sortie from Third Sikh Square

Lieutenant Cook and Private Kelly

Sergeant James Young, 78th Highlanders

Sergeant Higgins

* "Sergeant James Young, 78th Highlanders, the first man at the gun, bayoneted one of the enemy's gunners while re-loading, and was severely wounded by a sword cut." From Lieutenant C. Hardinge, commanding Irregular Cavalry, to Colonel Napier, Chief of the Staff, dated Lucknow, 22nd October 1857.

† "One heavy gun was burst, three smaller ones and some wall pieces were brought in." From Lieutenant G. Hardinge, commanding Irregular Cavalry, to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 289.

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ruins, the party returned unmolested "having examined and cleared the guns from the whole of the front of Mr. Gubbins' house."

Sortie from left Square

Meanwhile the party, consisting of 200 men, with a reserve of 150 men, under the command of Captain McCabe, had crept forth from the left Square Brigade Mess with the object of destroying the enemy's guns in front of the Cawnpore Battery, and on the left of the Cawnpore Road. The advance was made in file over the débris of a house which had been blown up during the siege. There before them lay behind a breastwork an 18-pounder gun. No sooner did the rebels catch sight of their foe than they sent two rounds at them. Before they could fire again the soldiers had scaled the battery and pushed them out at the point of the bayonet. A large building lay to their left. McCabe, "the gallant leader of many sorties," drove the enemy out of the lower storey, but was mortally wounded in the operation. Several others were killed and wounded before the house was completely taken. Leaving a picket of 25 men to guard it, Major Simmons, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, with the main body, proceeded along a narrow lane with the object of occupying two large buildings 70 or 80 yards in front of the house. Leading his men into the more advanced buildings, Simmons was killed by a musket shot. The party had now reached a position from which they had a view of the enemy's 18-pounder gun in front of the Cawnpore batteries. It lay in a lane running towards the Cawnpore Road, the end of which was barricaded and loopholed; and directly in line with it on the opposite side of the road, the enemy occupied a house from which they kept up a hot musketry fire on our position. "Lieutenant Anderson, the Garrison Engineer, sent for the reserve and desired that an officer of rank to command the whole party should accompany it. Outram, who had become acquainted with the progress of the party, sent word that unless further advance could be made without danger of considerable loss, the design of proceeding against the enemy's gun in view, should be abandoned and that the party should retire after destroying in succession the houses they had seized." This was done. Two of the enemy's guns were destroyed, three large houses demolished, and the party gradually withdrawing to the rear, reached the garrison about 9 A.M. The two sorties from the Brigade Mess had cleared a range of about 300 yards, which was of great service to the front of the entrenchment.*

Captain McCabe mortally wounded

Major Simmons killed

* There lay before Outram when he assumed the command, a problem not easy to solve yet demanding immediate attention.

The third sortie from Innes' post did not prove as successful as Outram wished. Its principal object was to secure the iron bridge and to open communications with well-wishers in the city. The party started about daybreak from the Redan battery, along the road to the iron bridges, and as it advanced, it took and spiked two mortars and four guns of small calibre. The party then quitted the road and advanced against the 24-pounder gun opposite Innes' post, which had so long battered that building, the Residency, the churches and Gubbins' house, and done immense injury during the siege. It was captured and the houses near, having been occupied, it was destroyed successfully. The houses to the rear of the party leading from the iron bridge were, however, owing to an order not being carried out, now occupied and a very heavy fire being opened from them the party was compelled to withdraw after sustaining a very heavy loss. **Sortie from Innes' post**

It was the urgent desire of the Government that the garrison should be relieved, the women and children amounting to upwards of 470 souls should be withdrawn. But Outram, taking into consideration the heavy loss at which the troops forced their way through the enemy, rightly concluded that it would be impossible to carry off the sick, wounded, women and children amounting to 1,500 souls. "Want of carriages," as he wrote, "alone rendered the transport through five miles of despoiled suburb an impossibility." *

There remained but two alternatives. The first was to reinforce the Lucknow garrison with 300 men and, leaving everything behind him, to cut his way with the remains of the infantry to Alum Bagh. The reasons against this course were grave and cogent. Outram would have left the garrison in a worse plight than when he arrived by the addition of a larger number of wounded to feed, as well as 300 soldiers. These 300 would be sufficient to afford the additional protection required, but they would not have added such strength as would have enabled the garrison to make an active defence, to repel attack by sorties or to prevent the enemy from occupying the whole of their own positions. It was impossible for Outram to leave behind more men, for with a smaller force he had little hope of making good his way back, even with severe loss. He, therefore, accepted the second alternative which was to remain in the Residency till succour should come, enforce supplies of provisions if they could not be obtained

* From Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., to his Excellency Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, dated Lucknow, 30th September 1857.

voluntarily, and to maintain himself and his men, even on reduced rations, until reinforcements advanced to their relief.

The failure to secure the iron bridges deprived Outram of the hope of receiving a voluntary supply of food from the city, and at the same time he got a message from the Alum Bagh detachment, saying that they were in urgent need of provisions. He, therefore, determined to open out communication with them and ordered the cavalry to make their way to Alum Bagh. They, however, found the investment so strong and close that all their attempts failed and they had to return to the entrenchments. Outram then determined to work his way from house to house along the Cawnpore Road. To accomplish this it was first indispensable to capture Phillip's house and garden with its powerful battery which faced our Cawnpore battery on the south and flanked the Cawnpore road.

18th October, attack on Phillip's Garden and Battery

In the afternoon of the 18th October the column for this object, under the command of Colonel Napier, formed in the road leading to the Paen Bagh and advanced through the buildings near the jails, occupying the main houses on the left and front of the garden. Meanwhile the enemy were driven from some houses and a barricade on the left of our advance by 50 men of the Madras Fusiliers "led by Lieutenant Groom, under a sharp fire of musketry, in a very spirited manner."* The houses in front were found to be strongly barricaded and in many cases the doors were bricked up. It was, therefore, late before the attacking force had worked a way to a point from which they could command the enemy's position. A party of the enemy was driven out, and a row of loopholes was commenced immediately, and the ground examined right and left. Attempts to penetrate the garden to the left were ineffectual; to the right an opening was obtained which disclosed that the enemy's batteries were separated from the column by a narrow lane, some 12 or 15 feet below the garden; the latter was surrounded by a deep mud wall with buildings attached. The face of the battery was scarped and quite inaccessible without ladders. A

* It consisted of the following troops—"Detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; 32nd, 64th, 78th and 90th Regiments and the Hon'ble East India Company's 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th; Captain Thule, Her Majesty's 64th, and Captain Raikes, Madras Fusiliers, amounting to 568 men; Lieutenant Limond, Engineers, and Lieutenant Tulloch, Acting Assistant Field Engineer, attended the column, with a party of five miners of Her Majesty's 32nd, and a party of artillery, under Sergeant Smith, with means of bursting guns."—From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding the Forces.—"Indian Mutiny," volume I, page 265.

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heavy fire was kept up from the face of the battery and the lane was blocked by a strong barricade." As it was dark, and a direct attack would be certain to cost many lives, Colonel Napier determined to wait till daylight before assaulting the battery. The position was duly secured, and the men occupied the buildings for the night.*

In the morning, after arranging with the artillery to open fire from the entrenchment, the troops advanced. From the barricade flanking the lane on the left the enemy opened a terrible fire, but a company, under Lieutenant Creagh, Madras Fusiliers, turned it by the Cawnpore Road. "The troops then doubled through the lane and, led by Captain Thule, Her Majesty's 64th, and Lieutenant Brown, 5th Fusiliers, found a way through a stockade into the enemy's battery and drove the rebels out of it. Phillip's house was occupied without further opposition. Leaving a picket in possession, the troops advanced on the guns which had been withdrawn to the end of the garden and to the street adjoining. The rebels defended them with musketry and grape, but our men under Private McHall of the 5th Fusiliers charged, for a minute or two they fought, and the guns were ours. "They were immediately dragged to the garden and burst, their carriages completely destroyed and their ammunition sent to the entrenchment. "Phillip's house was blown up by a party under Lieutenant Innes, Engineers, and at dark the troops withdrew to their position of the previous night." † The capture and destruction of Phillip's house was effected with the comparatively trifling loss of ten killed and eleven wounded, "a result which," as Outram wrote, "was due to the careful and scientific disposition of Colonel Napier, under whose personal guidance the operation was conducted." ‡ It was impossible to estimate the loss of the enemy.

On the following morning Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, 3rd
commenced to work from house to house with the crowbars and October

* From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding the Forces, dated Lucknow, 5th October 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 265.

"The sortie of the 29th had already cleared the flank on the other side of the Cawnpore road.—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, V.C., page 234.

† From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding the Forces.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 265.

‡ From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., commanding Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.—"Indian Mutiny," *see* page 244.

4th October

the pickaxe. On the 4th October this gallant officer was mortally wounded and his successor, Major Stephenson, disabled. During the whole of the 5th, these proceedings were continued, on the 6th they were relinquished. It was found that a large mosque strongly occupied by the enemy required more extensive operations for its capture than were expedient. Outram also had now been relieved from his most pressing burden. The strict scrutiny of the Commissariat stores which he had ordered, revealed the fact that the amount of provisions had been under-estimated. The reconnoitring party, therefore, after blowing up all the principal houses on the Cawnpore road, from which the garrison had been annoyed by musketry, gradually withdrew to the position in front of Phillip's Garden which was retained as a permanent outpost. It not only afforded comfortable accommodation to Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, but protected a considerable portion of the entrenchment from molestation besides connecting it with the palaces occupied by General Havelock.

6th October, operations relinquished

Mining operations of the enemy in the palaces, 3rd October 5th October

During the foregoing operations, the enemy recovering from their first surprise, commenced to threaten our position in the Palaces and outposts by mining and assaults. On the 3rd October they sprang a mine near the walls of the advanced garden, which merely shook it without bringing it down. "On the 5th, they exploded a second mine which effected a considerable breach and appeared in some force with the intention of making an assault, but on the head of the column showing itself in the breach, a well directed fire from Her Majesty's 90th, caused it to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss." * They made a second practicable breach by burning down one of the gateways at which they occasionally appeared to fire a shot or two. "Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell had re-trenched both these breaches, which it became evident that the enemy had no real intention of assaulting, but they exposed the garden to so severe a musketry fire from commanding buildings on the right called Hern Khana (Deer House), that it became necessary to open trenches of communication, which were commenced by Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and his officers. On the 6th, the enemy blew up the picket overlooking the Cheena and Khar Bazaars, causing us a loss of three men and, in the confusion that ensued, penetrated in considerable numbers into the Palaces where many of them were destroyed. They are said to have lost 450 men.

* From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Oudh Field Force.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 272.

The remainder were driven back, but continued to occupy a part of the Palace buildings which had been in our possession. Of these the nearest to us was a mosque commanded by our buildings, but giving several easy means of access to our position. On the 8th, the enemy attacked from the mosque our nearest pickets; but were repulsed with loss." In order to prevent a repetition of the annoyance, Colonel Napier examined carefully, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and Captain Moorsom, other buildings connecting them with those of the enemy and they succeeded in penetrating to a vault under their position. "Where screened by the obscurity, we could see the enemy closely surrounding the entrance, and hear them in considerable numbers overhead. A charge of two barrels of powder was lodged in the vaults and was fired by Lieutenant Russell of the Bengal Engineers. The effect was *complete*; many of the enemy were blown up and their position greatly injured, while we obtained a command of the streets leading to the Khar and Cheena Bazaars, better and more secure from molestation than our previous one." * The post was immediately and securely barricaded by Captain Crommelin. It was absolutely necessary to our security to re-capture the mosque. Colonel Napier accompanied by Colonel Purnell and a small party of the 90th, and Madras Fusiliers, surprised the enemy and drove them out of it with very trifling loss on our side. It was also immediately barricaded and secured by Captain *Crommelin*.

8th October

The outpost of Her Majesty's 78th Fusiliers under Captain Lockhart was also vigorously assailed by the enemy's miners. Six days after our occupying that post the enemy began their operations at the left of our position and the men of the 78th, under the guidance of Lieutenants Hutchinson and Tulloch, were constantly at work day and night countermining against them and several galleries, on the average about five hundred feet in length were constructed. Numerous attacks of the enemy on the miners were repelled and on more than one occasion the success of the defenders was more than usual. In the night of the 10th October they broke into this gallery some twelve feet from our walls. Sergeant Day, the superintending engineer, assisted by a few men, held the entrance till Captain Lockhart arrived. Accompanied by Corporal Thompson of the 78th Highlanders, he entered the

Mining operations of the enemy at Lockhart's post

* From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, to Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force, dated Lucknow, 20th November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 272.

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enemy's gallery and observing its apparently great length, they proceeded to extinguish the lights and crept forward cautiously till they distinctly saw the enemy at the far end and to advance further would be to advance in a blaze of light "The two then laid down and waited until the preparations for exploding the mine under Lieutenant Tulloch were completed. Whilst lying there I saw a sepoy with a musket at trail advance down the mine, and when within 40 feet of him, fired at him. My pistol missed fire and before Corporal Thompson could hand me his pistol, the sepoy had retreated." As Lockhart's services were required to see the charge laid, Lieutenant Hay, of the 78th Highlanders, who commanded the picket, volunteered to take his post of observation whilst Lieutenant Tulloch and Sergeant Day quickly got the powder down. A charge of 50lbs. was laid 82 feet up the enemy's gallery, Lieutenant Hay withdrew within a partial barricade, and whilst here still watching with Corporal Thompson, he got two shots at another man who attempted to come down the mine, and apparently wounded him." The charge was soon tamped and Lieutenant Tulloch fired the mine, "a somewhat difficult task, as our bore being short, he had to retreat some sixty feet through the enemy's gallery and ours and then up the shaft." *

The efforts of the enemy's miners were foiled at all points and these efforts were neither few in number nor lacking in vigour. "I am aware," wrote Outram, "of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war: 21 shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; of these they exploded three which caused us loss of life and two which did no injury: seven have been blown in, and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners, results of which the Engineer Department may well be proud." The defence of the Palaces was a trying and noble defence to which full justice has not been done. A line of

* "In concluding this report I would respectfully bring to your notice the valuable assistance rendered by Sergeant Day of the 32nd, who was in charge of the mine, and until Lieutenant Tulloch was posted to the position acted direct under my orders. His zeal and quiet steady management of the raw recruits under him has been most commendable. I would also bring to your notice the unremitting zeal and attention to his work manifested by Lieutenant Tulloch since he has been in charge of the post, and during the period of my acting here, Lieutenant Tulloch has almost entirely unassisted by me, carried on our system of mines most successfully."—"Memorandum of work executed at Captain Lockhart's post from the first possession of it until the 21st of November 1857." G. Hutchinson, Lieutenant, Engineer, Director of Works. —"Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 293.

gardens, coverts and dwelling-houses without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defence and closely connected with the buildings of a city, were held for eight weeks not only against all the vigorous efforts of the enemy's miners, but in spite of the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances from seventy to five hundred yards. "This result," as Outram stated, "was obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quartermaster-General's Department, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a murderous fire." *

The occupation of the palace relieved the garrison of the entrenchment from all molestation on one-half of its *enceinte*, that is from the Cawnpore road to the commencement of the river front. Owing to this relief and an additional force composed of detachments of the Artillery, Volunteer Cavalry, 1st Madras Fusiliers and 78th Highlanders, but placed at the disposal of Colonel Inglis who commanded the entrenchment, he was enabled to hold at the posts three strong positions commanding the road leading to the iron bridge, "which have proved of great advantage, causing much annoyance to the enemy and keeping their musketry fire at a distance from the body of the palace." **Defence of the entrenchment**

The enemy after the capture of their batteries and the construction of our new batteries to mount additional guns, adopted a new system of tactics. Their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance and disposed so as to act not against the defences, but against the interior of the entrenchment and the moment they were searched out and silenced by our guns, their position was changed so that their shot

* From Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., commanding Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Alumbagh, 23rd November 1857. "But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier, who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation, whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers, whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades amidst those harassing labours and dangerous duties."

ranged through the old Residency. Again, as before, round shot and bullets did their work. A lady records in her diary—"An 18-pounder came through our unfortunate room, it broke the panels of the door and knocked the whole of the barricade down, upsetting everything. My dressing table was sent flying through the door, and if the shot had come a little earlier my head would have gone with it. The box where I usually sit to nurse baby was smashed flat." On the south side of the entrenchment the fire continued to be most severe and the casualties were numerous. At night the fire used often to be so heavy that every man had to be under arms to repel an attack. But now, owing to the increase of the number of the fighting men and the defences which were barely tenable having been repaired,* there was no longer any immediate danger of the place being taken by assault. Life, however, continued to be bitter and death was ever near. Scanty and unsavoury rations produced foul and mortal sickness. The stores of provisions that had been discovered had destroyed the gaunt spectre of famine, but "two scanty meals a day barely sufficient to support existence without allaying hunger" were all that could be allowed. They were denied all the little luxuries (such as tea, sugar, rum and tobacco) which by constant use had become necessaries of life. On the 26th of October the scanty scale of rations was further reduced to make them last a month. On the 26th of October, a month after Havelock and Outram had forced their way into the Residency, a gallant member of the force wrote: "*Most truly can each individually exclaim with the psalmist: 'My bones look out and stare upon me.' We have become as gaunt and lean as possible; but the wretched horses and cattle are even in worse plight. I never see the poor creatures without commiseration.*" For the dumb cattle there was pity. But of his own sufferings the British soldier made light. His spirits, cheerfulness, zeal and discipline rose with the occasion. "Never," wrote Outram, "could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing or more earnest." Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty. It was a painful sight to see so many fellows

* "The Cawnpore Battery was almost entirely reconstructed. The sheep-house and the slaughter-house batteries were completed and the mound that stretched out from Innes' post was secured by a series of zigzag trenches, which also gave an effective command over the end of the iron bridge."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, v.c., page 241.

maimed and suffering and denied these comforts of which they stood so much in need. But it was truly delightful and made me proud of countrymen to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne." * Of the women a brave soldier wrote : "*Each individual seems a heroine.*" The Relief had removed the fear of instant death, but it had not taken away the winter of their desolation or made the buds unfold and the leaves grow within. They saw their children continue to pine, waste and die for want of good food and fresh air. But they did not complain. Theirs was the spirit of their Master and the same bitter cup had been given them to drink.

Thus October crept slowly on. The detachment at Alum Bagh under the command of Major McIntyre continued to hold its own. On the 7th of October it was strengthened by 250 men and two guns from Cawnpore under the command of Major Bingham, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment. It brought commissariat stores but by some strange mischance no supplies for natives. On the 17th of October Colonel Wilson commanding at Cawnpore telegraphed to the Chief of the Staff at Calcutta that the Delhi fugitives had reached Bithoor. "They had been obliged to divide in consequence of scarcity of food. Each division marched one ahead of the other. The first would probably reach Sheorajpore to-morrow and so on. The Nana is in communication and is trying to induce them to join him at Bithoor where his valuables are buried. Such being the case I move out with 600 infantry and six guns (five 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer) at 1 A.M. to-morrow morning, the 18th. No elephants. Will carry merely the party, so that I hope to give a good account of our enemies." The next evening Captain Bruce sent the following message from Sheorajpore :—"We reached at three-thirty ; drove the enemy right out of the place which was strong, with hardly any resistance, and followed them up two miles and continued for a mile-and-a-half further with a few sowars, but they could not be overtaken. I suspect their almost nominal opposition was to cover their flight. Our casualties, seven or eight. No guns taken but some ordnance stores." The road having been cleared, a new convoy left for the Alum Bagh on October 22nd, consisting of 500 infantry, 50 cavalry and two guns. The same

Alum Bagh

Action at Shoorajpore, 18th October

* "They have neither bedding nor greatcoats, spirits nor tobacco, yet they endure these privations with a degree of sturdy cheerfulness the most admirable. The intensity of the sun at midday is absolutely torturing."—"Journal of an English Officer," by Major North, page 224.

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day, a message was received from the Commander-in-Chief that he was about to start for Cawnpore and requesting that his "best regards by *Cossid*" be sent to General Outram, who was to be informed that the Chief had never ceased from his exertions, "to press every available soldier up to his support." News also reached Outram that Colonel Greathed's column, which had been ordered to march from Agra at once to Cawnpore for service in Oudh, was now but a few marches from its destination under the command of Sir Hope Grant.

Directly Delhi fell Sir Archdale Wilson determined to send a column under the command of Colonel Greathed, Her Majesty's 8th Foot, to clear the gigantic Doab of rebels and to restore authority in a vast province where our rule had disappeared like a dream and left behind only the isolated garrisons at Meerut and Agra. The troops selected to restore our power from Delhi to Cawnpore were as follows:—

	European.	Native.
Captain Remington's troop of Horse Artillery, five guns	60	...
Captain Blunt's troop of Horse Artillery, 5 guns	60	...
Bourchier's Battery, six guns	60	60
Sappers	...	200
H. M.'s 9th Lancers	300	
Detachments 1st, 4th 5th, Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse	...	400
European Infantry, H. M.'s 8th and 75th ...	450	...
Punjab Infantry, 1st and 4th Regiments ...	...	1,200
Total of each ...	930	1,860
Grand Total ...	2,790	

24th September, Colonel Greathed's column leaves Delhi

On the morning of the 24th of September the column marched forth from the "city of the dead." "Our road from the Ajmere Gate to the bridge lay through the Lahore Gate and passing along the Chandny Choke. Not a sound was heard save the deep rumble of our gun wheels or the hoarse challenge of a sentry on the ramparts. Here might be seen a house gutted of its contents, there a jackal feeding on the half-demolished body of a sepoy; arms, carts, shot, dead bodies lay about n the wildest manner. Outstretched and exposed to the public gaze, lay the bodies of the two sons and grandson of the wretched

King; they had been captured and executed the day before near Hymayoun's tomb." That night the column camped at Gazeeuddin Nugger, where the mutinous sepoy had first learnt that he was no match for the British soldier.*

On the 27th of September Secundra was reached. "The town and surrounding villages were in a terrible plight. The inhabitants, quiet cultivators of the land, and a race opposed to the Goojahs (or bandits) flocked out to meet us and implore our protection. Every house had been gutted and destroyed; their property of every kind taken, and their bullocks, the only means of drawing water for irrigation purposes, driven away." Through a land laid waste by a savage tribe and deserted villages the column pressed on to Bulandshahr, a civil station forty-two miles from Meerut and about five from the fort of *Malagarh*. Before dawn, September 29th, the advanced guard arrived at four cross roads,† about a mile-and-a-half from Bulandshahr. One of them led to Malagarh and one straight ahead to the town and civil station. At sight of our approach a picquet of the enemy fell back and the scouts brought the news that they intended to give battle at the station. The rebels' position was undoubtedly strong. Their guns in battery commanded the entrance, the gardens and offices were occupied by their infantry, around which bodies of horse hovered.‡ At the junction of the four roads a reserve was immediately formed under Major Turner to protect the baggage. It was at once attacked in flank by cavalry and guns, but they were quickly driven off

27th September

Action at Bulandshahr

* "Indian Mutiny," volume I, Introduction, page 18.

† "Early in the morning of the 28th Norman (General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B.), Lyall (Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.), and I marching with Watson's cavalry two or three miles in advance of the column arrived at cross roads, one leading to Bulandshahr, the other to Malagarh, a fort belonging to a Mahomedan of the name of Waldad Khan, who when the British rule was in abeyance assumed authority over the district in the name of the Emperor of Delhi. We halted, and having put our picquets lay down and waited for the dawn. From information obtained by the civil officers with the column, we suspected that large numbers of the mutineers were collected in the neighbourhood."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.P., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 260.

‡ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 85.

"Our infantry coming up found the enemy occupying an extremely strong position, in the gaol and a walled serai at the entrance to the town, their left being covered by the enclosed gardens and reserved houses of the deserted civil station within which they were collected in considerable force."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.P., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 261.

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with loss. The remainder of the infantry and the artillery were drawn up on the left of the road. The advanced guard was strengthened by two of Captain Remington's Horse Artillery guns and soon were in action, as the enemy opened at once down the road. Remington's guns swiftly returned the fire and he was reinforced by the remainder of his troops. Bourchier with his battery took up his position more to the right supported by a squadron of Punjab Cavalry and a portion of Her Majesty's 75th. The enemy's guns awaken on them, while from the high crops and surrounding gardens the rebels send a stream of musketry. But the cross fire was fatal to their battery and it was silenced. A few salvos of grape cleared the front and the artillery was ordered to advance. "Lieutenant Roberts of the artillery, who seemed ubiquitous, brought the order at a gallop. The guns charged and took the battery, the enemy scampering before us as we came up to it. Lieutenant Roberts was first at the guns. A second burst, after clearing our front with grape, brought us to the goal, the enemy flying before us like sheep." *

Lieutenant Roberts first at the guns

Meanwhile a second column consisting of the greater portion of the cavalry with two guns under Lieutenant Cracklow had advanced into the town and were for a time exposed to a most severe fire in the street. "Four men out of one gun crew were wounded and the gun was worked with difficulty. The cavalry charged and routed several large bodies of the enemy. In pursuing them they became entangled in the narrow streets and at a gateway leading out of the town a hard fight ensued." "Sarel was wounded in the act of running a sepoy through the body, the forefinger of his right hand being taken off by a bullet, which then passed through his left arm; Anson was surrounded by mutineers and performed prodigies of valour for which he was rewarded with the Victoria Cross." † "Lieutenant Roberts had a narrow escape. In the midst of the mêlée he observed a sepoy taking deliberate aim at him and tried to get at him. "He fired; my frightened animal reared and received in his head the bullet which was intended for me." ‡

* Now Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.P., V.C., G.C.B.

"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 87.

† "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.P., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 261.

‡ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., volume I, page 262.

The results of the action were: on our side, killed six men, wounded six officers and thirty-five men; on the rebels, some 300 killed with three guns and a large amount of ammunition and baggage captured. The engagement had begun about 7 A.M., and at 11 A.M. camp was pitched on the banks of the Kala Nuddi. In the afternoon the fort of Malagarh was reconnoitred and found to be deserted. Preparations were at once made for rendering it incapable of defence by destroying one of its bastions by firing. On the 1st of October this operation was successfully carried out, but in superintending it Lieutenant Home who was one of the brave band who had blown up the Kashmir gate on the morning Delhi was stormed * was killed by accident. To him had been promised the Cross of Valour, but he lived not to wear it. But his name lives in the bead roll of England's heroes. Of him a brother officer writes:—"The loss of poor Home has thrown a cloud over all our successes. He was brave among brave men and an honour to our service."

Destruction of the Fort of Malagarh

Lieutenant Home killed

On the 3rd of October the column marched from Bulandshahr and advanced day by day, visiting and burning villages which had harboured rebels. On the 5th of October Aligarh was reached. The enemy at our approach had abandoned the city, but they were pursued by the cavalry and many were killed. The column then marched down the Trunk Road, surprised and killed two rebel Rajput chiefs at Akhrabad, fourteen miles from Aligarh on the Cawnpore road. Here Greathed had to alter his plans. He had intended to march straight down the Doab to relieve Havelock and Outram, but now from Agra, which expected an attack, came pouring into his camp "epistles imploring aid in every language, both dead and living, and in cypher." Unable to resist these appeals he turned across country by Byjgarh to Hatras where for a few hours the cattle were rested. The European infantry were carried on elephants, carts and camels and all were pushed on till the cavalry and artillery which had been sent in advance were overtaken. At sunrise on the morning of the 10th of October the column crossed the Jumna by the bridge of boats and as the men marched beneath the walls of the old fort at Agra they were cheered heartily by their comrades mounted on the bastions. They had done forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours. The long march had given the British soldiers the livery of the sun. "These dreadful looking men must be Afghans,"

3rd October, column leaves Bulandshahr

10th October The column arrives at Agra

* "Indian Mutiny," volume I, Introduction, pages 82 and 83.

remarked a lady as she saw the men of the 8th Queen's march slowly and wearily by the Delhi gate of the fort.*

A sore disappointment awaited the force. They were informed that the enemy they had come to fight had retired beyond the Kala Naddi, a stream about nine miles distant.† Colonel Greathed gave orders that the camp should be pitched on the brigade ground, a grassy open level spot, a mile-and-a-half from the fort, bordered on the left and rear by the ruined lines of the Native Infantry regiment and the charred remains of the houses of their British officers. Right and front spreads out a wide plain bare of hedges, ploughable, studded with brier, all of it now covered with huge crops. No sight of an enemy, and the Brigadier accepting the statements of the responsible authorities that they were on their way to Gwalior, neglected to post picquets ‡ and accompanied by some officers went to the fort to breakfast.§

Action at Agra, 10th October

The camp was marked out, the horses were picquetted, and a few tents pitched. Europeans flocked forth from the fort to hear news of the outside world, crowds of natives to see the white soldiers who had taken Delhi. The men were tired after their long march of fifty miles

* "We went to the royal bastion this morning to see Colonel Greathed's moveable column cross the bridge. Sikhs, Lancers, three batteries of horse artillery and skeletons of two Queen's regiments. This column came in by long forced marches owing to an express sent out by Colonel Fraser. From the bastions we went down to the Delhi Gate. The Queen's 8th passed within three yards of us. 'These dreadful-looking men must be Afghans,' said a lady to me as they slowly and wearily marched by. I did not discover they were Englishmen till I saw a short clay pipe in the mouth of nearly the last man. My heart bled to see these jaded miserable objects and to think of all they must have suffered since May last to reduce such fine Englishmen to such worn-out dried skeletons."—"Notes on the Revolt," C. Raikes, page 70.

† "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 100.

Lord Roberts writes :—"Our questions as to what had become of the enemy who we had been informed had disappeared with such unaccountable celerity on hearing of the advance of the column, were answered by assurances that there was no need to concern ourselves about them, as they had fled across the *Kala Naddi*, a river thirteen miles away, and were in full retreat towards Gwalior."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, volume I, page 270.

‡ "We ought of course to have reconnoitred the surrounding country for ourselves, and posted our picquets as usual; and we ought not to have been induced to neglect these essential military precautions by the confident assertion of the Agra authorities that the enemy were nowhere in our neighbourhood."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 272.

§ "The artillerymen had obtained permission to lie down in a house hard by."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 100.

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in thirty hours—and after breakfast they threw themselves on the ground and fell asleep. Their slumber was roughly broken. A round shot came crashing through the mess tent. "All were instantly on the alert; the conduct of our troops was beyond praise; that stern discipline, which war alone teaches, stood us in good stead." A shower of round shot from a battery of twelve guns, however, sent the visitors and camp followers flying towards the fort in one wild mass. The heavy baggage of the column on its way to the camp met this big stampede. Seldom was there seen such a confusion. Instantly elephants, camels, led horses, doolie-bearers carrying the sick and wounded, bullocks yoked to heavily-laden carts were swept into that immense torrent.* Officers hurrying from the fort plunged wildly into it, but could not stem it. By dint of shouts and blows they pressed their way through the surging multitude and issued on the fight. Hand to hand contests were going on. "Here a couple of cavalry soldiers were charging each other. There the game of bayonet *versus* sword was being carried on in real earnest."† The 75th in shirt sleeves were forming square to withstand a charge of the rebel horses. The artillerymen without their accoutrements had rushed to the guns and from the park opened fire, but the distance was too great to silence the enemy's guns which were of heavy metal. When Greathed galloped to the front he found the artillery already in action and the 9th Lancers in their saddles formed up in squadrons. "I moved," wrote Greathed, "with Her Majesty's 8th, * * * and the 4th Punjab Infantry (taking with me on the way the three squadrons of the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry) to the right with the view of outflanking and capturing the guns on that flank." He also extended the infantry along the road leading from the parade ground to the infantry barracks in skirmishing order with supports, with directions to advance to their front and clear the compounds of the enemy's infantry. "By this time," Greathed adds, "the Agra 9-pounder battery came up, and I advanced it in support of the right flank of the infantry, on the road leading from the artillery parade ground, and the enclosures were speedily cleared.

* "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 273.

† "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 274.

In doing this the 4th Punjab Infantry distinguished itself." * Shortly after the enemy's fire had opened Watson, Probyn and Younghusband with their three squadrons moved off towards the European barracks, Colonel Greathed informing them that beyond the barracks they should find open ground. "I perceived a favourable opportunity," says Watson in his report, "and swept down at a gallop on their flank." Two guns and some standards were captured in the charge.† After that the enemy made no stand.

On the left a large body of cavalry made a dash into camp, and were on the point of carrying off one of Blunt's guns, when a troop of the 9th Lancers under Captain French broke in upon them and sent them flying. The gallant French was slain and Jones, his subaltern, with twenty sabre cuts on his face was left for dead on the ground. The enemy's horse were driven from the camp or destroyed in it. At the time when Watson smote them on the right flank Hugh Gough with his squadron did the same on the left. The enemy were now in full retreat and a pursuit by the artillery and cavalry was immediately ordered. At this time Colonel Cotton arrived from the fort with the 3rd Europeans and as senior officer assumed the command. He endorsed Greathed's order and our troops followed the retreating foe.

"About four miles on the Gwalior road, sheltered by the village, was the camp of the enemy. Apparently both divisions of our forces came within sight of it at the same time, and arrived at the same moment. Forming line, we together flew through its streets, driving the enemy before us.‡

* "The lines when advancing were joined by Pearson's 9-pounder battery which had been despatched from the fort on the first arrival of Greathed's columns * * *. He now arrived at an opportune moment on the right of the lines where there was no artillery and where the infantry were giving ground under the fire of some heavy guns of the enemy which commanded the road along which their centre was advancing. As Pearson pressed forward, the limbers of three of these were blown up and captured." "History of The Indian Mutiny," Kaye and Malleson, volume IV, page 72. Colonel Bourchier, however, writes:—"The practice of Captain Remington's troop was particularly effective: three ammunition waggons were exploded by his shot." "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 103.

† "Probyn greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. In one of the charges he got separated from his men, and was for a time surrounded by the enemy, two of whom he slew. In another charge he captured a standard. For these and numerous acts of gallantry during the mutiny he was, to the great delight of his many friends in the column, awarded the Victoria Cross."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.P., V.C., G.C.B., volume I, page 276.

‡ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 104.

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Once again the rebels made a stand. A few rounds of grape sent them flying in all directions and our cavalry dashed in among them and sabred them right and left. For seven miles the road was one continued line of carts, camels without their drivers, guns, ammunition waggons, and baggage of every description, all of which fell into the hands of the victors. Much that was useless was destroyed, and the enemy's camp with the villages on which it abutted were burnt. Seldom was a victory more complete.

Darkness had fallen before our soldiers returned to their tents "having marched sixty-six miles and fought a general action in thirty-nine hours: nine miles of the route had been done by the cavalry and artillery in a trot through high crops and ploughed fields." *

The men and cattle being much in want of rest the column halted at Agra the three days following the battle. The ammunition was filled up from the Fort and the wounded were sent into the hospital which had been established at the Moti Musjid, the beautiful Pearl Mosque. Here they were attended not only by the medical officers but by the ladies; many of whom visited the wards daily, administering little comforts to the sick and dying. "It was indeed a touching sight to see our fair countrywomen, many of whom were themselves bowed down by affliction, seated by the bedside of the wounded soldiers."

14th October, the column leaves Agra

On the morning of the 14th of October the column marched out of Agra and encamped at a garden called the Rambagh where it was reinforced by two siege-guns and detachments of Her Majesty's 8th and 75th Regiments. The following day brought it to a ruined tomb called the old woman's tank (Boorya-ka-Talao), and on the 16th it reached Ferozabad where Hope Grant, Colonel of the 9th Lancers, joined it and took over the command.† On the 19th the civil station of Mynpuree was reached. The Rajah of the place, who had thrown off the British allegiance, fled at the approach of our troops, leaving the official treasure amounting to about two lacs in full tale in the Fort. On the 21st October Bewar, the junction of the roads from Meerut, Agra, Fatehgarh and Cawnpore, was reached. Here Hope Grant received

16th October, Hope Grant assumes command of the column

* "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 105.

† He had remained at Delhi when superseded by Greathed, and being naturally indignant at the treatment he had received, he protested against it and succeeded in getting the order appointing Greathed to the command cancelled."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., page 287.

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a tiny missive from Sir James Outram written in Greek character, begging that aid might be sent as soon as possible as provisions were running short. The next day the column made a march of twenty-eight miles, and on the morning of the 23rd arrived close to the ruined Hindu city of Kanouj. While the Quartermaster-General with his staff were reconnoitring close to the town situated on the banks of a stream, they were fired upon from a battery upon the opposite side, supported by about 500 infantry,* all hard at work trying to get the guns across the river.† On hearing the report of the firing the Brigadier at once sent down two horse artillery guns and a squadron of dragoons to the scene of action. Lieutenant Murray, who commanded, galloped down to the banks of the river, formed battery at the water's edge, and soon silenced the enemy on the opposite bank. The infantry fled, pursued by the dragoons and some Punjab cavalry.‡ "On we fled," writes Lord Roberts, "Probyn's and Watson's squadrons leading the way in parallel lines about a mile apart. I was with the latter, and we had a running fight till we reached the Ganges, into which plunged those of the *sowars* whom we had not been able to overtake; we reined up, and saw the unlucky fugitives struggling in the water, men and horses rolling over each other; they were gradually carried down by the swiftly running stream, and a very few reached the opposite bank." §

Skirmish at Kanouj

26th October, the column reaches Cawnpore

On the 26th of October the column reached Cawnpore and furnished to the infantry force which the Commander-in-Chief was hurrying up from Calcutta, not only two British battalions and two Punjab

* "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 110.

† Lord Roberts writes:—"The same day I went on as usual with a small escort to reconnoitre, and had passed through the town, when I was fired upon by a party of rebels consisting of some 300 cavalry, 500 infantry and four guns, who having heard of the approach of the column were trying to get away before it arrived."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B.

‡ "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel Bourchier, C.B., page 117.

§ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., G.C.B., page 21.

"Our casualties were trifling, only some half dozen men wounded, while my horse got a gash on her quarter from the sabre. Watson had the forefinger of his right hand badly cut in the encounter with a young *sowar*. I chaffed him at allowing himself to be nearly cut down by a mere boy, upon which he laughed and briefly retorted: 'Well, boy or not, he was bigger than you.'"

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infantry regiments who had proved their pluck and endurance on the ridge at Delhi, but a regiment of British Lancers (9th Lancers) who had shown their worth in many a gallant charge, and four squadrons of native cavalry of five different regiments, each led by a young officer, whose name even then was becoming well known as a "*sabreur*" of distinction.* Sixteen horsed guns complete and manned by the famous Bengal Artillerymen and an effective transport made the column the nucleus of a small but efficient army capable not only of winning battles but of following them up.† The day after the arrival of the column at Cawnpore news reached Hope Grant that the Commander-in-Chief was to leave Calcutta that evening to take command of the forces by which he intended to attempt the deliverance of Lucknow. He was also ordered to get into communication with the Alumbagh to relieve them of their sick and wounded and send them back to Cawnpore. 27th October

On the 30th of October Hope Grant reinforced by four companies of the 93rd Highlanders and some infantry detachments crossed the Ganges into Oudh. On the 31st of October Bunnee bridge, more than half way to the Alumbagh, was reached, where a telegram was received that Colin Campbell had arrived at Cawnpore. On the 2nd November changing ground from Bunnee bridge to Buntera, a village about six miles from Alumbagh, an advanced party of the enemy was met, and after a running fight of some hours they were defeated and a brass gun captured. The casualties of Sir Hope Grant's force amounted to about thirty. On the 6th of November a force of all arms was sent to the Alumbagh and brought away the sick and wounded who were sent under a strong escort to Cawnpore. As Sir Hope Grant was strictly enforced not to commit himself to any serious operation till the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, he remained in pursuance of these orders at Buntera for the advent of the Chief. 30th October. Hope Grant crosses the Ganges into Oudh

Colin Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, who had hastened from Calcutta to command the force formed for the relief of Havelock and Outram, was the son of a working carpenter in Glasgow. His patronymic was Macliver, but his mother was Agnes Campbell, a daughter of a family of better estate, and by an accident he came to assume his mother's surname. At the age of fifteen his maternal uncle, Colonel Colin Campbell

* "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., page 10.

† "Lord Clyde's Campaign in India," *Blackwood's Magazine*, October 1858.

Obtains his first commission in the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment, 26th May 1808

Vimiera his first battle

John Campbell, obtained for him a commission in the 2nd Battalion, 9th Regiment. When the Colonel took his nephew to wait on the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, the Duke supposed the boy was a Campbell, "another of the clan," and as a Campbell he was gazetted and ever afterwards known. Five weeks from the date of his first commission (26th of May 1808) he was gazetted to a lieutenancy, and in three months he had taken part in his first battle, the battle of Vimiera. This battle resulted in Marshal Junot's retreat and the famous convention of Cintra. In the following winter Colin Campbell was transferred to the 1st Battalion of his regiment, and took part in Sir John Moore's operations ending in the retreat of Corunna. A few months after its return to England he went with his battalion on the Walcheren expedition and after serving a short time in Holland he returned to the Peninsula, was present at the severe engagement of Barosa, and received the commendation of his chief. The year 1812 was passed in the performance of regimental duty at Gibraltar, but in January 1813 he was sent with a draft of the 2nd Battalion to join the 1st Battalion in Portugal under the command of his original chief, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron. He was present at Vittoria and every student of Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula" knows how Colin Campbell distinguished himself at San Sebastian. The first and unsuccessful assault upon this fortress was delivered on the night of the 24th July 1813. It was a grave error and a violation of the orders of Lord Wellington to make the attack by night. The force employed in the assault was composed of the 3rd Battalion of the Royals, the 38th and the 9th Regiments. The darkness, the narrowness and the difficulty of the ground to be traversed before the breach was reached, the insufficient destruction of the defences, all contributed to the failure of the attack. The troops reached the breaching straggling and without order, and were there met with so destructive a fire that they recoiled, and notwithstanding the heroic courage of many officers who endeavoured to rally them they failed to effect a lodgment. Napier writes: "It was in vain that Lieutenant Campbell breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment mounted the ruins; twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died." The three regiments got intermixed and after shells and musketry had thinned their numbers the trenches were regained in confusion. The terrible night's work is represented in Colin Campbell's

Takes part in Sir John Moore's operations

The Walcheren expedition and battle of Barosa, 1812

1813, return to Portugal

journal by the single word "storm." On his division marching away Colin Campbell, whose wounds were still unhealed, was left behind at San Sebastian. However, on hearing of the likelihood of an engagement with the enemy, he left San Sebastian accompanied by a brother officer who had also been wounded, and, like himself, not discharged from hospital. By dint of crawling and an occasional lift in a casual waggon, he reached the 5th Division and was with his regiment when it played a leading part in the passage of the Bidasoa and the attack upon the heights beyond it. At a critical moment of that day Colonel Cameron arrived with the 9th Regiment and led it to the summit of the first height. The French retired to a second ridge. Napier writes that: "Cameron threw his men into a single column and bore against this new position, which curving inwards, enabled the French to pour a concentrated fire upon his regiment; nor did his violent course seem to dismay them until he was within ten yards, when appalled by the furious shot and charge of the 9th, they gave way and the ridges were won." In this memorable operation Colin Campbell received his third severe wound; and also a severe reprimand from Colonel Cameron for the breach of discipline he had committed in leaving hospital before being discharged.

Passage of the Bidasoa

On the 9th November 1813, Colin Campbell was promoted to a company without purchase in the 60th Regiment, and in December he returned to England. In 1814 he found his battalion in America, but had to return to England in a few months on account of the suffering caused by his wounds. On reaching home he took sick leave and visited Paris which was then occupied by the allies. On the expiration of his leave he rejoined his regiment at Gibraltar where he remained three years. The reduction of his battalion of the 60th caused him to be transferred to the 21st, and in 1819 he joined them at the Barbadoes. The next seven years were passed by him in West India. The climate tried his constitution severely. In 1826 he however managed by the generous assistance of a friend to purchase his majority, and returned home to the depot. The next six years were spent in England and Ireland performing the ordinary duties of his profession. In 1832 he was promoted to an unattached Lieutenant-Colonelcy by purchase. "Thus," to use his own words, "making a full period of nearly twenty-five years on full pay, *viz.*, upwards of five years as a subaltern, nearly thirteen as a Captain, and seven as a Major." For the next four years there was little for him to do, but

9th November 1813, Captain, 60th Regiment

Transferred to the 21st

1826, Major

1832, promoted to an unattached Lieutenant-Colonelcy

he was of far too energetic a temperament to be idle. He was present at the siege of Antwerp and sent home an interesting report: he resided in Germany for some time and studied the language and all the leading works relating to the art of war.

On the 8th of May 1836, Colonel Campbell returned to the active work of his profession having been gazetted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of "the gallant and good old 9th Regiment" for which he had received his first commission. He was, however, immediately afterwards transferred to the 98th. Having attained the command of a regiment he quickly showed how good an officer he was. He had a fellow feeling with his soldiers and they with him. He set great store by discipline, and that he brought his regiment into the highest state of discipline and efficiency we have the testimony of one of England's greatest soldiers. When new colours were presented to the 98th, Sir Charles Napier said: "Of the abilities for command which your chief possesses your own magnificent regiment is a proof. Of his gallantry in action hear what history says, for I like to read to you of such deeds and such men. It stimulates young soldiers to deeds of similar daring." Taking his brother's history Sir Charles Napier read the account of Colin Campbell's attempt to mount the breach of San Sebastian. In 1841, the gallant 98th embarked for China, and its commanding officer, then fifty years of age, had the first opportunity of showing his great qualities as a commander of men in the field of action. The campaign in China won him a full colonelcy and the insignia of a Military Companion of the Bath. He was appointed Brigadier in command of the Chusan garrison, and the next four years were spent in professional work, in studying professional literature, Shakspere and the Scotch poets. The veteran who for more than fifty years served against England's enemies in every clime was a man of considerable culture, and applied a strong and highly cultivated intellect to the business of war.

20th December 1841, 98th embarks for China

In the year 1846 Colonel Campbell's regiment landed in the country with whose history he will be best remembered and he was given the command of the garrison at Lahore. The reputation he won at China was enhanced in the Sikh war. He played a prominent part in the doubtful victory of Chillianwalla and received a sword cut from an artilleryman of the enemy in charging some of their guns. He wrote to his sister on the 30th of January 1849:—"The fighting on the 13th was very severe. The enemy were strong in numbers and in guns and in a favourable position. The troops I conducted myself were in a

Wounded at Chillianwalla, 13th January

very critical position during the greater part of the battle; but they managed, by boldness and determined gallantry, to overthrow every-thing opposed to them: I should say Her Majesty's 61st Regiment, which *I* led myself, for it was that corps which carried and overcame every difficulty. I had many miraculous escapes for which I am duly thankful. The handle of my watch was broken by a ball. I had a pocket pistol in my right waistcoat-pocket which was broken to pieces by a ball, and my horse was wounded in the mouth. I got the sword cut from an artilleryman of the enemy in charging some of their guns; but here I am, thank God, safe and sound and quite well." * Colin Campbell was present at the crowning victory of Gujrat, and by a skilful use of the artillery saved the unnecessary slaughter which unfortunately marked the previous battle. For his services in the Sikh campaign he was promoted to be a Knight Commander of the Bath, and after the war was over he was appointed to command the Peshawar Division. In the years 1851-52 he was engaged against the hill tribes beyond the Indus and when he had beaten them in fight, he proved that he could be merciful as well as brave. He objected to laying waste fertile lands and burning villages for the crimes of one or two. As a soldier he also objected to the interference of civilians in military matters. This led to a disagreement with Lord Dalhousie and Brigadier Campbell resigned. The great Viceroy attributed to him "over-cautious reluctance," but subsequent years have proved how sound his judgment was, with regard to the danger of operating against brave tribes in the mountains with a badly equipped and insufficient force. He returned to England in 1853 and went on half pay, but was not long unemployed, for in 1854 when the Crimean war broke out he was appointed to the command of the Highland Brigade consisting of the 42nd, 79th and 93rd Regiments. On the 10th of July he was gazetted a Major-General after a service of forty-six years and one month. In the last days of August the Highland Brigade embarked at Varna. On the 20th of September they fought the battle of Alma. To Colin Campbell's advice the historian of the Crimean war ascribes the decisive advance of the first division at Alma. "It was a fight of the Highland Brigade," wrote Colin Campbell to an old comrade. "I never saw troops march to battle with greater *sang-froid* and order than those three Highland regiments." When the combat was over Lord

21st February 1841, Gujrat

Appointed to command the Peshawar Division

Appointed to command the Highland Brigade

Gazetted Major-General, 10th July 1854

Battle of Alma

* "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., volume I, page 206.

Raglan rode up and sent for Colin Campbell. "When I approached him I observed his eyes to fill and his lips and countenance to quiver. He gave me a cordial shake of the hand, but he could not speak. The men cheered very much. I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour, that he would permit me to have the honour of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign which pleased them very much." After the battle of Alma

Balaclava

Sir Colin was placed in charge of the position at Balaclava. It was there with the "thin red streak topped with a line of steel" that he gallantly repulsed a memorable charge of Russian cavalry. The fate of the day hung upon the steadiness of his men. "Remember," said Colin Campbell, "there is no retreat from here, men. You must die where you stand." "Ay, Sir Colin, we'll do that," was the spontaneous reply. The squadron bore down upon them, they became eager for the fray and showed a disposition to burst forth and to meet them with the bayonet. Then Colin Campbell's voice rang out fiercely: "Ninety-third, Ninety-third, damn all that eagerness." In a moment the line became steady and at the right moment poured upon the advancing column a deadly volley.

On the death of Lord Raglan it was generally expected that the command of the army would be given to the man whose ability as a soldier was conspicuous and who had gained experience and reputation in war, but it was bestowed on one who had the merits of mediocrity and seniority. Colin Campbell hoped that his division would play a prominent part at the final assault of Sebastapol; but to his bitter disappointment it only acted as a reserve to the troops employed. On the eve of the assault General Simpson offered him the command at Malta, which he rightly regarded as an insult and an attempt to remove him from the service. After the resignation of General Simpson the command of the army was given to Sir William Codrington, who was Sir Colin's junior, and who had seen no service previous to the battle of Alma. Sir Colin who was in England called on the Commander-in-Chief and told him that he had come to resign on account of the proposal that had been made that he should go from duty with a division in the field to become schoolmaster to the recruits at Malta. An interview with the Queen however dispelled all angry feelings from his mind, and he expressed to Her Gracious Majesty his readiness to return to the Crimea and "to serve under a Corporal if she wished." He returned but his stay was of short duration, for

peace was proclaimed, and he took farewell of the Highland Brigade in a short manly speech. "A long farewell. I am now old, and shall not be called to serve any more, and nothing will remain to me but the memory of my campaigns, and of the enduring, hardy, generous soldiers with whom I have been long associated, whose names and glory will long be kept alive in the hearts of our countrymen." He little thought that before two years would elapse these same Highland regiments would form part of an army with which he was to reconquer England's great empire.

Sir Colin Campbell was sixty-five years of age when he left England to assume command of the troops which had been gathered together to suppress the mutiny, but in force and energy he was a young man. He received the offer of the command on the 11th July 1857, started the next day, and reached Calcutta on the 13th of August. "Last Monday (August 13th)," writes Lady Canning, "we had a very great surprise when the mail steamer telegraphed that Sir Colin Campbell was on board as Commander-in-Chief * * We found him very amiable and cheerful, an endless talker and *raconteur*.* He will be sure to fight well, but when will he have the opportunity. The 14,000 men from England will not arrive for long, and there is no sufficient force here for him to take the field. Only detachments and reinforcements go up now." On the 17th of August Sir Colin assumed command of the Indian Army. He did not proceed up-country at once and this action of his was severely criticised at the time. But the delay was due to causes beyond his control. Before his arrival no preparation had been made for the equipment of the troops which were expected or for their transport to the seat of war. His presence at Calcutta was necessary in order to organise the administrative departments on whose efficiency the success of a campaign so greatly depends. He caused horses to be purchased for the cavalry and artillery, ordered guns to be cast, bullets to be moulded, and

Leaves England to assume command of the Indian Army, 11th July 1857

13th August, arrives at Calcutta

17th August, Sir Colin Campbell assumed command of the Indian Army

* Lady Canning, describing a drive to Barrackpore, writes:—"September 26th. Sir Colin talked all the way, telling no end of military stories. When he grows very indignant he pulls off his little cap, and scratches his head violently, leaving his hair standing bolt upright exactly like his portrait in *Punch*." That forenoon news reached them "Delhi has fallen." Lady Canning writes:—"As the elephants were at the door long before the carriage, we got upon them for a ride to the park gate. *Punch* would have made a nice vignette of Sir Colin with me in a howdah on the top of an elephant talking over our great news in the greatest delight."—"The Story of Two Noble Lives," page 312.

tents to be made.* He infused his own energy into all around him; and in October when reinforcements arrived he was able to despatch them at once to the seat of war, he following immediately afterwards.

On the night of the 27th of October Sir Colin left Calcutta accompanied by his head-quarters staff.† Below Benares he narrowly escaped capture by a body of mutineers. "As he and his party were posting along in their dâk carriages, they saw them cross the road about five hundred yards distant. We counted twenty elephants with the mutineers. It was the narrowest escape for Sir Colin possible." On the 1st of November Allahabad was reached. Here news reached him that Outram was prepared, if absolutely necessary, to hold out on further reduced rations till near the end of November. The following morning Sir Colin arrived at Futtehpore. On his way there he got a despatch from Captain Peel informing the Governor-General that a body consisting of 162 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment under Major Clarke, 68 of the Royal Engineers under Captain Clarke, 70 of a depot detachment under Lieutenant Fanning of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, a company of the 93rd Highlanders 100 in number

* In a letter written early in October Sir Colin sets forth the reasons of his detention at Calcutta. "We are sending forward the men by bullock-train, which takes up about 90 daily. The men take their knapsacks and blankets with them; ammunition, 60 in pouch, and a reserve of 100 rounds. They travel day and night, halting only for two or three hours in the middle of the day at the staging bungalows on the road. Bedding I hope to find for them at Allahabad. But we are deficient in everything. Carriage and the supply of food collected there is very, very scanty. But were I to enter into anything like such details as would enable you to form a correct idea of the starved state of everything necessary to prepare and fit a force for the field it would take up more time than I have at my disposal just now. When I can manage to have a couple of regiments at Allahabad disposable for field service irrespective of the garrison of the Fort I join them instantly. Here I am of use in pushing forward everything wanted in front—men, horses—very few of the latter—food, ammunition, &c. I have infused a little vivacity into the Quartermaster-General's Department at Calcutta since my arrival."—"Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Vol. I, page 436.

† Lady Canning enters in her diary—"Tuesday, October 27th. Sir Colin started after an early dinner. He goes up as fast as possible by dâk carriage from the railway. He takes his four Aides-de-Camp, the two Alisons, Sir David Baird, Captain Fister, Captain Metcalf, General Mansfield and Captain Hope-Johnstone, and I believe they have got a doctor. The Superintendent of Telegraphs, Patrick Stewart, goes to lay down a flying line to Lucknow if possible. We begged them all to take care of Sir Colin who has the habit of exposing himself very rashly. He has a nice set of what he calls 'boys' who are very fond of him: that he storms at them sometimes they all allow. To me he has behaved like an old cavalier and I have thought him charming. He would tell me everything and show me every letter and telegraph I could care to see or that would interest me."—"The Story of two Noble Lives," Volume II, page 332.

under Captain Cornwall, two 9-pounder guns under Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal Artillery, and 103 of the Naval Brigade under Captain Peel had defeated at Khujwa, twenty miles to the left, a considerable rebel force who were threatening to cut our lines. Our loss in the action was very severe, amounting to 95 killed and wounded. Among the killed was the gallant Colonel Powell who commanded the force and fell dead with a bullet through his forehead as he pressed on the attack and had just secured two guns of the enemy. Sir Colin in forwarding the despatch to the Governor-General remarked: "Success crowned the desperate efforts of the assailants, but it is evident from the very lucid report of Captain Peel, C.B., R. N., that the attack was most hazardous and that at one time the force was in the greatest danger." After criticising the disposition of the force "His Excellency gladly bore testimony to the brilliant courage and the untiring energy displayed by all ranks in conflict with the enemy, and in the great efforts made to come up with him. This fight affords one more instance of what the British soldier will perform in spite of every disadvantage and extraordinary fatigue. This was a soldier's fight if ever there was one." * Action at Khujwa

On the morning of the 3rd of November Sir Colin arrived at Cawnpore. He found the position full of danger. Oudh was filled with rebels, and the trained soldiers of the Gwalior Contingent, only fifty-five miles away, threatened his communications. Even Outram considered that these rebels should first be destroyed. He wrote:—"We can manage to screw on till near the end of November on further reduced rations * * * it is obviously to the advantage of the State that the Gwalior rebels should be first effectually destroyed that our relief should be a secondary consideration." But Sir Colin considered the relief of the Residency to be all important. There lay before him a choice of evils. On the 8th of November he wrote to the Duke of Cambridge:—"All accounts from Lucknow show that Sir James Outram is in great straits. The whole country has arisen around him, and the most trifling supplies cannot be obtained from the country for Brigadier Grant's force which is encamped about ten miles from the Alumbagh. I mention the latter fact to show more exactly how the case stands. I move myself with a month's supply for all hands, fighting men and followers. On the other side, our communications are threatened

* "Indian Mutiny," volume II, page 323.

by the Gwalior force, numbering 5,000 men, with sixteen heavy guns, twenty-four field guns, and an immense store of ammunition. The Nana Saheb crossed the Ganges yesterday; his followers, together with the *debris* of regiments which have gathered from various parts, are, as it appears, bound for Calpee, and will swell the Gwalior body to about 10,000 men." * Lucknow was fifty-three miles from Cawnpore on one side, Calpee was forty miles from it on the other. At Calpee the most highly organised and best drilled force in India had the broad Jumna between them and Lord Clyde. They also had possession of the boats. They could avoid coming to action for an indefinite time. Meanwhile as Colin Campbell thought "the deserted garrison" might fall from want of food. According to the principles which regulate all ordinary military operations Sir Colin should have secured his base and line of operation previous to his advance on Lucknow. But as the Duke of Wellington has observed: "If the world was to be governed by principles, nothing would be more easy than to conduct even the greatest of affairs; but in all circumstances, the duty of a wise man is to choose the lesser of any two difficulties which beset him." Sir Colin chose what he considered the lesser evil. Having as far as it lay in his power provided for the communications and the safety of the scattered parties he determined to leave Windham with a detachment to defend the entrenchment at Cawnpore, and trusting to the valour of his small but devoted band to make a dash at Lucknow, rescue the garrison and swiftly returning save Windham from any danger that threatened him. He who has been blamed for over-caution proved that when it was necessary he was capable of undertaking a considerable risk and performing a brilliant feat of arms.

On the 6th and 8th of November memoranda were issued † by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of General Windham. "He is ordered," wrote Sir Colin to the Duke of Cambridge, "in case of an advance upon Cawnpore to show the best front he can, but not to move out to attack unless he is compelled by the threat of bombardment. His garrison will consist of 500 British soldiers, 550 Madras infantry and gunners, and if he is severely threatened—of which of course I shall have instruction—he will be further strengthened by some of the detachments which will be in the course of

* "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., volume I.

† "Indian Mutiny," volume II, pages 411-13.

arrival during the week." During his stay at Cawnpore Sir Colin pressed forward the various detachments and stores as they arrived to the camp at Buntera. By the most strenuous exertions a small siege-train, principally manned by the sailors of Peel's Naval Brigade, had been got up and a diminutive engineer park collected. Having arranged for the despatch onwards of ordnance and engineer parks, commissariat and medical stores, the Commander-in-Chief early on the morning of the 9th left Cawnpore, escorted by a detachment of cavalry and horse artillery left behind by Hope Grant, and reached the camp at Buntera that evening after a forced march of thirty-five miles. The following morning Mr. Kavanagh dressed and disguised as a Native arrived in camp. He had left the Residency the previous night to act as guide to Colin Campbell.

Thomas Henry Kavanagh was the son of a British soldier, and his great physical strength and iron nerve well adapted him for his father's noble profession. The Fates designed that at an early age he should become a clerk in a Government office. The hour of battle however brought forth his hereditary militant spirit and he proved his courage in several sorties which he accompanied in his capacity as Assistant Field Engineer. He accompanied Colonel Napier when he went out to bring in the wounded and proved of great service to him in guiding him through the Palaces which lined the river. As an Engineer he saw the plans which were being made by direction of Sir James Outram to guide the Commander-in-Chief in his attempt to reach the Residency. Kavanagh felt a living guide would be better. He determined to make his way to His Excellency's camp. About 10 o'clock A.M. on the 9th instant he learnt that a spy had come in from Cawnpore and that he was returning in the night as far as Alumbagh with despatches to Sir Colin Campbell. He sought out the man and told him his desire to accompany him in disguise. "He hesitated a great deal at acting as my guide, but made no attempt to exaggerate the dangers of the road. He merely urged that there was more chance of detection by our going together and proposed that we should take different roads and meet outside of the city, to which I objected." Kavanagh was not to be deterred. That afternoon he volunteered his services through his immediate chief, Colonel Napier. Napier pronounced the attempt impracticable, but being impressed by his earnestness took him to Outram. Outram frankly confessed that he thought it of the utmost importance that a European officer acquainted with the ground should guide the relieving

Thomas Kavanagh

force, but that the impossibility of any European being able to pass through the city undetected deterred him from ordering any officer to go or even seeking volunteers for such a duty.* He moreover considered the enterprise so hazardous that he did not consider himself justified in accepting Kavanagh's brave offer, but the brave volunteer was so earnest in his entreaties that Outram consented to let him go. Kavanagh returned to his quarters. "I lay down on my bed with my back towards my wife, who was giving her children the poor dinner to which they were reduced, and endeavouring to silence their repeated requests for more. I dared not face her; for her keen eye and fond heart would have immediately detected that I was in deep thought and agitated. She called me to partake of a coarse cake, but, as I could no more have eaten it than have eaten herself, I pleaded fatigue and sleepiness, and begged to be let alone. Of all the trials I ever endured this was the worst. At six o'clock I kissed the family and left, pretending that I was for duty at the mines, and that I might be detained till late in the morning." He proceeded to a small room in the slaughter-yard where he disguised himself as a *budmash* or swashbuckler, with sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk koortah (or jacket) over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, "a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white waistband or kumurbund. My face down to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists were coloured with lamp black, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere a little." Thus attired he entered Napier's room who did not recognise him. Outram himself daubed him once more and he and Napier warmly pressed his hand as they wished him God-speed. Then at half-past eight accompanied by Kananji Lal, the scout, Kavanagh passed through the British lines and reached the right bank of the Goomtee. "I descended naked to the stream, with the clothes on my head rolled into a bundle. The first plunge into the lines of the enemy, and the cold water, chilled my courage immensely and if the guide had been within my reach I should, perhaps, have pulled him back, and given up the enterprise." † On the other side in a grove of low trees they re-dressed and went up the left bank until they reached the iron bridge. Here

* "How I won the Victoria Cross," by T. Henry Kavanagh, page 80.

† "How I won the Victoria Cross," by Thomas H. Kavanagh, page 84. "I remember the thrill of excitement with which when a lad I heard Mr. Kavanagh relate his plunge into the river."

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they were stopped and called over by a native officer who was seated in an upper-storied house. "My guide advanced to the light and I stayed a little in the shade." After hearing that they had come from the old cantonment and were going into the city to their homes he let them proceed. And they went on again till they reached the stone bridge by which they crossed the Goomtee and entered the principal street of Lucknow, which fortunately was not so brightly lighted as before the siege, nor was it so crowded. "I jostled against several armed men in the street without being spoken to, and only met one guard of seven sepoys who were amusing themselves with women of pleasure." They threaded their way through the heart of the city to the open country on the further side. "I was in great spirits when we reached the green fields into which I had not been for five months, everything around us smelt sweet, and a carrot I took from the roadside was the most delicious I had ever smelt." The next five miles' tramp was pleasant. Then they discovered that they had lost their way and were in the Dilkoosha Park which was occupied by the enemy. "I went within twenty yards of two guns to see what strength they were and returned to the guide who was in great alarm, and begged I would not distrust him because of the mistake as it was caused by his anxiety to take me away from the picquets of the enemy." Kavanagh reassured the man by informing him such accidents were frequent even when there was no danger to be avoided. It was now about midnight. They endeavoured to persuade a cultivator who was watching his crop to show the way for a short distance, but he urged old age and lameness. Kavanagh peremptorily commanded him to accompany them. He ran off screaming and alarmed the dogs of the whole village, and the dogs made them beat a quick retreat to the canal "in which I fell several times owing to my shoes being wet and slippery and my feet sore. The shoes were hard and tight and had rubbed the skin off my toes, and cut into the flesh above the heels." Two hours afterwards they were again on the right track, two women in a village having kindly helped them to find it. They reached an advanced picquet of sepoys who also told them the way after having asked them where they had come from and where they were going. By three o'clock they reached a grove and heard a man singing. "I thought he was a villager; but he got alarmed on hearing us approach and astonished us by calling out a guard of sepoys all of

whom asked questions." Here was a terrible moment. "Kananji Lal lost heart for the first time and threw away the letter entrusted to him for Sir Colin Campbell. I kept mine safe in my turban. We satisfied the guard that we were poor men travelling to Umeenla, a village two miles this side of the Chief's camp, to inform a friend of the death of his brother by a shot from the British entrenchment at Lucknow, and they told us the road." After tramping for half an hour in the direction indicated they suddenly found themselves in a swamp. It was eerie work wading through it for two hours up to their waists in water and through weeds. "I was nearly exhausted on getting out of the water having made great exertions to force our way through the weeds and to prevent the colour being washed off my face. It was nearly gone from my hands." Kavanagh thoroughly worn out by cold and fatigue rested for fifteen minutes despite of the remonstrances of the guide. Then they again trudged forward and came on two picquets about three hundred yards asunder seated with their heels to the fire. "I did not care to face them, and passed between the two flames unnoticed for they had no sentries thrown out." A little later they met several villagers with their families and chattels mounted on buffaloes. They said they were flying for their lives from the English. As the moonlight was growing less they stopped at a corner of a mango grove, and Kavanagh wearied in body and spirit by the night's work lay down in spite of Kananji Lal's entreaties, to sleep for an hour. He bade his companion to go into the grove to search for a guide. No sooner was Kavanagh left by the scout when he was startled by the challenge "Who comes there" in a native accent. "We had reached a British cavalry outpost. My eyes filled with joyful tears and I shook the Sikh officer in charge of the picquet heartily by the hand." The old soldier sent two of his troopers to guide Kavanagh to the advanced guard. The day was coming swiftly brighter when a strange looking creature presented himself before the tent of the Commander-in-Chief. "As I approached the door an elderly gentleman with a stern face came out, and, going up to him, I asked for Sir Colin Campbell." "I am Sir Colin Campbell" was the sharp reply, "and who are you?" "I pulled off my turban and opening the folds took out a short note of introduction from Sir James Outram." A most splendid feat of gallantry was done and it proved a most invaluable service. Her Majesty conferred upon Kavanagh the insignia of the

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Victoria Cross, and he was the first non-military man who ever obtained that highest honour.*

With the information brought by Mr. Kavanagh and the despatch and *plan* sent by Outram the Commander-in-Chief was enabled to *finally* determine his plan of operations. He had already worked it out with great care at Calcutta. He knew what a heavy loss of life Havelock's advance through the narrow and tortuous streets of Lucknow had entailed and he therefore determined to give the city a wide berth. He would make a flank march across country to his own right upon the Dilkoosha Park. Then he would advance upon the Martiniére and the line of the canal and from that point advance by the right as close as possible to the river, thereby securing that flank against onslaught though *not* against fire.† He would seize the barracks and the Secunder Bagh from the open ground, then under cover of batteries to be opened on the Kaiser Bagh, the key of the enemy's position, carry the intermediate buildings, and after effecting a junction with the Residency withdraw the garrison. The route which Outram advised Sir Colin to follow agreed with his own as regards the direction of the advance by the Dilkoosha and the Martiniére but it differed in the method of approaching the Secunder Bagh. Outram recommended the canal bridge or the canal a little below it to be crossed, and a way made through the suburb to the road leading to the barracks and the Secunder Bagh, whereas Sir Colin preferred to keep the more open ground near the river and thus avoid the contingency of committing his troops to a struggle in the streets of the suburbs.‡

* The Government of India bestowed on him a donation of Rs. 20,000 equal to several years' pay at the rate he was then drawing and promoted him from a clerk to a civil office to be an Assistant Commissioner on Rs. 700 a month,—great rewards, but certainly not more than were deserved."—"A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B.

† "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B.

"Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., volume I, page 454.

‡ "Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B, volume I, page 454.

Sir Archibald Allison who accompanied Lord Clyde to India as Military Secretary writes as follows:—"It is said to have been the Commander-in-Chief's original intention to have crossed the Goomtee, and move up its left bank opposite to the Residency—there established his heavy guns under cover of their fire, thrown a bridge, and then drawn off the garrison. But upon this being submitted to Sir James Outram, both he and his Chief Engineer had so earnestly dissuaded him from it, on the ground of local obstacles, that yielding to their superior local knowledge he had given it up, and determined to move by the right

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No more difficult and delicate an operation was ever planned by a commander. With a force of 4,500 men of all arms he had to rescue Outram from the grasp of 60,000 trained soldiers occupying strong positions. He had to carry and hold these positions until he reached the post held by Outram's force. He had to do it on account of the want of provisions within a limited period. He had also to hold a succession of posts on the left so as to keep a clear road from the Residency to the open country. He had to bring away the sick and wounded women and children, evacuate the Residency and withdraw his troops first to the Martinière and Dilkoosha and then to the Alumbagh. He had to leave here a small body of men to threaten the enemy and then proceed with all haste to Cawnpore to save Windham and his garrison. The chances were against him, the risk was immense. But the risk had to be run to save women and children, to rescue an Empire.

On the afternoon of the 11th Colin Campbell reviewed his small band which was drawn up in quarter-distance columns in the centre of a vast brown plain surrounded by trees. The old Chief spake to each regiment with kindly words as he rode through the ranks of warriors. When he came to the 9th Lancers he extolled their gallant conduct throughout the war, and their splendid appearance, for with their blue uniforms and white turbans twisted round their forage caps, their flagless lances, lean but hardy horses, and gallant bearing they looked the perfection of a cavalry regiment. Next to them were the horsemen recruited from the wild tribes that dwell on the northern marshes of the Empire. Mounted on every variety of horse with every variety of bit, bridle and saddle they seemed "a rabble," but they could not be excelled as light cavalry by any troops in the world. Colin Campbell made harangue to them and said "he had heard what good service we

bank. An additional reason probably was also found in the great extent of country which the army must have gone over to reach the point originally intended, and the danger of leaving a fordless river in the rear." "Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858. "Outram's proposals were that the force should cross the canal by or near the bridge on the alignment of the Huzrutgunge road, attack the old infantry barracks and the Begum's Palace and then turn to the right for the Secunder Bagh. But Sir Colin, in reconnoitring on the 15th, came to the conclusion that this route was held in great strength by the enemy. He resolved therefore to cross the canal further north, near the river, and advance there by the more open ground along the river bank towards the Motee Mahal where he expected Outram to sortie and meet him."—"Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General Macleod Innes, page 256.

had done at Delhi and in the march down country and complimented the native officers and men." He thanked the 8th and 75th who had borne themselves so sturdily on the ridge at Delhi and had stormed that city. He also spake words of praise to the 4th, 2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry, who too had borne themselves nobly at Delhi. He rejoiced to see the Bengal Artillery, for he had commanded them of yore in battle and knew how well skilled they were. Then came he to the 93rd Highlanders. "A waving sea of plumes and tartans they looked as they walked up; with loud and rapturous cheers, which rolled over the field, they welcomed their veteran Commander, the Chief of their Clan." He stirred in them yearning to fight by pointing to Lucknow and telling them that men and women and children were to be saved. Thus the old Chief charged his little force. Orders were issued that evening for the advance on the following morning.

Lieutenant Gough's gallant charge

At the break of day the force set out. The advanced guard had not proceeded far, when it was attacked by two guns and a body of about 2,000 infantry in position on our right, near the old fort of Jallalabad. After a smart skirmish Bourchier's battery silenced their guns. Lieutenant Gough,* commanding Hodson's Irregular Horse, had in the meantime made a long detour and managed under cover of some fields of cane to arrive on the enemy's left flank unseen. An extensive swamp protected it. Through the long, reedy grass the cavalry went at a trot. When clear of it, Gough gave the word "Form line" and "Charge." "My men gave a ringing cheer and were into the masses. The surprise was complete and owing to its suddenness they had no conception of our numbers, and so the shock to them and victory to us was as if it had been a whole brigade. It seemed like cutting one's way through a field of corn, and I had to make a lane for myself as I rode along. The men followed me splendidly and in a very short time the affair was over,—the guns were captured, the enemy scattered and the fight became a pursuit." † It was a fine exploit and Hugh Gough was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieutenant Gough awarded the Victoria Cross

The camp was pitched that evening a short distance in rear of the Alum Bagh out of range of artillery fire. Kavanagh having brought a

* Now General Sir Hugh Gough, G.C.B., V.C.

† "Pall Mall Magazine," November 1896. "Old Memories," by General Sir Hugh Gough.

"Two or three staff officers had ridden round, seeing what was going on, and shared in the fight, among them Roberts, Anson, and I believe Captain Mayne (subsequently killed at the attack on the Dilkhusha)."

code of signals from Outram, a semaphore was erected on the Alum Bagh and some communications were held with the Residency, where a similar semaphore had been erected.

13th November, force halts at Alumbagh

The next morning Brigadier the Honourable Adrian Hope of Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, who commanded a brigade, was ordered to seize the fort of Jallalabad, whose occupation by the enemy threatened our line of communication. He found it deserted and by blowing up one of the walls rendered it indefensible. The day was spent by Colin Campbell in making final arrangements for the advance. All the tents were parked in the Alum Bagh and the garrison changed. The effective men of the British regiments with Sir James Outram were removed and formed into two small provisional detachments and their place was taken by Her Majesty's 75th,* "which had been so much harassed by its late exertions." They with 50 men of the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore and a detachment of Artillery formed the entire garrison. In the afternoon Sir Colin pushed forward a strong reconnaissance towards the Charbagh bridge and the left front in order to deceive the enemy as to his real line of advance. That evening reinforcements having reached him during the day, and in anticipation of a few more arriving next morning, he took the last steps for the organization of his force and he issued his last orders. Divided into three nominal brigades of infantry and one of cavalry, with artillery, sailors and engineers, the force hardly numbered one strong brigade, not more than 4,200 sabres and bayonets. The British Infantry, the pith and strength of battle, did not exceed three thousand.

The Infantry Brigade

The infantry brigade commanded by the Hon. Adrian Hope was the strongest. It was composed of the 93rd Highlanders, 934 bayonets and 48 officers of all ranks, veterans who had shown the stuff they were made of in the Crimea: a wing of the 53rd Foot, hardy old soldiers well acquainted with Indian battle and full of zeal and pluck: and the 4th Punjab Infantry weak in numbers but forward soldiers of undaunted courage. The two other infantry brigades were not of the size of good regiments. The one commanded by Brigadier

* "The 75th was the first regiment to move down from the hills when the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached Head-Quarters: it had done grand service, had suffered heavily during the siege of Delhi, and had well earned, and badly needed, a rest. It was now only 300 strong, and had lost in six months nine officers, in action and from disease, besides twelve wounded."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts K.P., V.C., volume I, page 309.

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Greathed was composed of the 8th Foot and the 2nd Punjab Infantry, both good regiments but weakened in numbers by hard fighting at Delhi, and a battalion of detachments. The third commanded by Brigadier Russell was composed of a wing of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, a regiment famous in our military annals but new to Indian warfare, and owing to its losses in the Crimea consisting mainly of young soldiers and two companies of the 82nd Foot.*

The artillery brigade commanded by Brigadier Crawford, Royal Artillery, was composed of two companies of Garrison Royal Artillery under Captain Travers and Captain Longden, equipped with 18-pounder guns and mortars; Captains Remington and Blunt's troops of the famous Bengal Horse Artillery; two very efficient guns of Madras Native Horse Artillery under Captain Bridge; Captain Middleton's Horse Battery of Royal Artillery, the first horsed guns of the Royal Regiment that ever engaged an enemy in India, and Captain Bourchier's Bengal Field Battery. The artillery of the Army was augmented by the Naval Brigade consisting of 250 seamen and marines of Her Majesty's Ship *Shannon* who manned six 24-pounders and two howitzers with bullock draft and two rocket tubes mounted on light carts: not only did they man these pieces but their marines and a body of seamen armed with rifles formed a formidable escort of infantry.† The Artillery

The cavalry brigade commanded by Brigadier Little was composed of two squadrons, 9th Lancers, commanded by Major Audry, detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; commanded respectively by Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Younghusband and Gough. The cavalry was supplemented by a detachment of the military train commanded by Major Robertson, organised as two squadrons of cavalry. Cavalry Brigade

The small brigade of Engineers commanded by Lieutenant Lennox, Royal Engineers, comprised a splendid company of Royal Engineers, a company of Madras sappers, a few faithful Bengal sappers fresh from Delhi, and two companies of newly-raised pioneers. Brigade of Engineers

The last arrangement made, the last order given, Colin Campbell wrote to his sister that night: "My force is high and powerful in spirit

* "Lord Clyde's Campaign in India," "Blackwood's Magazine," November 1858. Lord Roberts estimates the force to have amounted to about 600 cavalry and 3,500 infantry, with about 42 guns.

† "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by General H. W. Norman, C.B., page 17.

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and courage, but our numbers are not so many as may be desirable. Our friends in Lucknow have food only for five or six days, and the effort must be made to save them at any cost." *

14th November, the force advances on Lucknow

At break of day the ranking and arranging began; but it was 9 A.M. before the main column formed under Sir Colin's own eye was under way. The country in front of it was a wide tract some miles square, well cultivated with cane and corn, and dotted with huge clumps of trees, bordered on the north by the canal and flanked on the north-east by the Goomtee which wound and twisted like an English stream. Nigh the river on a plateau was the Dilkusha (Heart's Delight), a favourite country seat of the Kings of Oudh, surrounded by a fine park which would do credit to an English domain. Northwards below the plateau about half a mile away lay the Martiniére whose mango woods stretch to the edge of the canal.† Both the Dilkusha and Martiniére were highly defensible positions, and Colin Campbell determined they should be the base of his operations.

Advancing between the Alumbagh and fort of Jallalabad the main column struck across the plain nearly due east. Greathed with

* "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., volume II, page 5.

† The Martiniére is a fantastic pile of buildings which the French adventurer Claude Martin erected as a residence for himself. Lord Valentia who visited Lucknow in 1803 writes:—"I went out to drive at Constantia, the residence of Claude Martin. It is a strange fantastical building of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fretwork, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese Mandarins and ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology. It has a handsome effect at a distance from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets; but on a nearer approach the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers, and Grecian pillasters I believe was never before devised. Within the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco work painted yellow to imitate gilding. It is not yet finished, but by his will he has directed that it shall be completed according to his plan. In a vault under the house he was according to his will buried and a large plain slab with the following inscription marks his resting place:—'Here lies Major-General Claude Martin, born at Lyons, 1735; arrived in India a common soldier, and died at Lucknow, the 13th December 1800. Pray for his soul.' Claude Martin was a native of the city of Lyons, and served under Lally in the regiment of Lorraine. After Chandernagore was taken by Clive he entered the service of the East India Company and rose to the rank of Captain. He then entered the service of the Nawab of Oudh but was allowed by the Company to retain his rank and enjoy promotion. He amassed a large fortune and by his will formed colleges at Lucknow, Calcutta and Lyons. His directions that his palace at Lucknow should never be sold but should 'serve as a college for educating children and men in the English language and religion' were carried out by the British Government."

his infantry and guns facing the canal were left to guard its left rear, but it was to close up and form the rear when the main body came in touch with the enemy. For three miles no enemy was seen. They had expected that the advance would again be made by the Charbagh and were taken by surprise. It was hard work getting the heavy guns across the fields and rivulets, but the sailors and sappers overcame all difficulties. At length the leading troops approached the park wall: and were met by a long line of musketry fire. The advance guard was quickly reinforced by Captain Remington's troop and No. 17 battery and more infantry composed of companies of the 5th Fusiliers, 64th Foot and 78th Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, with the 8th Foot in support. The cavalry and artillery pushing through an opening in the park wall and the infantry advancing, the enemy were quickly driven out of the Dilkhusha and over the crest of the plateau down to the Martiniére below. On the cavalry and artillery reaching the brow of the slope, they were saluted with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. Hardy of the Royal Artillery having quickly brought up a heavy howitzer, Remington's Horse Artillery and Bourchier's battery vigorously replied. Under cover of their fire the infantry advanced and bounding over the wall drove the rebels from the Martiniére at the point of the bayonet. The cavalry went into them as they flew and chased them till they plunged into the canal. Watson * with the hot blood of youth thundered entirely alone into their cavalry. A hand to hand contest ensued. He slew their leader, a fine native officer of the 15th Irregulars. Dreadfully beset by six troopers he fought, until Probyn seeing his imminent danger galloped forward with the two squadrons and rescued him from his assailants. For this "and gallantry on many other occasions," Watson received the Victoria Cross.

Lieutenant Watson awarded the Victoria Cross

By noon the Dilkhusha and Martiniére were both occupied. Brigadier Hope's brigade was then brought up and arranged in position in the wood of the Martiniére at the end opposite the canal, being flanked to the left by Captain Bourchier's field battery and two of Captain Peel's heavy guns. Brigadier Little with the cavalry and No. 17 battery occupied the plain in front of the Martiniére, while beyond, in front of the Dilkhusha, was Russell's brigade. He was strictly

Dilkhusha and Martiniére occupied

* Now General Sir John Watson, V.C., K.C.B., Bombay Staff Corps.

From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—" Indian Mutiny," volume III, page 339.

commanded not to allow our left to be turned, for it would lead not only to our communication with Alumbagh but also our commissariat stores and ammunition, which were being brought up, covered by a strong rear-guard under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart of Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, being cut off. Russell with the conception of a daring soldier pushed forward several companies of infantry and seized two villages on the bank of the canal of the utmost stragetic importance. They had not been long held when the enemy drew out and attacked our position between Banks' House and the villages and from some groves on the opposite bank opened a heavy fire on them. Brigadier Little ordered an immediate advance of the centre. A few rounds from his guns sent the rebels back into the city. The cavalry having cleared the bed of the canal and the groves, the column returned to the Martiniére where they were ordered to bivouac during the night. No sooner however were the horses untraced than another and more vigorous attack was made on our position in front. "The force turned out like magic, Remington was first upon the road and went well to the front, nearly up to the canal bridge, followed by the remainder of the artillery and cavalry. The infantry as each successive column arrived on the plain deployed along the banks of the canal, while the 53rd, 93rd, and 4th Punjab Infantry, attacked with vigour the main body of the enemy and drove them back with slaughter, pursuing them beyond the canal." *

Lieutenant Mayne and Captain Wheatcroft killed

Two very promising young officers lost their lives. Lieutenant Mayne, Bengal Horse Artillery, who was shot through the breast, and Captain Wheatcroft, Carabineers, doing duty with Her Majesty's 9th Lancers † whose chest was torn open by the carcass of a shell.

* "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 136.

"On this occasion the 53rd, 93rd and a body of the 4th Punjab Sikhs distinguished themselves."—From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny" volume III, page 340.

† From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," volume III, page 340. "At the conclusion of the fight I heard, with great grief, that my poor friend Mayne had been killed, shot through the breast a few seconds after he had left me. He was seen to turn his horse and after going a short distance, fall to the ground, when picked up he was quite dead."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K. G., volume I, page 313.

"Not many hours before, six of us, Wheatcroft and Mayne being of the number, were

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The soldiers bivouacked on the ground with their arms beside them. Late at night the old Chief visited the field hospital, spoke a kindly word to each man, and gave an order that if necessary their wants should be supplied from his own private stores. Then he too dearly loving a bivouac slept in the open near his men.

Sir Colin Campbell had intended to make the great advance next day, but the provisions and ammunition had not arrived. All day the enemy had hung on the rear-guard and Ewart having often to drive them back, he did not close up to the column until late next morning, when every kind of baggage was stored in the Dilkhusha which was held by Her Majesty's 8th Foot, half the cavalry and five guns, placed under the command of Brigadier Little. About midday an attack upon the picquets posted in the low ground, by the river on our extreme right flank, was repulsed by the cavalry and horse artillery, two guns of the Madras native troop of horse artillery being prominently engaged. In the afternoon the Commander-in-Chief, in order to impress the enemy with the belief that no advance was contemplated in that direction, made a reconnaissance of the position opposite to our left. The artillery was massed on the left front, the picquets were withdrawn from the right and orders issued that a constant fire of mortars should be kept up during the night on the Begum's palace and the barracks. Meanwhile Sir Colin satisfied himself that the ground on the right or near bank of the river was open and favourable for the advance of the column. In the evening he signalled from the Martiniére where he had caused a semaphore to be erected, to Outram and Havelock—"Advance to-morrow." When darkness fell a huge bonfire was lighted on the top of the plateau, salvos of balloon shells were discharged, and Peel's rocket cars * poured their deadly contents into the city.

15th November

sitting under a hedge; a beautiful little bullock, chased by some soldiers, jumped into our circle, Wheatcroft caught him. It was unanimously voted that he should be kept for Christmas Day, Wheatcroft adding, at the time, 'I wonder how many of us will be alive.' Both were gallant officers, and deeply regretted."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 137.

* "Though on your own side, the very sight of the little car, with the mast slipt in its centre, makes your hair stand on end. Reader, if ever you see it coming near you (Peel will in all probability be whistling or telling some amusing anecdote—in fact as much unconcerned as if going to an evening party), and you are trying to snooze off the effects of a hard day's work, quietly move off as far as possible: your rest is gone. A more diabolical apparatus for

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Lieutenant Roberts brings up the Reserve ammunition

Sir Colin had signalled to Outram that he would advance next morning. But he doubted if sufficient reserve of small arm ammunition had been brought from Alumbagh for the hard work before the men on the morrow. He therefore sent for Lieutenant Roberts and ordered him to return with an escort to Alumbagh and bring up the reserve rifle ammunition. He "desired that the Ordnance officer whose fault it was that sufficient ammunition had not been brought" * should go back with Roberts and be left at the Alumbagh. At 9 P.M. Roberts started, accompanied by Younghusband, Hugh Gough, the Ordnance officer, two squadrons of cavalry, and 150 camels. The route chosen was the one by which the force had advanced, but after leaving the Dilkhusha they lost the track. Roberts produced a compass and by its aid they struck the right direction, "but that did not help us to clear the ravines, which, in our efforts to turn or get through them, made our way appear interminable." † At length the Alumbagh was reached, the ammunition laden on the camels, and the party started on their return journey. "Day had dawned before we came in sight of Dilkhusha and by the time I had made the ammunition over to the Ordnance officer it was broad daylight. As I rode up to the Martinière I could see old Sir Colin, only partially dressed, standing on the steps in evident anxiety at my non-arrival." ‡

By 8 A.M., the soldiers having had their breakfast, the force was put in motion. A squadron of Hodson's Horse with Blunt's troop of Bengal Horse Artillery and a company of the 53rd led the way. Hope's and Russell's brigade followed: the ammunition and the Engineer Park came next, and Greathed's brigade brought up the rear.§ The force consisted of not above three thousand bayonets, while

rousing an army from its repose was never invented; but, abominable as is the disturbance they make, their effect, as Peel used them, must have been terrific in a crowded city."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 137.

* "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.P., volume I, pages 318-319.

† "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, pages 318-319.

‡ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, page 320.

§ Greathed's brigade (except the 8th Foot left at Dilkhusa), like Bourchier's battery, remained to guard our left flank until mid-day, when it was ordered to follow the column and form the rear-guard.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, page 32.

"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 139

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sixty thousand armed men, mostly trained soldiers, concentrated in a position of great strength, barred their way. But our soldiers were of England's best.

The column moving from our extreme right crossed without delay the canal, for it was almost dry, and the banks not being steep presented little difficulty to the passage even of heavy guns.* Then, clinging to the river bank, the force marched through narrow tortuous lanes, or low thick plantations enclosed by mud walls, till it struck a cart track, which bending sharply to the left led through some gardens into a village. As the advance guard made the sharp turn, it was received by a heavy fire of musketry. Through an opening in the street could be seen on the right, within musketry range, the Secunderbagh or Alexander's Garden—a high walled enclosure about one hundred yards square, with bastions † at the angles, and carefully loopholed. From the front, from some enclosures on the right, from some houses on the left, the enemy plied the advanced guard with musketry. The cavalry could not advance on account of abattis and barricades. They could not retire, for the narrow lane with high banks was blocked with infantry and artillery. Great was the confusion. Sir Colin rode forward into the thick of the tumult, stormed, animated, and ordered. A gun from the advanced guard was run on a bank and opened on the Secunderbagh, the company of the 53rd, also an advance guard, was sent to line the enclosures on the right, and the cavalry by a clever move were got into some

Storming of the Secunderbagh

* "Expecting an attack from the Cawnpore side, the enemy committed a fatal error, having dammed up the canal and broken all the bridges between Banks' House and the Charbagh Bridge, leaving the portion near the Goomtee perfectly dry. The banks not being steep, presented little difficulty, to the passage even of heavy guns."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 137.

† Colonel Bourchier, a most accurate writer, states:—"The position consisted of a high walled enclosure of strong masonry, 120 yards square, carefully loopholed all round, flanked at the corners by circular bastions, and containing beside a double story of houses, producing a double line of fire. In the centre was a two-storied house, from which, and from the parapeted flat roof, a triple fire was kept up."—"Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 139. Colonel Alexander in "The Recollections of a Highland Subaltern" writes:—"The Sikandarbagh was a large enclosure, about 150 yards square, flanked at the four corners by pentagonal bastions. These bastions were occupied by two or three little rooms, each 'giving' by separate doors on to the broad walk which ran along the wall all round the inside of the enclosure, and having flat roofs, with their concreted masonry parapets heightened, strengthened and loopholed with sand bags."—"Recollections of a Highland Subaltern," by Lieutenant-Colonel W. Gordon-Alexander, page 77.

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side lanes. The Chief ordered Blunt's Horse Artillery troop to come into action. The gallant commander turning his horses sharp to the right, dashed straight up the steep and seemingly impracticable bank. After much struggling and tugging the top was reached and Blunt galloped forward through a deadly cross fire of musketry, gained an open ground at the end of the lane between a large square enclosure called a serai * or resting-place for travellers and the Secunderbagh, and unlimbering his guns opened fire. Colin Campbell also faced the steep bank; his charger with two or three strides carried him to the summit, and following Blunt at full speed he placed himself near one of the guns. Blunt had to turn them in three directions, to the right to keep down the heavy musketry fire from the Secunderbagh, to the left and left front to check the deadly fusillade from some huts a few yards away, and to the front to reply to the cannonade which the enemy had opened from the Kaiserbagh. "Men and horses were knocked over right and left." † Sir Colin himself was struck with great force on the thigh by a musket shot which, passing through a gunner, had killed him on the spot. But though the bullets flew thicker and closer Blunt held his ground, and then the 93rd who had been supporting the 53rd in clearing the enclosure came forth from the winding lane and rushed at the huts to the left from which the most severe fire came. A dead wall stopped them. "In at the roof." "Tear off the tiles and go in through the roof," shouted the old *Chief*. In an instant the Highlanders sprang on the roof, tore them open, and drove the rebels out. Then supported by two of Blunt's guns they pursued them across the plain. Two of the enemy's guns were raking the road. Some of the 93rd with a few of the 53rd, under the leadership of Captain Drummond Stewart, dashed at them and seized them in gallant style.‡ The Highlanders pursued their advantage, drove the rebels out of the serai, seized the barracks § and immediately

* "In front of the south side at not twenty-five yards' distance was a carefully loopholed serai."

† *Serai.* A square building generally with four towers enclosing a courtyard, with a well in the middle. It has numerous little chambers for the use of travellers with loopholes opening to the outside.

‡ "Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, compiled and edited by Roderick Hamilton Burgoyne Lale, 93rd Highlanders," page 188.

§ "An immense building in the shape of a cross, with a tower in the centre, which stood in a sort of large square without houses round the greater part."—"Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, compiled and edited by Roderick Hamilton Burgoyne Lale, 93rd Highlanders," page 188.

converted it into a military post, the 53rd in skirmishing order connecting it with the main attack.*

While these brilliant actions were passing, two of Travers's 18-pounder guns had been brought forward, and the sappers having cut down part of the high bank, Sir Colin called upon the infantry to drag them up. Willingly and gallantly the soldiers responded to the call, and after great exertions they hauled them up by ropes and under a most smiting fire put them in position, about sixty yards from the south-east corner of the wall. The infantry were placed in a copse with a low dry mud bank in front which afforded them some slight shelter, and they kept up a lively musketry battle with the garrison, while the guns bombarded the wall. The hard white Indian mortar fell in flakes, but the stout rampart remained intact. Hardy, Captain of the battery, was killed, the senior subaltern was wounded, Blunt's charger, a beautiful grey Arab, was shot. Men and horses were knocked over.† But the combat was maintained. It had continued for half an hour when a loud cheer announced that a rent had been made in the walls. It was small, but the enemy's fire was so destructive and time so precious, that Sir Colin ordered the assault, and uncovering his grey hairs, he waved his forage cap for a sign to advance.‡ In an instant

* "This action on the part of the Highlanders was as serviceable as it was heroic, for it silenced the fire most destructive to the attacking force."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, v.c., k.g., volume I, page 323.

† "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, v.c., k.g., volume I, page 324.

‡ "How I won the Victoria Cross," by Henry Kavanagh, page 106.

Major Alison, ("Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858), Sir Hope Grant ("Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58, compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B.," page 186), Sir Hugh Gough ("Old Memories," *Pall Mall Magazine*, November, 1896), Lord Roberts ("Forty-one Years in India"), Thomas Kavanagh ("How I won the Victoria Cross"), all of whom were present, mention the gallant race between the Highlanders and the Sikhs. In the Historical Records of the 93rd Highlanders the incident is mentioned. Sir Colin Campbell in his official despatch states that "storming of the Secunderbagh was done in the most brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders and the 53rd and the 4th Punjab Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston." He also adds :—"I must not omit to name in the most marked manner Subadar Gokul Sing, 4th Punjab Rifles, who in conjunction with the British officers, led the 4th Punjab Rifles at the storming of Secunderbagh in the most daring manner." Lieutenant-Colonel W. Gordon-Alexander Lale, 93rd Highlanders, who was also present, challenges in "Recollections of a Highland Subaltern" (1898), the statements of these witnesses. He writes :—"There never was any question at the time of any of the 4th Punjabis having entered the breach with us at the first rush, except apparently, in the minds of the Head-Quarter staff and Sir Colin himself, who most unquestionably mistook the turbaned Punjab Sappers and Miners, in a uniform similar to the 4th

soldier and sepoy were over the wall with a loud clamour, and a keen and gallant race took place between the Sikhs and Highlanders, as Gokul Sing of the Sikhs waiving his tulwar over his head dashed in front of his men, and Paul of the 4th Punjab Infantry with voice and action urged on his wild followers, closely followed by the 53rd led by Gordon, and the battalion of detachments under Barnston. They rushed forward through the storm straight to the breach. Lieutenant Cooper of the 93rd, Lieutenant Burroughs and Colonel Ewart of the same regiment, Captain Lumsden of the 30th Bengal Infantry,* Corporal Robert Fraser, Lance-Corporal Dunlay, and Private William Nairn, all of the 93rd, were amongst the first to scramble through it.† They kept the enemy at bay until a number of Highlanders and Sikhs one by one pushed through the narrow hole, when they rushed in a body into the open square. Ewart, accompanied by Cooper,

Punjabis, for men of that regiment, because these sappers raced with us to the breach for the purpose of enlarging the hole for us, and lost some of their number killed and wounded, before they reached. None of us saw Sir Colin's despatches for months afterwards, and when we did, those of us who, like myself, knew that the paragraph given below (above) was misleading would hardly have ventured to argue that question with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: thus it has remained uncontradicted and unexplained to this day." But there was no reason why Major Alison's statement that Paul with his voice and action urged on his wild followers should have remained uncontradicted for forty years. Sir Hope Grant's Diary was printed in 1873; Historical Records of the 93rd Highlanders in 1883. On reading "The Recollections of a Highland Subaltern" I wrote to Lord Roberts on the subject, who replied:—"It is no use telling me that no Punjabis went in by the breach when *I saw* them racing with the Highlanders for it and go in by it with them." Lieutenant-Colonel R. A. Cooper, who was one of the two first, if not the very first, in the breach, states:—"One of the 4th Punjab Rifles and one of the 93rd were in front of me." Colonel Alexander further states that Lieutenant Paul "led his men past the north-east bastion opposite his position round to the north-west bastion, at the opposite corner of the enclosure to that which the breach had been made, and succeeded in scaling the wall there. That is to say, the 4th Punjabis, or the bulk of them, effected by themselves, without the aid of artillery, or, I believe of scaling ladders, a lodgment on the roof of the bastion at the opposite side of the compass to that from which we entered." Lord Roberts writes:—"You may take my word for it that no troops stormed the north-west bastion. How could they? no breach was made in it, and the wall was a great deal too high to be scaled without ladders and we had none. Having two years ago spent many hours in a careful examination of the Secunderbagh I am certain no troops could scale the high wall or the bastion without scaling ladders."

* Attached as Interpreter to the 93rd Highlanders.

† "A drummer-boy of the 93rd must have been one of the first to pass that grim boundary between life and death, for when I got in I found him just inside the breach, lying on his back quite dead—a pretty, innocent-looking, fair-haired lad, not more than fourteen years of age."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, page 326.

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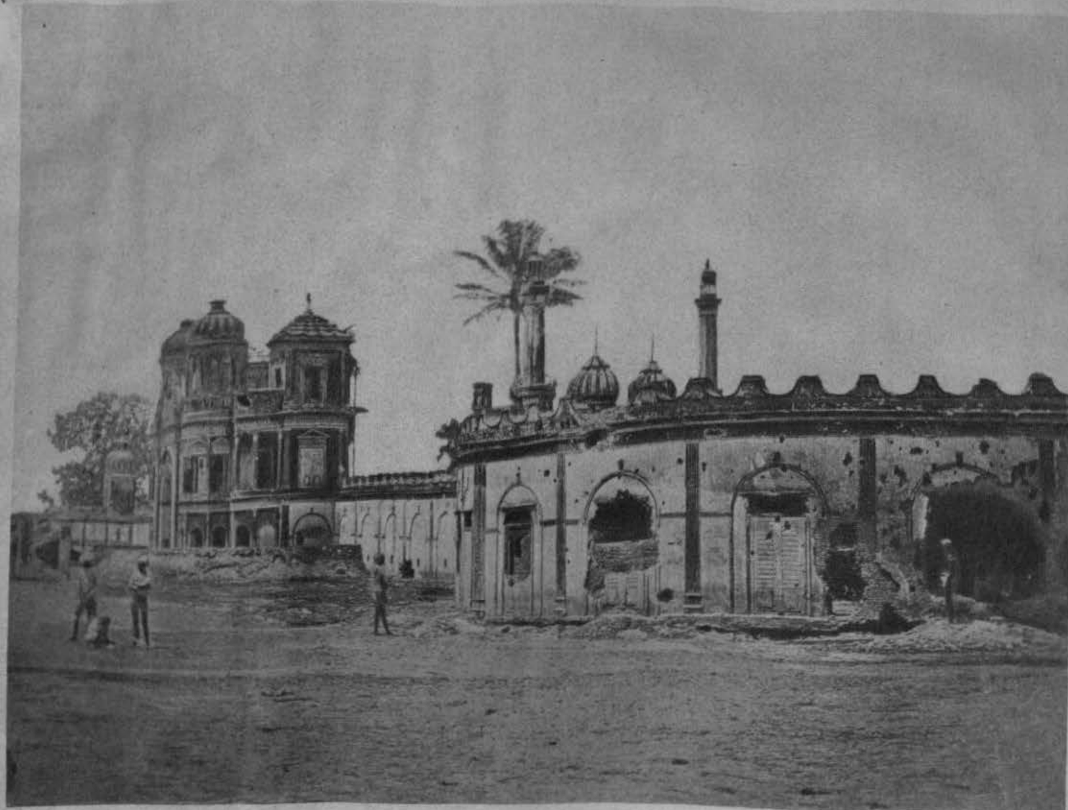


Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

THE SIKANDRA BAGH SHOWING BREACH, LUCKNOW, 1858.

Lumsden,* and a few soldiers and Sikhs, took the path to the right. On turning to the left at the end they came upon a large body of rebels. Lumsden, a man of uncommon bravery, waved his sword above his head and called out to the Highlanders, "Come on, men, for the honour of Scotland." He fell dead. A stalwart rebel came at Cooper with a shield in his left hand and a sword in his right. "He dropped his shield for a moment, we both cut at each other at the same instant (my sword was six inches longer than regulation). I caught him fair on his head, he cut through my feather bonnet and deep into my head and forehead, as he fell dead." Ewart at the same time was engaged in a desperate fight with a knot of rebels, several of whom he shot with his revolver.

Meanwhile Burroughs accompanied by some of his men had on entering the breach taken the path to the left towards the gateway. He had not gone far when a number of the enemy made a rush out of the gate-house. "Having but three men with me—Corporal Robert Fraser, Lance-Corporal John Dunlay † and Private William Nairn—and one of these, Dunlay, having been struck in the leg by a musket ball—we retired and commenced firing, which checked the men coming at us. As soon as a few more men had got through the breach I again advanced with them to the gate-house which we found occupied by the enemy, and with whom we immediately entered into a hand to hand fight." In the scuffle Burroughs, whilst he was cutting at one of the rebels, received a sword cut on the head from another sepoy. "My feather bonnet saved my head and my life. It was dented in like a bishop's mitre." At this moment the 93rd and the 4th Punjab Infantry poured in through the

* "It is right that I should say, I have read the account given of this affair by Colonel Malleson in his History of the Indian Mutiny," in which he says:—*No other officers accompanied them* (Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart and Lieutenant Cooper); in this, however, he is evidently misinformed, for I have the *best* authority, that of Lieutenant-General Ewart, for stating that Captain Lumsden was also with him. And in a letter to me, dated 22nd June 1892, he adds—" If any man deserved the Victoria Cross that day it was poor Lumsden, who was, as you know, attached to the 93rd as interpreter. I never saw any man in all my service behave more gallantly, and had he not been killed I should have tried to get it for him." "Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, compiled and edited by Roderick Hamilton Burgoyne Lale, 93rd Highlanders." Note, pages 186-187.

† Lance-Corporal John Dunlay was awarded the Victoria Cross "for being the first man now surviving of the regiment (93rd Sutherland Highlanders) who, on the 16th of November 1857, entered one of the breaches of the Secunderbagh at Lucknow with Captain Burrough whom he most gallantly supported against superior numbers of the enemy."—*London Gazette*, 24th December 1858.

gateway. Finding the crush at the breach too great, a party of the stormers passing to the left had made for it and found it carefully protected by a traverse of earth and masonry. Gallantly led by a Dogra Subadar, a body of the 4th Punjab Infantry rushed the traverse and drove the rebels from the earthworks. They fled through the gateway, and the heavy doors were on the point of being closed when a Mahomedan, Mukurrab Khan by name, "pushed his left arm on which he carried a shield between them, thus preventing their being shut; on his hand being badly wounded by a sword cut he drew it out, instantly thrusting in the other arm when the right hand was all but severed from the wrist." * Truly a gallant bit of work—no finer done in a campaign memorable for its brave deeds. The doors could not be closed and Mukurrab's comrades simply forced them back and rushed into the enclosure whilst the 53rd broke through a window on the right. The enemy finding escape impossible fought with the courage of despair and the fury of religious hate. A din of hideous noises rose into the air: the rattle of musketry: the curses and yells of sepoys: the fierce cry of the British soldier "Remember Cawnpore, boys." From the windows around the courtyard the rebels poured bullets as thick as hail on the assailants. The Sikhs, shooting and bayoneting, mounted the narrow staircase step by step—a final struggle and the bodies were hurled into the flower beds below. In the courtyard waxed the mighty fray. A dark mass of sepoys fiercely wrestling were slowly and with horrid carnage pushed back by the bayonet into a pavilion in the centre of the garden. Here they sullenly and obstinately maintained the struggle, but gradually they were driven to the northern wall. The earth was wet with dark blood: dead and wounded, some of them with their clothes in a blaze, lay in a horrid pile, a yard or more in height. Above the mass stood on a narrow ledge the survivors slashing with sabres the British soldier as he charged home with the bayonet. Every man perished fighting. But there was no pause in the contest. A body of rebels held out in one

Gallant action of Mukurrab Khan

* Lord Roberts writes :— "This devoted action of Mukurrab Khan I myself witnessed, for with Augustus Anson I got in immediately behind the storming party."

For this act of heroism Mukurrab Khan was given the Order of Merit, the Indian equivalent of the Victoria Cross, but carrying with it an increase of pay. At the end of the campaign Mukurrab Khan left the service, but when his old Commanding Officer, Colonel Wilde, went to the Umbeyla Expedition in 1863, Mukurrab Khan turned up and insisted on serving with him as an orderly.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, pages 326-327.

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Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

THE INTERIOR OF SIKANDRA BAGH, LUCKNOW, 1858.
After the slaughter of 2,000 rebels.

of the towers and from above sent down a smiting fire. Officers and men threw themselves against the strong door in the vain hope of bursting it open. Then a gun was brought inside and the roar of cannon and the crashing of walls increased the maddening din. The door fell and the staircase was stormed. Now the tumult gradually ceased and the night's dead silence held the garden. Next morning two thousand sepoys dressed in their old uniforms lay in heaps about the garden. The small bayonet wound and the deep gash of the Sikh tulwar bore witness how fiercely fought and how terribly won was the combat at the Secunderbagh. Sir Colin Campbell did not use the language of exaggeration when he wrote—"There never was a bolder feat of arms."

Adrian Hope advances towards the Residency

It was long past noon when Adrian Hope drew off his brigade from the Secunderbagh and advanced towards the Residency along the road which after passing between the Secunderbagh and the Serai runs across an open plain for about twelve hundred yards. He had not gone three hundred yards when he came across on the left of the road a small village with garden enclosures round it, which was cleared by him and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon. Captain Peel's Royal Naval siege-train, together with the battery and some mortars, then went to the front and advanced towards the Shah Nujjeef,* a domed mosque with a garden, about two hundred and fifty yards further on and one hundred yards to the right of the road. The mosque had been converted into a strong post by the enemy: the high strong square walls had been loopholed with great care: the entrance had been covered by a regular work in masonry: and the top of the building had been crowned with a parapet.† Between the Shah Nujjeef and the plain lay a thick fringe of jungle, with mud cottages scattered about and eastern garden enclosures with tall trees, which concealed the large low dome of the mosque till you were on it. To our right between the mosque and the Secunderbagh was a mosque called the Kadum Rasul.‡ This rebel

Capture of the Shah Nujjeef

* Shah Nuggeef or Shah Najaf is the Mausoleum of Ghaziee-den Haedar, the first King of Oudh in 1814, and was built by himself. It is situated about 150 yards to the east of the Mote Mahal and 180 yards to the south of the right bank of the Goomtee. It was called Najaf from the hill on which is built the tomb of Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed, of which the Mausoleum of Ghazie-den Haedar is said to be an exact copy.

† From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters, Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.

‡ The Kadam Rasul, or prophet's foot-print, was a mosque which contained a stone bearing the impress of a foot, said to be that of the Prophet, which had been brought from Arabia by a pilgrim.

position was very strong, but it must be attacked straightaway and taken. It barred the road to the Residency. The mortars and Peel's guns being placed in battery, with their left resting on the village, opened fire. From the Shah Nujjeef and the garden enclosures came a deadly fire wasting the gunners. Martin Abbot Daniel, a midshipman in command of an 8-inch howitzer, was killed by a round shot which tore away the right side of his head. Peel had just asked him if his gun was ready; "he replied 'All ready, Sir,' when I said 'fire the howitzer,' and he was answering 'Aye, Aye,' when a round shot in less than a moment deprived him of his life." * Barnston's battalion was now ordered to drive the enemy from the fringe of the jungle and the enclosures. They advanced in skirmishing order under cover of our guns. But Barnston fell wounded by the premature bursting of one of our own shells. The fall of their leader and the sharp musketry caused the men to waver and retire. Norman put spurs to his horse and galloping into their midst asked them if British soldiers were going to retire before sepoys.† Straightway they were back into the fringe of jungle. More infantry were brought to support them. The enclosures were taken and the buildings in front burnt. But the battle made no way. From the Shah Nujjeef the rebels kept up an unintermitting fire of grape and musketry: from the guns in the Kaiser Bagh and Mess-House they dealt their blows one after another. At 4 o'clock they opened a converging fire from a heavy gun on the opposite bank of the river whose first shot blew up one of Peel's tumbrils. Already owing to the deadly musketry one of his guns could not be worked and the fire from the remainder had diminished. Peel's usually bright face became grave and anxious. "Sir Colin sat on his white horse, exposed to the whole

Martin Abbot Daniel

* Letter from Captain Peel to his father. "We buried him," added Peel, "where he fell, our Chaplain reading the service, and in laying him in his resting-place we felt, Captain, officers and men, that we had lost one of the best and noblest of the *Shannon's*."—"The *Shannon's* Brigade in India," by Edmund Hope Verney, page 33.

† "I had many opportunities for noting Norman's coolness and presence of mind under fire. On this particular occasion these qualities were most marked and his action was most timely."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, v.c., k.g., volume I, page 331.

"A retreat was not to be thought of; indeed our remaining so long stationary had been an encouragement to the enemy, and every one felt that the only chance for the little army fighting against 30,000 desperate mutineers, with every advantage of position and intimate knowledge of locality in their favour, was to continue to advance at all hazards; and this our gallant old Chief decided to do."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, v.c., k.g., volume I, page 342.

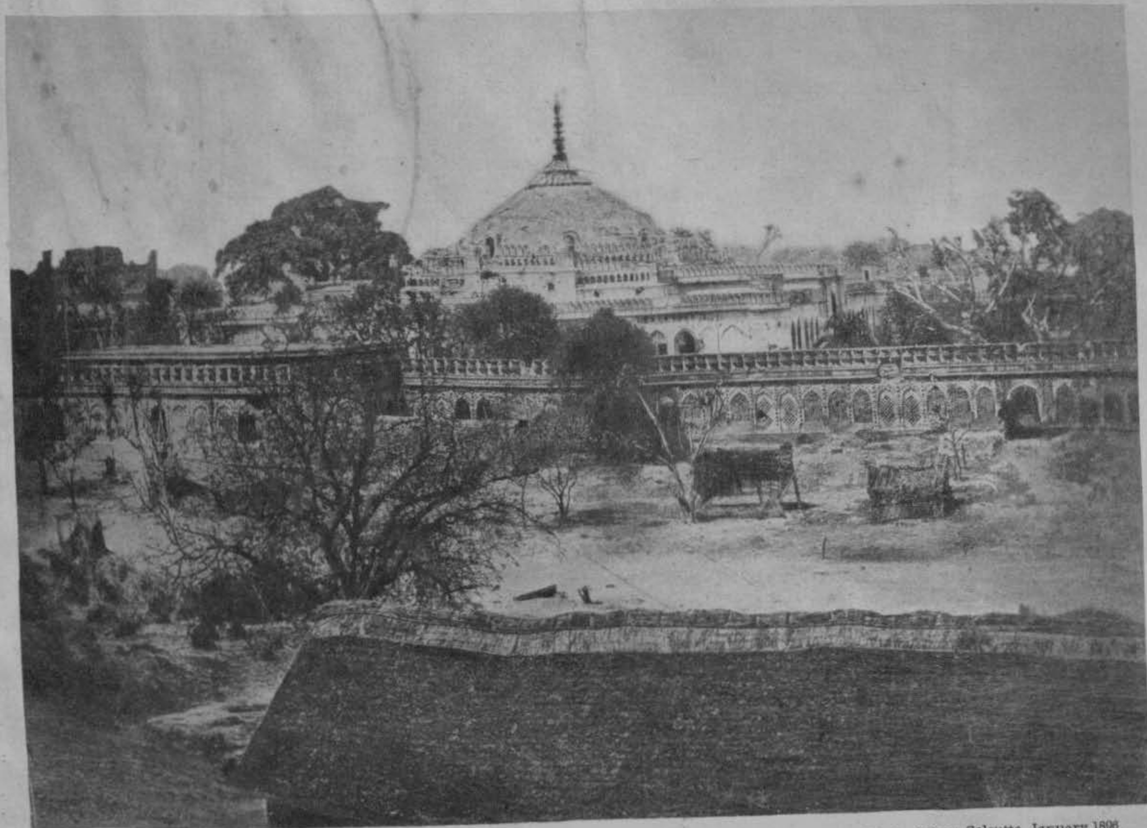


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Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896

SHAH NAJAF, LUCKNOW, 1858.

storm of shot, looking intently on the Shah Nujjeef, which was wreathed in columns of smoke from burning buildings to its front but sparkled all over with the bright flash of fire arms." For three hours had the bombardment lasted and no impression been made on the stout walls. For three hours had the Shah Nujjeef sent forth a perennial stream of fire not to be checked by our heavy guns. To remain was sheer death. To retreat by the narrow defile blocked with troops was out of the question. The moment was decisive: Colin Campbell collecting the 93rd around him said unto them: "I had no intention of employing you again to-day, but the Shah Nujjeef must be taken. The artillery cannot drive the enemy out, so you must with the bayonet." Thus spoke the old chief, and he stirred the spirit and soul of every man by telling them that he would lead them himself.

Sir Colin Campbell forthwith gave orders that Middleton's battery of the Royal Artillery should pass Peel's guns on the right and getting as close as possible to the Shah Nujjeef open fire. Instantly and magnificently was the command obeyed. With loud cheers, the drivers waving their whips, the gunners their caps, they galloped forward through the deadly fire, unlimbered, and poured round after round of grape upon the parapets of the enclosure. Peel manning again all his guns redoubled his fire. Under cover of this heavy cannonade the 93rd commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay advanced, supported by Barnston's battalion of detachments. "The grey-haired veteran of many fights rode with his sword drawn at their head; keen was his eye, as when, in the pride of youth, he led the stormers at St. Sebastian. His staff crowded round him. Hope, too, with his towering form, and gentle smile, was there leading, as ever was his wont, the men by whom he was loved so well." * As they approached the angle of the enclosure the shells and musketry thinned their ranks. Two of Sir Colin's personal staff were struck down. Hope, his Aide-de-Camp, and his Brigade-Major had their horses shot under them.† The men went on

* "Blackwood's Magazine," October 1858.

† The elder, Major (now Major-General Sir A. Alison, Bart., K.C.B.,) lost his left arm. The younger brother, Lieutenant (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel) F. Alison, was only slightly wounded.

"Almost instantaneously the narrow path along which we were proceeding was choked with wounded officers and dead and struggling horses. It was here that Sir Archibald Alison, Sir Colin's Aide-de-Camp, lost his arm and his brother (another Aide-de-Camp) was wounded. Adrian Hope's horse was shot dead, indeed, very few escaped injury, either to themselves or their horses. I was one of the lucky few."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., volume I, page 333.

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steadily till before them towered a wall 20 feet high from whose parapet and countless loopholes came in blasts a storm of musket balls. Many fell. The assailants replied to their slayers with musketry yet with little effect, and no ladders were available for escalading the ramparts. Nothing to be done but to breach them. Under cover of the withering fire of the Highlanders, sailors and soldiers, Hope, Hay, and David Baird lending a helping hand, dragged them within a few yards of the fortification, and Peel behaving very much "as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate" poured his broadsides into the stout massive walls. But no impression was made on the solid masonry. Never did English soldier and sailor distinguish himself more than on this afternoon. They worked the guns, though every moment many were killed and more were wounded. But while their own losses were terrible they could inflict but little in return.* They were being destroyed by bullets, and that was all. Day was fast turning into night when the strife must be abandoned. The rocket tubes were brought up and whilst they discharged their fiery missiles into the building, Peel with the reluctance of a brave man slowly withdrew his guns. Allgood, the Assistant Quartermaster-General with head-quarters, carried the gloomy tidings of the failure of the attack to the Chief. Sir Colin ordered him to tell Hope that he was not to retire till he had collected all his dead and wounded. This was done. Meanwhile Hope turning to Allgood remarked:—"This is very mortifying; let us take 50 men and try and look into the place before we retire." Collecting some fifty Highlanders, the two friends (they had been school-fellows) crept stealthily through the brushwood, guided by Sergeant J. Paton of the regiment, till they reached a rent in the wall which Paton had discovered.† A soldier was pushed up it with some difficulty. He reported that no enemy could be seen: Hope and Hay accompanied

Sergeant Paton

* Salmon.—A few paces from the wall grew a lofty tree. A rebel marksman firing from the top of the wall was causing considerable havoc among the gunners when Peel called out that any one who should mount the tree and shoot the man should be recommended for the Victoria Cross. At once the appeal was answered; for Nowell Salmon (now Admiral Sir Nowell Salmon, V.C., K.C.B.) and two saliors immediately rushed forward. One fell dead at the foot of the tree, Salmcn swarmed up and the salior from below handed him the rifles. But Salmon was soon spied and fired at and severely wounded. For this act of gallantry he was awarded the Victoria Cross.

† Sergeant Paton was awarded the Victoria Cross. "For distinguished personal gallantry at Lucknow on the 16th November 1857, in proceeding alone round the Shah Nujjeef under an extremely heavy fire, discovering a breach in the opposite side to which he afterwards conducted the regiment, by which means that position was taken."

by several men immediately followed. Allgood returned for a company of sappers—who quickly arriving, enlarged the opening and more Highlanders entered. Then Hope's small party pushing on gained the main gateway and threw it open for their comrades. "The white dresses of the last of the garrison were just seen gliding away amidst the rolling smoke in the dark shadows of the night." Allgood has lined to inform the Chief that the Shah Nujjeef was in our possession, "and never," he wrote, "was I the bearer of more joyful news."

Sir Colin Campbell and Hope Grant with their respective staffs took up their quarters in the Shah Nujjeef but it was only nominal, for Sir Colin always made a point of sleeping with his men, who bivouacked at their posts, which extended in a semi-circle from the Shah Nujjeef and Kudum Rasul (which had been seized and occupied) on the extreme right to the barracks on the extreme left. The centre was at the Secunderbagh and on the plains on its front and left: communication with the Dilkusha had been kept up by the dash and energy of the cavalry.

Meanwhile the garrison had not been idle. On the evening of the 15th of November, just as it was growing dark Sir Colin's welcome signal "advance to-morrow" was made out. Early next morning Havelock and Outram repaired to the Chuttur Munzil and from the upper storey anxiously watched the progress of the relieving force. It had been determined that as soon as it reached the Secunderbagh the outer wall of the advance garden of the Palace should be blown in by the mines which had been previously laid; that two powerful batteries which, concealed behind the lofty wall, had been constructed in the enclosure, should then open on the insurgents' defences in front; and after the desired effect had been produced that the troops should storm the Hiran Khana or Deer House and the steam engine-house, two buildings which intervened between our extreme front and the Moti Mahal. Three days before mines had been prepared for the formation of breaches in the former, loaded and tamped.

Outram and Havelock operate in support of the garrison

About 11 A.M. the boom of heavy guns announced that the Chief was advancing, and soon after the heavy rattle of musketry proclaimed that he was approaching the Secunderbagh. Soon by the aid of glasses could be seen the guns opening on the fortified garden. Orders were immediately given to explode the mines. They were fired, but the action was feeble. Two breaches were made to the right with a long piece of wall intervening: and on the left the wall was only split and

shaken.* No sooner had the breaches appeared than the enemy covered them with a heavy fire of musketry and shot from the Kaiserbagh. Our heavy guns replied. But the long strip of wall in front impeded their fire. "The guns are turned upon it, and round shot after round shot passes through it, as it would through a sheet of paper, leaving only a round hole behind." † At last, however, large masses crumbled and broke away, affording a clear space for the batteries of Earl and Olpherts to batter the buildings, while Maude shelled them from six mortars in a quadrangle of the palace. In the palace square the troops were formed and brought up in succession through the approaches. At a quarter-past three two of the mines at the Hiran Khana exploded with good effect. At a quarter-past three the advance sounded. "It is impossible," wrote Havelock, "to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession. They were held against all attacks, and during the night the artillery pushed forward their heavy guns, and some batteries were rapidly constructed from which to open on the Kaiserbagh now within easy breaching distance. The Mess-House and the Moti Mahal alone intervened between the two forces, but, after the Moti Mahal was taken, communication with the Residency would still be exposed to a flanking fire from the Kaiserbagh.

* "The batteries, which had been for some time previously constructed for this purpose, were concealed behind a lofty wall forming the boundary of our position in that quarter. On them were mounted four 18-pounder iron guns, and one 8-inch iron howitzer, four 9-pounder field guns, and two 24-pounder field howitzers, under the skilful direction of Captain Olpherts, Lieutenants Fraser and Smithett (the latter twice wounded and distinguished on several occasions), and Staff-Sergeant Melville, of the 1st Company, 5th Battalion. In position behind were six 8-inch mortars under Captain Maude, R. A., most ably assisted by Lieutenants Mattand, R. A., and Simpson and Ward, of the Bengal Native Infantry, the two latter being volunteers well instructed in artillery science." From Major V. Eyre, commanding Artillery Brigade, to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff, with the forces under Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., dated Camp Alumbagh near Lucknow, 8th January 1858.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 43 A.

† "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 431.

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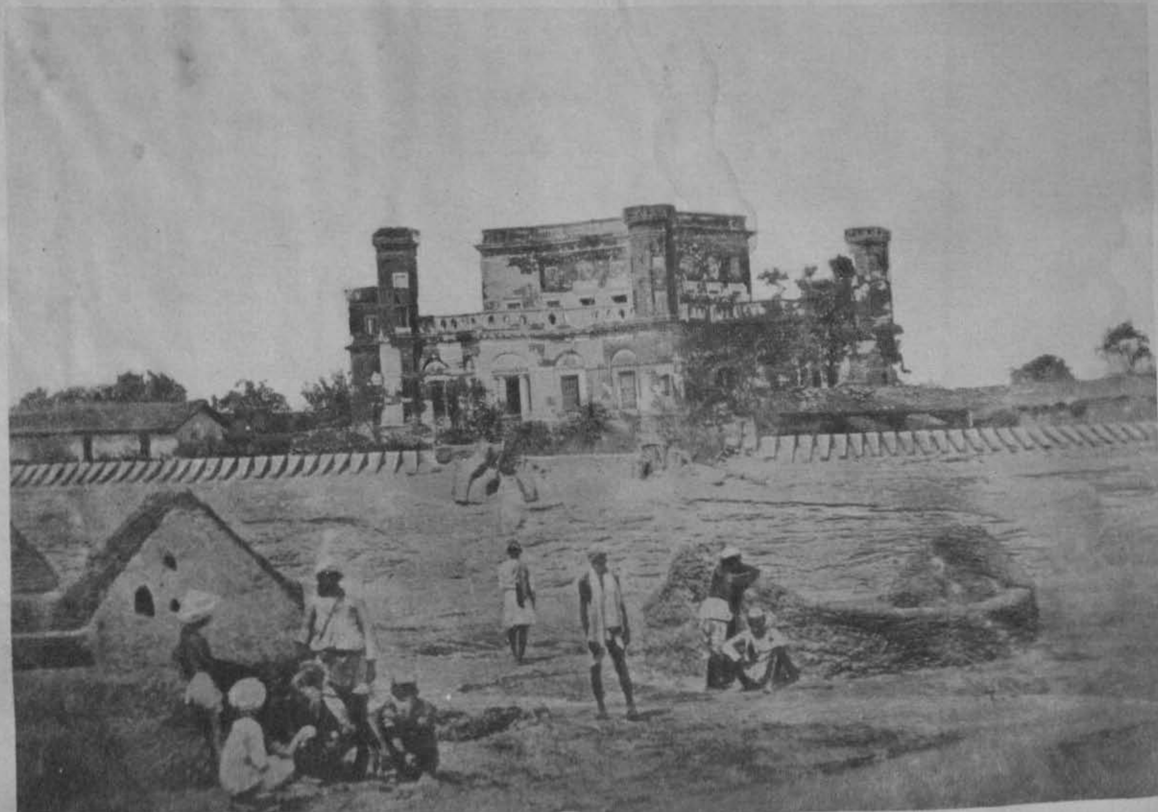


Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

While it was still dark, Sir Colin's troops were roused by the clang of guns, the blowing of bugles, and the beating of drums. They promptly and silently fell into their ranks prepared to meet the foe, but no attack was made. The enemy contented themselves with opening a fire of round shot on the Serai near the Secunderbagh, where the wounded had been carried for greater protection and safety. At the first streak of day Lieutenant and Adjutant McBean, assisted by Sergeant Hutchinson, ascended the roof of the Shah Nujjeef and under a brisk fire hoisted the regimental colour of the 93rd on its highest pinnacle, as a signal to the garrison how far the Chief had advanced. It was answered by a colour on the Chutter Munzil. Then Sir Colin with characteristic caution and deliberation arranged the plans of the day. His first care was the protection of his left rear which, though partially secured by the occupation of the barracks, was still liable to be turned by the enemy at or near the hospital and the four bungalows south of it situated by the side of the road which ran from the city to the Martiniére, just beyond where it bifurcated to the Dilkhusha. In order therefore to secure his rear in that direction Sir Colin sent Brigadier Russell with detachments of Her Majesty's 82nd, 23rd and 93rd Highlanders to capture the bungalows and Banks' House near the bridge over which the road to the Dilkhusha crosses the canal. After considerable difficulty the enclosures of the bungalows were occupied, and a detachment of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, led by Lieutenant Keen, pushing forward, occupied Banks' House.*

November 17th Attack on the Mess House and the Moti Mahal

Gallant conduct of Lieutenant McBean and Sergeant Hutchinson

Meanwhile the Naval Brigade and Mortar Batteries were bombarding the Mess-House, a building of considerable size, defended by a ditch twelve feet broad and scarped with masonry, beyond that a loopholed wall.† Sir Colin in order to save his infantry had determined to use his guns as much as possible, and it was after the building had been battered for about three hours and the musketry fire of the enemy had begun to slacken, that the Chief thinking it might be stormed "without much risk" gave the order to advance. The storming party consisted of a company of the 90th Foot under Captain Wolseley and a picquet of Her Majesty's 53rd under Captain Hopkins, supported by Major Barnston's battalion of detachments under Captain Guise, Her Majesty's 93rd Foot, and some of the Punjab Infantry under Lieutenant Powhil. The Mess-House was carried immediately with a rush and by order of

Capture of the Mess House.

* "Eight Months' Campaign amongst the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 146.

† From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, dated Head-Quarters, Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.

Lieutenant Roberts plants a regimental colour on the Mess-House

the Chief, Lieutenant Roberts, assisted by Sir David Baird and Captain Hopkins, planted under a shower of bullets a regimental colour on one of its turrets to show Outram and Havelock how far they had advanced. Twice was it shot down. "Notwithstanding I managed," wrote Lord Roberts, "to prop it up a third time on the turret, and it was not again hit, though the enemy continued to fire at it for some time.* The troops then pressed forward with great vigour and lined the wall separating the Mess-House from the Moti Mahal. Here the enemy made their last stand. Captain Wolseley sent for some sappers, who coming up made openings in the wall through which the troops poured and attacked the network of buildings within. The rebels fought stubbornly, but they were driven at the point of the bayonet from room to room, and after the lapse of some time thrust forth from the vast enclosure.

Capture of the Moti Mahal

The relieving force and the garrison were now separated only by the open space between the engine-house and the Moti Mahal. It was not more than four hundred and fifty yards across, but it was exposed to a hot fire of musketry from the Kaiserbagh and a heavy cannonade from the Badshah Bagh across the river. Lieutenant Moorsom, Her Majesty's 52nd Foot, a soldier of great ability and uncommon bravery, was the first to attempt the dangerous passage across. Creeping cautiously along the road he reached Sir Colin's post unhurt and returned with two officers. Then Outram and Havelock with their respective staffs went forth to greet the Commander-in-Chief. The enemy's fire had slackened, and Havelock accompanied by Lieutenant Palliser and his bugler, Dick Pearson of the 78th, reached the Moti Mahal in safety. Hope Grant, an old companion in arms, was the first to congratulate him on being relieved. "He went up to the men, who immediately flocked around him and gave him three cheers. This was too much for the fine old General: his breast heaved with emotion, and his eyes filled with tears. He turned to the men and said: "Soldiers, I am happy to see you; soldiers, I am happy to think you have got into this place with a smaller loss than I had." Hope Grant asked him what he supposed the loss amounted to. He answered that he had heard it estimated at eighty, and was much surprised and grieved when I told him we had lost about forty-three officers and four hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.† The party then proceeded to meet Sir Colin at the Mess-House. Whilst threading the passages and courts of

Outram and Havelock cross over to meet Sir Colin Campbell

Meeting of the Generals

* "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B., Volume I, page 337.

† Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 192.

the Moti Mahal, they nearly lost their lives. A shell fell near Havelock and bounding against a wall burst at his feet. He was prostrated by the concussion but sustained no other injury. The distance from the Moti Mahal to the Mess-House was only twenty-five yards, but an iron tempest swept across the open road. Colonel Napier and Lieutenant Sitwell were wounded in running the gauntlet of fire, but Outram and Havelock crossed over unhurt to the outside wall of the Mess-House enclosure. An opening was quickly made by the Sappers through which they entered. On the sward sloping down from the Mess-House stood Colin Campbell, and a blaze of shot and musketry from the Kaiserbagh rose upon them as the three veterans met. "This was a very happy meeting," wrote Hope Grant, "and a cordial shaking of hands took place." * "On Outram privation had not told so heavily, but the hand of death was on Havelock, though he lighted up a little on being told for the first time that he was Sir Henry." † Loud rang the cheers as the news sped along from post to post that the three Generals had met. "The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished." In these few terse words the Commander-in-Chief announced the accomplishment of a brilliant achievement, guided by a master hand, and brought to a successful close by the pluck of the British soldier. "Every man in the force," wrote Sir Colin, "had exerted himself to the utmost and now met with his reward." Meeting of Colin Campbell, Outram and Havelock

A few of the officers of the Relieving Force ran the gauntlet of fire and entered the Residency. Not only the old garrison but the men belonging to the First Relieving Force bore manifest tokens of what they had gone through,—bad food, foul air, and noisome exhalations had left their mark. "In the ragged summer clothing in which they had entered, these men looked worn and hungry, and in one corner was seen the curious spectacle—I suppose common enough in the garrison—of a British soldier making chuppaties (unleavened cakes) for himself out of his scanty allowance of flour. Entering a battery which was trying to silence some of the enemy's guns across the river, these officers saw a few men grimed with smoke and without coat or waistcoat, all so alike in costume and appearance, that it was only by asking which was the officer, that they ascertained they were standing close to one they well knew,—one of the bravest officers A visit to the Residency

* "The Sepoy War," by Sir Hope Grant, page 192.

† On the 26th September Havelock received the degree of Knight Commander of the Bath.

"The Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel Sir Henry Norman, C.B., page 24.

of the Bengal Artillery."* When they came to the Bailey Guard and looked at the battered wall and gateway, not an inch without a mark from a round shot or bullet, "we marvelled," wrote Lord Roberts, "that Aitken and Loughman could have managed to defend it for nearly five months. There were plenty of evidences on all the surrounding buildings of the dangerous nature of the service which they and their gallant Native comrades had so admirably performed. Although we were pressed for time, we could not resist stopping to speak to some of the Native officers and sepoys, whose magnificent loyalty throughout the siege was one of the most gratifying features of the mutiny." †

That night Sir Colin and his men again lay by their arms. They had joined hands with the Residency but a most difficult and dangerous task remained to be done. They had to cover and protect the withdrawal of all the women, children, sick, wounded, ammunition, treasures, and stores, and they had to effect this in the face of a vast force of the enemy. When Sir Colin met Outram and Havelock he promptly informed them of his intention to carry out his original plan for which he had prepared them ‡—the withdrawal of the garrison, and he made his arrangements with them for the prosecution of his design.

Outram desires to hold the town

The next day Outram waited on the Commander-in-Chief and expressed his opinion that the Kaiserbagh should be taken and that we should then continue to hold the town, for which he considered that "two strong brigades of 600 men" would suffice after the Kaiserbagh had been taken. Sir Colin was "of opinion that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now

* "Lecture on The Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel Sir H. W. Norman, C.B., page. 24. Captain William Olpherts, now General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., K.C.B.

† "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.C.B., Volume I, page 340.

‡ Sir Colin Campbell wrote to Outram on the 10th of November:—"I am here with a very weak force, deficient in all essentials, I have not ammunition for more than three days' firing; but I have come to hand out the wounded women and children and garrison, and I have not means to attempt anything more, and I shall be thankful to effect this. I shall blow up the Residency. My communications are threatened from Calpee, where the Gwalior Contingent, with forty guns, sixteen of which are heavy, are swelled by remnants of many regiments under Koer Sing to about ten thousand men. They must be dealt with. You must make your arrangements for getting every one clear of the Residency when I am able to give the order, abandoning baggage, destroying guns, but saving the treasure. Until the wounded and women are in my camp the real business of the contest cannot go on, and all the efforts

maintained by me to the Alumbagh and constantly under the fire of the enemy, that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged." Sir *Colin* had always been of opinion that the position taken up by Henry Lawrence was a false one, and after becoming acquainted with the ground and worked his troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion was confirmed.* "I therefore submit," he telegraphed to the Governor-General, "that to commit another garrison in this immense city is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it." He considered that "a strong moveable division outside the town with field and heavy artillery in a good military position is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to the practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oudh." These were the general grounds for his opinion. "The more special ones are the want of means, particularly infantry, field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control, and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oudh than such a division as I have mentioned as evidence of the intentions of Government." The state of our communications in the North-West Provinces was no doubt the strongest reason for Sir Colin's retirement. It was essential to the communication and to the state of the scattered parties that Sir Colin having extricated the garrison at Lucknow should fall back as speedily as possible on Cawnpore, the key of all future operations, the safety of which he knew was menaced by the whole Gwalior contingent. Sir Colin had made up his mind and all opposition was in vain.† Outram was the Political Officer, but Sir

Sir Colin Campbell's reasons for the withdrawal of the garrison

* See page 21 of Introduction.

† Field Marshal Lord Roberts writes :—"That the Chief was right there can be no room for doubt. Their force was barely strong enough for the service it had to perform. Every man was on duty night and day : there was no reserve to fall back upon ; and had he listened to these proposals and allowed himself to be drawn into complications in the city, it is more than probable that those he had come to succour would have been sacrificed. The wisdom of his decision was fully proved by subsequent events and unreservedly acknowledged by Hope Grant and others who at the time differed from him in their ideas of the course which should be adopted."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B Volume I, page 342.

Colin would not defer the withdrawal of the garrison till the decision of the Governor-General had been obtained. After the garrison had been removed he sent on the 20th of November a telegram to the Governor-General stating the case, and added: "Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country I have delayed further movement till I shall receive Your Lordship's reply." The following day Lord Canning replied: "The one step to be avoided is a total withdrawal of the British forces from Oudh. Your proposal to leave a strong moveable division with heavy artillery outside the city, and so hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy."

Telegram to the Governor-General, 20th November

Lord Canning's reply to the telegram

Though the left rear of Sir Colin's position had been secured on the night of the 17th instant by the occupation of Banks' House and the four bungalows, our hold on them was most precarious. The enemy appreciating the value of the position kept up an unceasing fire on all the buildings occupied by Brigadier Russell and on the barracks occupied by the Highlanders. To silence that fire was of the utmost importance. For not only did the buildings protect our left rear, but Sir Colin, not wishing to be dependent on the narrow tortuous sandy lane by which he had advanced was desirous of withdrawing the garrison by the metalled wide road which ran from the Secunderbagh between the bungalows and the barracks to the Dilkhusha Bridge over the canal guarded by Banks' House. On the evening of the 17th Brigadier Russell sent word he could not silence the fire of the enemy without heavy guns. On the morning of the 18th Sir Colin ordered Colonel Biddulph, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, to proceed to the barracks to discover whether guns could be taken down in safety to Russell's assistance and report to the Commander-in-Chief on the whole situation. Lieutenant Roberts was sent with him to bring back the required information.* On arriving at the barracks Colonel Biddulph in company with Colonel Bourchier proceeded to reconnoitre the whole of the roads which formed a network among the villages lying between the barracks and the canal. A suitable one having been found, a 9-pounder and a 24-pounder howitzer, with four 5½-inch mortars were at once got into position in the enclosure of the second bungalow, the mortars being placed behind the house itself to shell the neighbourhood.

18th November

Colonel Bourchier and Colonel Biddulph reconnoitre the roads

* We found Russell in a very uncomfortable position exposed to a hot fire and closely surrounded by the enemy, who were holding the British Infantry Hospital and other building within a few yards of him.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B., Volume I, page 344.

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An iron 18-pounder of the enemy's was not above 120 yards distant "and to avoid giving notice to the enemy of our intentions by opening an embrasure, the muzzle of the 9-pounder was crammed through a hole that a shot had just made. As we fired so did they. A cloud of dust is all I remember: Brigadier Russell, Captain Ogilvie, and I were on our backs. Poor Russell had just been grazed on the back of the neck:* the clods broken from the wall had knocked us over. Again and again we plied our gun with round shot, behind a charge of grape; they never again fired and withdrew their gun."

Brigadier Russell wounded

On Brigadier Russell being disabled Colonel Biddulph "who hitherto had wandered about in a shower of bullets as if they had no power over him" assumed command. He organised a column to storm the hospital, and as he was explaining his plans to Colonel Hale at the gate of the enclosure of the third bungalow a bullet struck him dead; passing through his brain, but previously going through Hale's hat." † Colonel Hale then assumed command. "At 4 o'clock P.M. covered by a quick fire from the 24-pounder howitzer at the gate, and a flight of shells from the mortars, he led his column from the enclosure of the third bungalow into the gardens opposite, and so into the hospital; which was stormed and carried after a stubborn resistance." It was unfortunately thatched and was soon set on fire by the missles poured on it by the enemy. "From the heat alone it was impossible to remain there; Colonel Hale therefore formed up his men and withdrew them in perfect order, to his original position." Then was done a brave act. A man of the storming column had been wounded and left in a garden for an hour-and-a-half. A drummer stuck by him. When the column returned he dashed into the picquet and reported the fact. Lieutenant Harrington, Bengal Artillery, an officer of Her Majesty's service whose name has not been recorded, a gunner and the drummer pushed out under a very hot fire and brought in the wounded man. "As they left the picquet a round shot struck the ground under their feet." Lieutenant Harrington was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Death of Colonel Biddulph

Lieutenant Harrington, Bengal Artillery, awarded the Victoria Cross

* "Eight Months' Campaign among the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 152.

† Hale seemed to have a charmed life: a round shot took his horse from between his legs; a bullet went through his hat, and a third grazed his heels."—"Eight Months' Campaign among the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 153.

(Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, H. M.'s 82nd.)

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Enemy attack the picquets covering the centre

The enemy, encouraged no doubt by the retirement of the extreme left, made a smart attack on the picquets covering the centre of the line. Sir Colin supported them with a company of Her Majesty's 23rd and another of Her Majesty's 53rd. "Not having any more infantry at my disposal, Captain Remington's troop of Horse Artillery was brought up, and dashed right into the jungle with the leading skirmishers, and opened fire with extraordinary force and precision." * "The enemy were beaten off, the fire was heavy, and the sight of the flashes of the cannon and musketry in the dusk of the evening was striking in the extreme."

The operations on the 18th disclosed to Sir Colin that his force could do no more than hold their scattered posts, and that the proposed line of retirement by the road which ran from the Secunderbagh to the Dilkhusha was impracticable. It entailed not only the re-taking of the hospitals but also the capture of the Emambara and a mosque which were commanded by the guns of the Kaiserbagh. He therefore ordered on the morning of the 19th a fresh reconnaissance to be made of the villages from the back of the bungalows down to the bank of the canal. It was found that they contained a number of country roads, rough it is true but sufficiently good for the transit even of heavy artillery. He determined to remove his guns along them and to withdraw the garrison by the route along which he had advanced. He therefore commanded Colonel Ewart merely to hold the barracks and Colonels Hale and Wells the bungalows—positions which covered his left rear. He had constructed a flying sap between the Engine House and Martin's House to screen the women and children from the fire of the Kaiserbagh when they crossed the open space between the Engine House and the Moti Mahal. A naval gun commanded by Midshipman Lord Arthur Clinton was placed on the road between the Secunderbagh and Moti Mahal in order to reply to any fire that opened on it. Then Sir Colin sent a note to Outram informing him that his arrangements for the withdrawal of the women and children, sick and wounded, had been completed and conveyances would be sent for them.

19th November, Sir Colin Campbell abandons second line of retirement

* "I superintended this affair myself," wrote Sir Colin Campbell, "and I have particular pleasure in drawing your Lordship's attention to the conduct of this troop on this occasion, as an instance of the never-failing re iness and quickness of the Horse Artillery of the Bengal Service. —"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 334.

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The news of the abandonment of the Residency sent a shiver through the garrison. It seemed to them who had so long defended its crumbling walls an intolerable shame. They had done all men *could* do. They had kept at bay a vast host; they had suffered pitifully; they had seen their wives and children perish around them; and to leave the spot where they had died was a sore distress. "And now we must leave our little room the scene of so much sorrow and suffering," wrote a widow, "and before night I shall pass the spot where my husband was killed and where perhaps he found his grave." The men of the garrison were a ragged remnant, shadows of themselves sinking under bad food, fever, and cholera, but they were willing to fight and to endure till they brought the defence to a more triumphant issue. Their gallant commander went to Outram and begged that the Banner of England which "shot through the staff and halyard they had ever raised anew" should not now be furled. Remove the women and children, the sick and wounded, but leave him one regiment and he would hold the old Residency and from its topmost roof the Banner of England should fly. Outram mentioned the offer to the Chief who sternly refused it, and it required a bolder heart to refuse it than to storm the breach at San Sebastian. The command had gone forth and it must be obeyed.

Removal of the women and children from the Residency

On the 18th of November the women were busy packing, but it was not an arduous task. "My worldly effects," wrote one of them, "can be put into a very small compass, since they consist merely of a few old clothes." The next day at noon the women and children left the entrenchment where for five months they had endured the most poignant sufferings. Some of them were conveyed in carriages, closely packed, many were seated on native carts, not a few walked. Passing through the Bailey Guard Gate, the Furhut Baksh, and Chatar Munzil palaces they came to the advanced battery. The line of fire from the Kaiserbagh to Martin's House had to be crossed. The horses had been so long on siege fare "that they had forgotten the use of their legs and had no strength and so came to a standstill every five minutes, invariably choosing the most dangerous parts of the road for their halt. At one place we were under so hot a fire that we got out and ran for our lives, leaving the vehicles to fate; and two natives who were helping to push behind were shot." From Martin's House they passed

through the Court of the Moti Munzil on the side of which they gained the high road leading to the Secunderbagh. Here they were exposed to the enemy's guns on the other side of the river; and leaving the carriages they crept along the scarp past the exposed places. "In one spot we were passing a 24-pounder manned by some sailors of the naval brigade; they all called out to us to bend low and run as fast as we could; we had hardly done so when a volley of grape whizzed over our heads and struck a wall beyond." After an hour's tramp they reached the Secunderbagh unhurt where they were welcomed by the old Chief. He determined to keep them there till night fell and then send them on in doolies for the horses could not drag the vehicles through the sandy lanes. At 11 P.M. a long procession of litters started for the Dilkhusha, the women and children were borne along "in the most solemn silence; the only sounds were the tramp, tramp of the doolie bearers and the screaming of the jackals. It was an awful time, one felt as if one's life hung in a balance, with the fate we had so long dreaded; but our merciful Father, who had protected us through so many and great dangers, brought us in safety to Dilkhusha, where we arrived about two in the morning." They found a shelter in a large tent, and being thoroughly worn out they soon fell asleep on the ground. They were come out of captivity and the weary months of imprisonment were past, but many of them would awake to have to bear up alone without a husband, without a child. In their soiled and tattered garments Peel's coxswain said he thought they "looked a rough lot." The years roll away, but the golden tints of their courage and heroic devotion remain on the pages of history.

20th November, Bombardment of the Kaiserbagh

On the morning of the 20th Peel's heavy guns which were established in battery near Martin's house opened on the Kaiserbagh. Under cover of their fire which gradually assumed the character of a regular breaching and bombardment, the treasure, the food, and all the guns that were not destroyed were removed out of the Residency without the enemy's knowledge, his whole attention being

22nd November

concentrated on the defence of the Kaiserbagh. On the 22nd three wide breaches yawned in its walls, and Sir Colin having thus led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated sent to Outram final directions silently to evacuate the Residency at midnight.

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A little after eleven the fourteen garrisons were silently withdrawn from the outposts. The name of each man was called out * to see if all were present. Through the darkness came a low answer. Then a bright flame shooting upwards displayed the shattered Residency and the men leaning on their muskets. The hot metals from some of the guns which had been burst had set fire to the heap of wood used as a rampart. A critical moment. But the enemy only continued their desultory musketry fire. The clock struck twelve. The order was given. And the illustrious garrison marched past Outram and Inglis who stood at the Bailey Guard Gate. "All have passed, Sir," reported the Aide-de-Camp. Outram waved his hand to Inglis to precede him. But Inglis at once said: "You will allow me, Sir James, to be the last, and to shut the gates of my old garrison." Outram at once yielded, and Inglis closed the gates. So ended the defence of the Residency at Lucknow.

Withdrawal of the garrison

The garrison after passing the Clock Tower turned sharp to the left and entered the Tehri Kote enclosure and passed in succession the palaces held by us. "All along we see files of ranks ready to join us, and here the Artillery Staff, there the Engineers fall in. We have left our defences and glance up to the right towards the Kaiserbagh to see if the enemy is visible. No, all is still, not a shot is fired." † The high road is reached and amidst the deepest silence Outram's column passed through Sir Colin's advanced posts to the Secunderbagh and down the sandy tortuous lane through which the Chief had advanced. Then each exterior line gradually retired through its supports till all the ground as far as the Secunderbagh was abandoned. There Hope's brigade with fifteen guns were drawn up and Sir Colin was with them ready "to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up the picquets." When Outram had reported that his force had withdrawn and a few minutes had been given for the narrow lanes to be clear,

* The necessity of the precaution of calling out the names is illustrated by the fact that one officer had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the enemy. "The hour fixed for our departure was midnight, and before this arrived many of the garrison laid down to take some rest, making sure of being awoke when the movement began. Among these was Captain Waterman of the 13th Native Infantry. He fell fast asleep, and his friends failed to awake him. The troops had marched out of the Residency and cleared the palaces altogether before he awoke. His consternation on awaking may well be imagined. He was alone in the abandoned position and could discover no traces of his friends. Appalled by the horror of his position, he followed in the track of the retiring force as fast as he could, but not until he had left the old position far behind him did he overtake the rear-guard. The shock he had undergone was too great for him, and he long suffered from its effects."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, pages 455-456.

† "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Gubbins, page 455.

Hope's brigade fell back and passed through the line. At that moment the enemy opened an artillery and musketry fire All thought the retirement was discovered : and the enemy would come forth from the Kaiserbagh and attack the retiring force. But Peel promptly sent a fire of rockets into the Kaiserbagh and their fire ceased. Then the fifteen guns filed off and Sir Colin sent orders by staff officers that the extreme posts on the left should make their way by a road which had been explored for them. He alone remained with a handful of infantry. Then when sufficient time had been given for the guns to get clear of the lanes and village "the infantry who had been lying down, and gazing with anxious eyes, and ears on the stretch, in the direction of the enemy, quietly arose and filed off through the village with the Commander-in-Chief." *

"Shortly before dawn every soldier was in the position allotted to him, either at the Dilkhusha, in front of it facing the canal, or at the Martinière, at which latter place Sir Colin and the 93rd were established, and warming themselves round fires soon lighted, in rear of that building." †

23rd November. Thus was accomplished the removal of the garrison from the Residency. a skilful movement which merits every praise. The sound judgment of Sir Colin Campbell was manifested in the foresight with which he examined and provided for every contingency. But not unto himself but his troops he gave the praise. He issued a General Order on the 23rd of November thanking them for what they had done. He commended their patience and endurance. "Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of the force have compensated for their small number by increasing exertion." Reminding them how for six days the whole force had been "one outlying picquet never out of fire and covering an immense extent of ground" he praised their valour. "That ground was won by fighting as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks, and it is with the greatest gratification that His Excellency declares he never saw men behave better." And Sir Colin had

* From General C. Campbell, Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp Alumbagh, 25th November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume I, page 351.

† "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel Sir H. W. Norman, C.B., page 30.

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seen the British soldier fight at San Sebastian and Vittoria. Alluding to the movement by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, he declared it to have been a model of discipline and exactness, the consequence of which was, that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous lane, the only line of retreat open, and in the face of 50,000 enemies without molestation."*

In the hour of their success there fell on the soldiers a deep sorrow. On the 19th of November Havelock wrote to his wife:—"Sir Colin has come up with some 5,000 men and much altered the state of affairs. The papers of the 26th September came up with him announcing my elevation to the Commandership of the Bath for my first three battles. I have fought nine since." It was his last letter. Fatigue, exposure, cruel anxiety, and hard fare had impaired his strength, and the next day illness overtook him. As it rapidly increased they carried him on the night of the 20th to the Dilkhusha where a soldier's tent was pitched for him. The next day the enemy made a vigorous attack on the position: the bullets fell around his tent and he was removed to a more sheltered position. He was greatly cheered by receiving the letters from England which had been accumulating at Cawnpore during the blockade at Lucknow, and he spoke of the loved ones at home. He knew that he would never see them again, and with the true calmness born of courage and strength he told those around him that his life was over. Friends came about him. On the morning of the 23rd Mr. Gubbins went to enquire about him. "I was directed," he says, to a common soldier's tent, which was pitched near the one in which we had found shelter. Entering it, I found the General's Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant Hargood, and his medical attendant, Dr. Collinson, lying down. They whispered to me in mournful accents the grievous news that Sir Henry's case was worse, and pointed to where he lay. It was in a doolie, which had been brought inside the tent, and served as a bed. The curtain on my side was down. I approached and found young Havelock seated on the further side, upon the ground

Death of Havelock

* In the last paragraph of the General Order Sir Colin Campbell stated:—"The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow." Sir James was greatly distressed to find the credit assigned to him when due to the Commander-in-Chief. Four years later in his official acknowledgment of the vote of the freedom of the City of London, Outram wrote:—"The withdrawal of the Lucknow garrison, the credit of which is assigned to Sir James, was planned by Lord Clyde and effected under the protection of the troops immediately under his Lordship's command, Sir James Outram merely carrying out his Chief's orders."—"Life of Sir James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., Volume II, page 275.

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by his dying father. His wounded arm still hung in a sling, but with his other he supplied all his father's wants. They told me that the General would allow no one to render him any attendance but his son. I saw that to speak was impossible, and sorrowfully withdrew."

In the evening Outram went to see him. "'His tenderness was that of a brother'—and he said 'I have for forty years so ruled my life, that when death came I might face it without fear.'" On the morning of the 24th of November death came and nobler life had never happier close. Never was a man more widely mourned over or more honoured in his death. On Christmas Day 1857, news reached England of the Relief of Lucknow, and on January the 7th the joy of a nation was turned into mourning by the tidings of Havelock's death.

"Bold Havelock died,
Tender and great and good,
And every man in Britain
Says 'I am of Havelock's blood.'"*

But Havelock belonged to a race that is not confined to a small island, and wherever our English is spoken the news of his death brought sorrow, and men said "I am of Havelock's blood." Let us never forget that the flags in New York were hung at half mast high when Havelock died. Such men as he are the true builders of our nation's greatness.

Soon after the death of their great Captain the march back to Cawnpore began and the soldiers he had so often led to victory bore his body to the Alumbagh. Next morning they interred him in the enclosure under the mango tree which still spreads its branches over his tomb, and the cross carved on it by the hand of Outram was a few years ago still discernible.† "As long as the memory of great deeds, and high courage and spotless devotion is cherished amongst his countrymen, so long will Havelock's lonely tomb in the grave beneath the scorching eastern sky, hard by the vast city, the scene alike of his toil, his triumph and his death, be regarded as one of the most holy of the many spots where the patriot soldiers lie."

* "Death of Havelock," by Alfred Lord Tennyson.

† To provide against future contingencies, Outram caused the grave to be smoothed over so as to escape detection. At the same time he directed such minute measurements to be taken as to lead to the recognition, when required, of the precise site. Moreover, to obviate all accidents, a memorandum of these measurements was forwarded to Calcutta for preservation among the archives of Government.

"Life of James Outram," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., Volume II, page 278.

When Sir Colin Campbell moved on with General Grant's division to Alumbagh on the afternoon of the 24th he left Sir James Outram's division in position at Dilkhusha to prevent molestation of the immense convoy of the women and wounded which he had to transport. Sir James Outram closed up the next day without annoyance from the enemy. On the 26th the force halted in order that the necessary arrangements might be made for the equipment of a strong column which was to remain under his command. His instructions were to remain at the Alumbagh until circumstances should admit of the recapture of Lucknow and to "hold the city" in check in accordance with the desire of the Governor-General.*

24th November, Sir Colin with the women and children moves to Alumbagh

25th November

On the morning of the 27th of November Sir Colin Campbell with the women and children rescued from Lucknow, the wounded of his own and *Outram's force*, together with the treasure and artillery and engineer parks started from the Alumbagh. The convoy extended along at least ten miles of road. To guard it Sir Colin had only three thousand men, amongst whom were the remnant of the gallant 32nd who had so stoutly defended the Residency, the sepoys whose fidelity and courage can never be too highly appraised, and the few Native pensioners who had loyally responded to the call of Sir Henry Lawrence to come to our aid in the darkest hour. Slowly did the long train wend its way and it was sunset before Sir Colin passed Bunnee bridge and encamped two miles beyond. During the day had been heard the low tremulous sound which denotes heavy firing at a distance, and on reaching Bunnee the officer commanding that outpost reported that he had not only heard a cannonade during the day, but it had been audible during the greater part of the previous day. No news had reached Sir Colin from Cawnpore for some time and now the cause of the silence became evident: the Gwalior Contingent were attacking Windham. The contingency of which he had never lost sight and which had influenced him in limiting

27th November, Sir Colin Campbell starts for Cawnpore

Sir Colin's force halts at Bunnee

*On the 26th November 1857, the Commander-in-Chief telegraphed to the Governor-General :—"I march to-morrow for Bunnee with all the wounded, &c. I leave Sir James Outram in possession with a force, including the post of Alumbagh and Bunnee, of 4,000 men, with twenty-two guns, of which four are heavy, besides ten mortars, namely six 8-inch and four 5½-inch. If it is completed with a month's supplies and ammunition of every description (and I have denuded my moveable columns of tents to supply his troops, which will be in a standing camp), I think his position a good one; but I learn from him that he would rather have it further back near the Ganges. Sir James will probably address Your Lordship on the subject. I beg only to report that Your Lordship's instructions have been carried out to the letter."—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 368.

his operations at Lucknow to the withdrawal of the garrison had arisen. Sir Colin also knew how slender was the force at Windham's disposal, how strong the enemy were, and the grave consequences of Windham's not being able to hold his own. Cawnpore and the bridge-of-boats in the hands of the enemy, the situation of his force in Oudh would indeed be grave. To abandon the charge of the convoy was impossible. All must be pressed forward without delay. Orders were issued for a march on Cawnpore the following morning, and Cawnpore was thirty miles away.

28th November Sir Colin resumes his march to Cawnpore

At 9 A.M. on the 28th of November the column preceded by the cavalry and artillery resumed its march At every step the sound of a heavy but distant cannonade became more distinct, but mile after mile was passed over and no news could be obtained. The anxiety and impatience of all became evident. "Louder and louder grew the roar; faster and faster became the march; long and weary was the way; tired and footsore grew the infantry; death fell on the exhausted wounded with a terrible rapidity; the travel-worn bearers could hardly stagger along under their loads; the sick men groaned and died—but still on, on, on was the cry." They had tramped on till noon without news, when a Native suddenly jumped out of cover in a field and handed a letter in Greek character to the staff at the head of the advance guard. It was addressed—"Most urgent, to General Sir Colin Campbell or any officer commanding troops on the Lucknow Road." "The letter was dated two days previously, and said that, unless affairs shortly took a favourable turn the troops would have to retire into the entrenchment; that the fighting had been hard and most severe; and that the enemy was very powerful, especially in artillery. It concluded by expressing a hope that the Commander-in-Chief would therefore see the necessity of pushing to their assistance with the utmost speed." * Soon he received two other notes in succession, announcing that "Windham was hard pressed." "That he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city to his entrenchment." † Three salvos were fired from the battery of the advanced guard to intimate the approach of coming aid, but it is doubtful whether they were ever heard, or, if heard, understood. Sir Colin leaving the infantry and convoy to follow pushed forward with the cavalry and horse artillery.

* "A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B.

† From His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, the 2nd December 1857.

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On reaching Mangalwar he left these behind with orders to Sir Hope Grant to pitch his camp there, and galloped on escorted only by some of his staff. Four miles lay between him and the river bank. On they sped till they saw rising above the flat plain the City of Cawnpore, and the forks of flames which flashed across the sky told it was in the hands of the enemy: the roar of guns proclaimed that a battle was raging. The Ganges gilded with the rays of the setting sun lay before them and across its wide expanse they could trace a dark thread. The bridge-of-boats was safe. Harder they went till they reached the bank of the river where they found a guard of British soldiers under a subaltern. He expressed his joy at seeing them and stammered out "we are at our last gasp." Unfortunate man! Sir Colin flew at him as only Colin Campbell could when roused, and asked him how he dared to say of Her *Majesty's* troops that they were "at their last gasp." Then spurring his horse Sir Colin followed by his staff galloped over the bridge and down the road till they rode into some infantry defending the outworks of the entrenchment. As Sir Colin entered the gate of the fort the men of the Rifle Brigade recognised the well-known face and wiry figure they had so often seen in the Crimea, and sent forth cheer after cheer. They knew that Cawnpore was saved. Sir Colin now learnt the true state of affairs, and shortly after his arrival it was reported to him that Brigadier Carthew had retreated from a very important outpost. The fighting for the night ceased, and Sir Colin having remained with Windham for some time settling the operations for the morrow, rode across the river to his camp "into which all night the guns, stores, women and sick continued to stream." * Peel and his sailors, with the slow-paced bullocks required to drag the heavy 24-pounder, arrived only an hour before sunrise.

Sir Colin and his staff push forward

Sir Colin reaches the entrenchment

When Sir Colin was about to leave Cawnpore to relieve the Residency at Lucknow he sent General Windham three memoranda containing minute and precise instructions for his guidance. In the memorandum dated the 6th November 1857, Windham was told that "his attention was to be immediately directed towards the improvement of the defences and of the entrenchment." He was directed to maintain a careful watch over the movements of the Gwalior force, "which, it is supposed, will arrive at Calpee on Monday, the 9th instant." If this force should "show a real disposition to cross the Jumna, the

Sir Colin's instructions to Windham

* "*A Lecture on the Relief of Lucknow*," by Colonel H. W. Norman, C.B., page 34.

garrison at Futtehpore should be withdrawn to Cawnpore." In such case a post was to be formed at Lohunda, the terminus of the railway from Allahabad, to consist of not less than five companies of infantry and four guns furnished from Allahabad. Parties proceeding from Lohunda to Cawnpore were to be of the strength of a battalion. But the bullock train post was not to be discontinued, " till positive information respecting the movement of the Gwalior Contingent rendered such precaution absolutely necessary." Then General Windham was to make as great show as he could of the troops he might have at Cawnpore, " leaving a sufficient ground in the entrenchment, by encamping them conspicuously and in somewhat extended order, looking, however, well to his line of retreat." General Windham was specially directed " not to move out to attack unless compelled to do so by the force of circumstances, to save the bombardment of the entrenchment." For the present the garrison at Cawnpore was to consist of about 500 men. The detachments of British infantry as they arrived were to be sent into Oudh by wings of detachment unless the General should be seriously threatened. " But of course in such case he will have been able to take the orders of the Commander-in-Chief." Windham was to be allowed to retain the Madras Brigade on its arrival on the 16th of November, for a few days until the intentions of the Gwalior Contingent became developed.*

Windham at once proceeded to carry out the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief with regard to placing the entrenchment in as complete a state of defence as possible. But it was impossible to remedy its chief defects. It never could in a military sense be made defensible. It was surrounded with numerous houses, gardens, and walls. Moreover, the old native city of Cawnpore with its narrow streets was only a few hundred yards distant; " consequently an enemy might (if the city was not defended) approach even with artillery, under cover, to within easy musket range of the works." Windham also with commendable promptitude sent forward according to his instructions the several detachments as they reached Cawnpore. On the 13th of November the Chief of the Staff wrote to him : " He (the Chief) desires me to thank you warmly for all you are doing to support him. The impulse you have given to everything is immense and his expression to me is, ' I cannot be too thankful for having him at Cawnpore just

* Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Windham, dated Cawnpore, 6th November 1857.

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now.' The troops you have sent on will be of incalculable advantage to us as we shall be compelled to leave so many posts as we go along." Windham's spies, however, from day to day informed him that the Gwalior Contingent were gradually crossing the Jumna and he had sound reason to think that the enemy would attack Cawnpore when Sir Colin was engaged in the difficult operation of rescuing the Lucknow garrison fifty miles away. He therefore represented the insufficiency of his force to protect the city if attacked, and on the 15th of November he received the following memorandum by the Chief of the Staff: "Major-General Windham will cause all detachments coming along the Grand Trunk Road to halt at Cawnpore until further orders." * The previous day the Madras brigade commanded by Brigadier Carthew marched into Cawnpore. It consisted of a wing of the 27th, four 9-pounders manned by natives and two manned by Europeans. One of the regiments of which it had been composed, the 17th Native Infantry, had been left at Futtehpore to maintain the communication between Allahabad and Cawnpore. Day by day Windham's force began now to be increased by successive companies or drafts of the 34th, 82nd, 88th Regiments, of the Rifle Brigade and by the remaining wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry. By the 25th of November it had been brought up to a strength of 1,700 effective men. 15th November

Three days after the arrival of Carthew's brigade Windham, following the instructions of the Memorandum to encamp his troops conspicuously, took up a position beyond and to the west of the town near the junction of the Delhi and Calpee roads. The force, under the command of Brigadier Carthew, consisted of detachments from the 34th, 82nd, 88th, and Rifle Brigade, and of the right wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry with six guns. Windham now knew that the enemy had occupied two villages Shewlie and Shirajpur, fifteen miles from Cawnpore, and that the main body was more than twenty-five miles off.† Between the two villages flowed the Ganges canal. Windham conceived the plan of transporting 1,200 men one night up the canal by boats, taking his field guns along the towing paths and landing at daylight. He would fall on the village which his latest intelligence revealed to be most open to attack. Having overwhelmed it he would return to Cawnpore before the main body of the enemy could attack it. Windham collected the boats for the purpose and the tow path was 17th November

* Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General Windham, dated Camp Alumbagh, 14th November 1857.

† "The Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., page 10.

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reconnoitred and found practicable for artillery. But he considered to attempt so forward a movement without special sanction would be acting contrary to the explicit instructions he had received. He therefore sent the plan to the Commander-in-Chief and requested permission to carry it out. The letters he sent announcing the approach of the Gwalior Force, however, never reached the Commander-in-Chief.* On the 19th of November all communication with Lucknow suddenly ceased. Three days after Windham learnt that the rebels had surprised and defeated a police force at Bunnee. Without hesitation he determined to weaken his small force in order to protect the Chief's communication, and on the morning of the 23rd of November he sent a wing of the 27th Madras Native Infantry with two guns manned by Europeans to re-occupy the bridge. That day a native arrived from Lucknow with a small note rolled in a quill. It was from a Commissariat officer with the Commander-in-Chiefs column requesting that ten days' provisions for the whole body should be sent at once to Lucknow. The request for ten days' provision suggested the fear that Colin Campbell was surrounded, and force was lent to the suggestion by the fact that no letter or despatch had been received from him. General Windham now concluded that he could not return for some time, and he expected an attack by the enemy in force. He determined to strike the first blow. He considered the entrenchment and bridge could "be better defended by holding the town and its outskirts than in any other way. But I desired not only to use the town as a cover to the entrenchment, but also to prevent the town itself from being pillaged." † On the 24th Windham, leaving four companies of the 64th Regiment and a small force of artillery to guard the entrenchment, advanced his camp close to the bridge by which the Calpee road crosses the canal. He considered it a good position for carrying out his canal scheme, for he was in hope that every moment a message from Lucknow would come sanctioning its execution.‡ His aim as

* From His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, the 2nd of November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 378.

† "Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, page 229.

‡ "Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., pages 16 and 17. Sir John Adye states that General Windham "had his main body encamped by sanction of the Commander-in-Chief *outside* of the city. At page 10 he writes: "General Windham was to make as great a show as he could of the troops he might have at Cawnpore by encamping them conspicuously outside." But the word "outside" is not in the Memorandum for the guidance of General Windham—See "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 415.

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he tells us was to attack in unconnected bodies the Gwalior Contingent. But the wily Mahratta commander who opposed him was no mean master of strategy. The moment he heard that Windham had advanced his camp he pushed forward his main body, and their leading division took up their position on the Pandu rivulet about three miles to the south-west of Windham's camp. On the news reaching Windham of this movement, he, having neglected the opportunity of surprising the enemy without his Chief's orders, now with singular inconsistency resolved to fight when they were prepared and strongly posted. His intention was to strike the leading division a hard blow and then at once return, stand upon the defensive, and cover his bases.

On the morning of the 26th of November having sent his camp equipage and baggage to the rear Windham advanced to the attack. Four companies of the Rifle Brigade under Colonel R. Walpole went forward in skirmishing order on the right of the road. They were followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught Rangers under Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Maxwell and four light 6-pounder Madras guns under Lieutenant Chamier. The extreme right was covered by about 100 Native troopers. The 34th Regiment advanced at the same time on the left of the road; one wing in skirmishing order—the other in support with four 9-pounder guns. The 82nd was held in reserve in column.* The enemy strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the rivulet, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns, and a body of their cavalry charged the extreme left of the skirmishers. But a party of the 34th Regiment forming square smote them with a crashing volley and sent them flying back. The troops continued their advance, charging as they went; the bed of the rivulet was crossed, the position carried with a rush, and a village more than half a mile in its rear was rapidly cleared. The mutineers in their quick retreat left two 8-inch iron howitzers and one 6-pounder gun on the ground. At this point Windham apparently for the first time became aware that the main force of the enemy was near at hand. He writes in his despatch:—"Observing from a height on the other side of the village that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my entrenchments, and the bridge over

* From Major-General C. A. Windham to His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., Commander in-Chief, dated Cawnpore, 30th November 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 380.

"The Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., page 19.

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the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy up to the bridge over the canal."

Windham encamped for the night on the open ground across the Calpee road immediately in front of some brick-kilns.* Between him and the entrenchment lay the city.† A short note had reached him from the Chief of the Staff informing him that all was well and that Sir Colin's force was returning at once to Cawnpore. Windham now hoped that the blow he had inflicted on the leading division would check the advance of the main body of the enemy till the Commander-in-Chief arrived. But Tantia Topee also knew from the mutineers who had left Lucknow that Colin Campbell was returning. He considered that Windham would not have fallen back after a success unless he was weak, and he determined to crush him before assistance reached him. His force amounted to about fourteen thousand disciplined soldiers and eleven thousand irregulars: his opponents to about seventeen hundred. Tantia had sixty or seventy guns: Windham only ten. Windham also laboured under the disadvantage of being able to get no accurate information. "The spies feared to venture out: several during the previous days had returned horribly maimed, with their arms, ears and noses cut off. There was no cavalry to perform outpost duty and bring in intelligence."

At daybreak on the 27th, Windham's small force were under arms. But there was no sign of the enemy. The natives brought intelligence that they had not crossed the canal in force and that their artillery was on the other side of it. Windham, however, though far from suspecting his real peril, took the additional precaution of ordering up two 24-pounders drawn by bullocks and manned by seamen commanded by Lieutenant Hay, R.N.

About 10 A.M., when reconnoitring from the top of a house, a heavy cannonade on his right flank and the roar of guns on his front revealed to him the gravity of his situation. The enemy had attacked him in both quarters. He sent at once Brigadier Carthew with the 34th, two companies of the 82nd, and four 6-pounder guns to protect his right and defend his approaches to the town by the Bithoor road. Concluding that the flank attack would be the one most vigorously

* There were several topes of trees near the camp, but it was as open and free a space as could be found, considering the restricted chord which the circumstances allowed."—"The Defence of Cawnpore," by Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., page 21.

† "But I desired not only to use the town as a cover to the entrenchment, but also to prevent the town itself from being pillaged."

"To show that this was a long-cherished idea of mine, I wrote on the 10th November to

pressed, for, if successful, it opened the easiest access to the entrenchment, he himself galloped there to watch the operations, leaving Colonel Walpole who commanded the Rifle Brigade to hold the enemy in front. Besides the two battalions of the Rifle Brigade Colonel Walpole had the 88th Regiment, two 9-pounder guns, two 24-pounder howitzers under Captain D. S. Greene, Royal Artillery, and the two 24-pounder guns manned by seamen of the *Shannon*. To the right of him in a wood midway between his position and that occupied by Carthew was posted the main body of the 82nd.

The flank attack was well met and resisted by the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and the Madras Battery under Lieutenant Chamier, together with a small portion of the 82nd under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson. The enemy's fire having been silenced Windham after the lapse of an hour returned to the front where he found Walpole was sustaining a hard conflict. The 24-pounder guns had advanced to meet the enemy and after a short time came in sight of them. The enemy fired the first shot from a gun on the road, but as soon as our guns replied they opened a hot fire with grape and canister from batteries on either side of it. When Windham arrived he found not only was the enemy's fire incessant, but there were indications that his left as well as his right was threatened. To check the movement he turned one of the naval guns in that direction. But the contest was hopeless. Their guns were superior in numbers and calibre. Then our ammunition began to fail and the bullock drivers to desert. Windham issued orders for the brigade to fall back on the brick-kilns and at the same time he sent for the 34th to reinforce him. He also directed Carthew to fall back on the brick-kilns.* No sooner had the

the Chief of the Staff, pointing out certain brick-kilns just without the town as offering the best line of defence. In his reply to me he says (extract of letter dated 11th November 1857)—'Having not had a moment of time to spare, when I was at Cawnpore, I am not able to give an opinion on the military position there. But it appears to me that if your retreat is secured, it is a great advantage to prevent the pillage of the city."—"Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, page 229.

* Captain Drury, who was Brigadier Carthew's Brigade-Major on this occasion, thus described the situation in a letter to a friend at Madras:—"The other position" (Windham's) "of the force had not fared so well, and the General sent for the 34th to strengthen the encampment. Shortly afterwards we were ordered to return to the encampment and occupy some brick-kilns immediately in its rear. This order was repeated, and it was not until the second time that we commenced falling back to the place directed. This order was a grave error. General Windham says he sent a countermand afterwards. That never came."

front brigade begun to retire than the enemy advanced in numbers covering their advance by a brisk fire. Windham intended as soon as the enemy was reported to have crossed the canal to have his baggage and camp equipage "removed and cover its removal (so short a distance had it to go) by holding the village of Sesamhow in his immediate right front, adjacent to the wood in which had been placed the main body of the 82nd. The village was, however, given up without a struggle, the strength of the position lost, and endless confusion created." * When Carthew reached the brick-kilns he found the tents of the encampment had been struck, the heavy baggage was lying in disorder on the ground, and the beasts to carry them away had been driven off.† At that time an order reached General Dupuis to retire on the entrenchment.

Windham after telling General Dupuis to hold the brick-kilns had galloped back to see how matters were going at the entrenchment and on the right flank. He had not proceeded far when he met a staff officer who told him that the mutineers were in possession of the lower part of the city and were attacking the entrenchment. They had taken advantage of his having weakened his right. Fortunately at that critical moment there arrived by forced marches from Futtehpore a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade. Windham, sending orders to General Dupuis to retire to the Fort, put himself at their head and drove the enemy from the lower part of the town. He then riding to the main body ordered Carthew to return to the right with two companies of the 88th and four 6-pounders and occupy the

* Lord Clyde in a letter, dated 25th December 1857, wrote as follows to His Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief:—"Lieutenant-Colonel * * * * * misconducted himself on the 26th and 27th November in a manner which has rarely been seen amongst the officers of Her Majesty's service; his conduct was pusillanimous and imbecile to the last degree, and he actually gave orders for the retreat of his own regiment, and a portion of another, in the very face of the orders of his General, and when the troops were not seriously pressed by the enemy. The consequence was, the men became excited, and a state of things arose which Major-General Windham could not control, though he used his best efforts to meet the difficulty."—"Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, page 232.

† "I now come to a criticism that I consider well worthy of an answer. It is this, 'Why did Windham not send his baggage to the rear on the morning of the 27th? It was an error his not having done so' * * * My reply is very short and simple, namely, 'I think it was an error.' It must not, however, be supposed that I *forgot* to do this; on the contrary, I had, at three o'clock that very morning passed an order directing all the baggage and camp equipage to be taken to the island in the Ganges just abreast the entrenchment. I deeply regret having rescinded that order shortly after its issue."—"Redan Windham," by Major Hugh Pearse, page 230.

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theatre, which lay about a quarter of a mile south of the entrenchment and was filled with stores and clothing for the troops. Carthew after a sharp short bayonet tussle with the enemy gained the Bithoor road where he found their guns; which at once unlimbered and opened fire. They were quickly silenced by Chamier's 6-pounders. He then fell back unmolested on the theatre, and after barricading a bridge which spanned a deep and narrow ravine in his front he bivouacked on a road near it for the night.

Meanwhile the retreat of the main body had become a rout. Men, horses, camels, elephants and bullock wagons made a rush for the gate of the entrenchment. "Doolie after doolie," observes an officer who was present, "with its red curtains down, concealing some poor victim, passed on to the hospitals. The poor fellows were brought in, shot, cut, shattered, and wounded in every imaginable way; and as they went by raw stumps might be seen hanging over the sides of the doolies, literally like torn butcher meat." A large store of camp equipage, saddlery and harness had to be abandoned in the retreat from the camp to the entrenchment. Five hundred of our tents fed the enemy's bonfire that night.

During the retirement one of the heavy naval 24-pounders had been overturned in a narrow street. The enemy pressed too close for the soldiers to remove it. At night Windham sent 100 men of the 64th under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, R.A., accompanied by a few sailors to bring it back. It was a dangerous and difficult task to perform in a city crowded with the enemy. How it was done is well told in the words of the officer of the Naval Brigade who was present. "We marched off under the guidance of a native who said he would take us to the spot where the gun lay. We told him he should be well rewarded if he brought us to the gun; but if he brought us into a trap, we had a soldier by him 'at full cock' ready to blow his brains out. We passed our outside pickets, and entered the town through very narrow streets without a single nigger being seen, or a shot fired on either side. We crept along; not a soul spoke a word, all was still as death; and after marching in this way into the very heart of the town, our guide brought us to the very spot into which the gun was capsized. The soldiers were posted on each side, and then we went to work. Not a man spoke above his breath, and each stone was laid down quietly. When we thought we had cleared enough, I ordered the men to put their shoulders to the wheel

and gun, and when all was ready, and every man had his pound before him, I said "Heave!" and up she righted. We then limbered up, called the soldiers to follow, and we marched into the entrenchments with our gun without a shot being fired. When we got in, the Colonel returned us his best thanks, and gave us all an extra ration of grog; we then returned to our guns in the battery."

During the evening General Windham held a consultation with the senior officers with a view to a night attack on the enemy, but in absence of trustworthy information as to the position of their artillery the idea was abandoned. It was, however, decided that on the following day, Colonel Walpole and his Rifle Brigade with five companies of the Rifle Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel C. Woodford, two companies of the 82nd Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, and five guns, two 9-pounders manned by Madras gunners and two 24-pounder howitzers manned by Sikhs under Lieutenant Greene, should defend the advanced portion of the town which lay to the left rear of the brick-kilns and was separated from them and the remainder of the city by the canal. The 88th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell was to defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges on the left of the canal and support Colonel Walpole if required. Brigadier N. Wilson with the 64th Regiment was to hold the entrenchment and establish a strong picquet at the Baptist chapel on the extreme right. Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and four Madras guns, was to hold the Bithoor road in advance of the Baptist chapel, receiving support from the picquet there if wanted.

Windham's action on the 28th of November.

On the morning of the 28th of November the enemy renewed simultaneously their attack on both sides of the city. On the left Colonel Walpole, after a well-contested fight, drove back the mutineers and captured two 18-pounder guns. On the right the troops were not so fortunate and the action continued all day. Carthew had at daylight proceeded according to instructions with Her Majesty's 34th Regiment, two companies of Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment and four guns to take up a position at the Racket Court, some little distance beyond the bridge, which he had held the previous evening. When within a few hundred yards of his destination he received instructions through the Assistant Quartermaster-General, Captain MacCrea, to fall back on the bridge and defend the Bithoor road. He consequently retired, leaving a company of Her Majesty's 34th Regiment to occupy the front line of broken-down Native infantry huts and another company

in their support in a brick building about 100 yards to their rear. He then detached a company of Her Majesty's 34th under Captain Stewart to the right to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls and the upstair verandah. With the remainder of the 34th and four guns he halted at the bridge, placed two guns on it and barricaded it. He then sent two companies of the 34th under Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson to defend the road from Allahabad and prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the entrenchment. "This picquet I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns which could not be worked on the bridge."

Meanwhile the enemy commenced a warm cannonade against the front line and the bridge; the 34th and 82nd in return plied their muskets with considerable effect and Chamier's small guns replied, but the enemy's 18-pounders overmatched them. For two hours the rebels sent their shot and shell sweeping through our position. It was about noon when Captain MacCrea arrived with orders from Windham for Brigadier Carthew to advance and attack the enemy's infantry and guns. He was to convey the same instructions to Her Majesty's 64th, and both parties were to advance at the same time.

On receiving his orders Carthew pushed on with Chamier's two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking as he went forward the company stationed on his right in the upstair house and the company occupying the broken huts (with its support) on his left. The road after crossing the bridge ran through a line of huts into a wider plain traversed by a watercourse. Carthew after clearing the front line of huts pushed his force across the plain with the intention of charging the guns posted at the other end, from which the enemy sent forth a shower of grape. When the men of the 34th had got almost within a hundred yards of the guns, Captain Stewart, who was gallantly leading, fell wounded through the thigh. Leeson, the adjutant, took his place. But his task was an impossible one. The enemy swept the road with their guns, and his infantry from broken ground and huts sent a shower of musket balls. To gain cover from grape and musketry the men lay down in the watercourse. Carthew himself kept his saddle and remained in the middle of the parade a conspicuous mark to the enemy. But to charge the enemy's guns without support could not be done. He swiftly brought up Chamier's two guns, and they unlimbering replied to the enemy's fire, and splendidly served by the Madras gunners they quickly silenced it and compelled the enemy

to withdraw their guns far to the rear. But Carthew had no cavalry to follow them, and his skirmishers' support and right picquet having resumed their original positions, he returned with the guns to the bridge.

Captain MacCrea taking with him forty men of A Company of Her Majesty's 82nd to strengthen the 64th had gone to Brigadier Wilson and directed him to advance parallel with Carthew.* As soon as the orders reached him Wilson gave the command, and the 64th moved forward up a ravine commanded by high ground in front as well as on the right and left. From their coin of vantage the enemy poured upon them a murderous fire of musketry, and from the ridge in front four 9-pounders played upon them. But the 64th pushed on slowly, driving back by their steady fire the front line of the enemy who disputed every inch of ground. The crest of the ridge was reached. Then led with the unflinching zeal and boldness which the British officer displays in battle, the men charged the guns. Major Stirling fell gloriously, in front of the battery, fighting hand to hand with the enemy of whom he killed several. Captain Murphy was shot through the heart, and seemed to bound from his saddle, falling heavily on his head. Captain MacCrea also fell dead. Captain Saunders, who after the death of Major Stirling became the senior officer present,† dashed forward followed by Lieutenants Parsons and O'Grady. Parsons instantly received a severe wound in his sword arm. O'Grady cheered the men on, waving his cap in the air, until he reached one of the guns and he laid his hand on it as a token of its capture. In a second he and Saunders were engaged in a hand-to-hand combat with a host of the enemy. The men taking up the cheer rushed forward to their support. The old Brigadier who had begged that morning to be allowed to lead the men of his old regiment pushed on his horse wounded in two places to the front, shouting "Now, boys, you have them." They were his last words. A bullet passed through his body penetrating his left lung. Some of the soldiers carried him to the rear, but though mortally wounded he

* Windham's despatch erroneously states "Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by his zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew." The guns upon which Brigadier Wilson advanced were nearly half a mile from the guns in front of Brigadier Carthew's troops. He attacked them on the orders of Windham conveyed by Captain MacCrea.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 367.

† After the death of Major Stirling, Captain Saunders became the senior officer present, and his conspicuous gallantry to-day deserves not only honourable mention, but such reward as a soldier covets.—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, Volume II, page 278.

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continued to urge his men to maintain the honour of the corps. But they could not hold their ground. The enemy's cavalry, together with an overwhelming force of infantry, came down upon them and they were compelled to retire to the entrenchment.

Meanwhile the enemy were pressing Carthew hard. They had occupied in large numbers the houses, garden-walls and the church on his left. A company of the 64th was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy and drive them from the church. They succeeded, but they were too few to hold the position won by the bayonet. Carthew then concentrated all his force on both flanks of the bridge, and with his two guns kept up a heavy fire. About six o'clock a large body of the enemy made a rush at the bridge. "Then came a fight between 1,500 tired Englishmen and 5,000 or more of fresh sepoys, for these were the reserve. There are some 20,000 of them here. Please goodness, I hope never to see such a hailstorm of bullets again. I saw men fall on every side of me; splinters hit me, pieces of earth from bullets, and there we were obliged to stay. Our orders were to keep the bridge as long as possible: the keeping consisted in standing still while a hurricane of bullets passed through us." The rebels now brought up a gun into the churchyard which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, while our guns could not bear on their position. Carthew was therefore compelled to fall back about 100 yards so as to command the bridge and the road leading to the town. The enemy continued to increase and work round his rear by the left flank. Officers and men were falling fast. Carthew applied for a reinforcement, "but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the entrenchment which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of the rifles protecting the rear."

"Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so until felt convinced that from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire." * Carthew's retreat was most unhappy. It gave the

* From Brigadier M. Carthew, Commanding Madras Troops in Bengal, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Cawnpore Division, dated Cawnpore, 18th December 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 366.

"I have not the slightest hesitation," wrote, on the 11th December 1857, Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson of the 34th to Brigadier Carthew, "in giving my opinion about the brigade

enemy the command of the riverside, put the bridge in the greatest jeopardy and enabled them to seize and burn the Assembly Rooms which had been converted into a great store-house containing all the property of the regiments which had advanced at different times to Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell, on the receipt of Brigadier Carthew's report on his defence of the bridge and Bithoor road, expressed a strong disapproval of that officer's retrograde movement. A memorandum by the Chief of the Staff, dated the 9th of December, states:—"With respect to these occurrences, His Excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been entrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

"It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew that when Major-General Windham proceeded to reinforce the post according to his first request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the Major-General that to hold it was an absolute necessity.

"His Excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

"The night which had arrived was more favourable to the Brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark; at all events there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the entrenchment, whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

"The Commander-in-Chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew in the last paragraph of his letter talks about his men firing

retiring from the position we held on the bridge on the evening of the 28th November. It is my firm conviction that you had no other alternative, that if you had not retired, the brigade would have been cut off, as the enemy were completely out-flanking us on our left. By your orders I sent two companies of this regiment to check them, which they did for the moment, but could not make a stand, as they in turn were quite out-flanked on their left. When the two officers commanding these companies (officers in whom I have the greatest confidence) came back and told me what was going on and, from what I saw myself, I spoke to Colonel Kelly, Colonel Gwilt, and one or more of the regiment, and I myself, and I think others told you that if we did not retire we should be cut off, you then *reluctantly* gave the order to retire."

into one another in the dark. His Excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions."

At the time the memorandum was written, the Commander-in-Chief was under the impression that Brigadier Carthew had retired from his post without orders and that no discretionary powers had been given him. Windham in his despatch describing the operations of the 27th and 28th merely stated "Brigadier Carthew of the Madras Native Infantry had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy from morning till night; but I regret to add that he felt himself obliged to retire." Carthew himself had given no hint in his report that he had due authority from the Major-General to retire when the post no longer became tenable. He, however, pointed out this fact in a letter addressed to the Chief of the Staff, dated the 15th of December.* He wrote: "I received a verbal message during that day, either from the late Captain MâcCrea or Lieutenant Budgeon (I cannot recollect which) that when I could hold out no longer, I was to retire to the entrenchment, where Her Majesty's 64th Regiment was located.

"I cannot call to mind receiving any express instructions to that effect from Major-General Windham himself, but I am under the impression that the Major-General, on the previous evening, made some such remark as 'well, gentlemen, when we can hold out no longer we must retire to the entrenchment.'

"Under that impression I acted during the day and made my retrograde movement into the entrenchment in the evening, and I trust His Excellency will be able on this explanation to exonerate me from blame and censure in that particular respect."

Sir Colin Campbell promptly and handsomely exonerated Brigadier Carthew from blame. A letter to the Government of India, dated the 22nd of December, states "Sir Colin Campbell conceived it to be an imperative duty to mark what he considered to be a violation of one of the first principles of war.

"It appears now, however, that His Excellency's impression was erroneous, and it is a matter of the sincerest regret to him that his having acted under such erroneous impression should have been

* From Brigadier M. Carthew, Commanding Madras Troops, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Cawnpore, 15th December 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume II, page 406.

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detrimental to Brigadier Carthew, and given pain to that meritorious officer.

"The Commander-in-Chief directs me to request that you will solicit the permission of His Lordship in Council that his memorandum of the 9th instant may be considered null and void, and if it should have been sent forward to the Government at Madras he begs that this further correspondence may be despatched to the (same) destination in justice to Brigadier Carthew." *

The disasters which overtook Windham added greatly to the difficulties of the Commander-in-Chief and severely tried his patience and temper. In his first despatch to the Government of India, dated the 2nd of December, Sir Colin curtly remarks "Major-General Windham's despatch relating to the operations conducted under his command is enclosed," and he makes no comment on it except that he had not received Windham's letters announcing the approach of the Gwalior force. Three weeks later, however, he forwarded another despatch expressing a regret at an "omission" in his former despatch, and adding "I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-General Windham, C.B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance to Your Lordship's protection and good offices." Lord Canning shortly afterwards issued a General Order, containing an echo of Sir Colin's despatch. General Windham having continued for a time with the Commander-in-Chief, assumed command of the Umballa District and was removed from the operations of the war.

Sir Colin Campbell's first care was to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge. At dawn on the 29th of November all the heavy guns attached to General's Grant's Division under Captain

* From Major H. W. Norman, Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated Head-Quarters, Camp Cawnpore, 22nd December 1857.

After the above account was written the original draft of Brigadier Carthew's "detailed report of the operations of the forces placed under my command on the 26th, 27th and 28th ultimo" has come into my private possession from a private source. As the report is not to be found in the military records I am precluded from treating it as an official document which ought to be printed in this volume. It gives a most interesting account of the operations, and General Chamier who commanded the Madras guns vouches for its accuracy. Brigadier Carthew writes—"Officers and men were falling fast and the darkness rendered it difficult to distinguish friend from foe. I had received instructions to fall back should my position become untenable and was now unwillingly obliged to avail myself of the

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Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges in order to keep down the fire of the enemy from the opposite side directed at the bridge. This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's Brigade with some field artillery and cavalry were ordered to cross the bridge and take position near the old Dragoon lines. No sooner had the leading file stepped upon the first boat than the enemy redoubled their exertions to prevent the passage. The round shot plunged into the river on every side, but the bridge remained unstruck. The moment the column reached the other side the enemy opened on it with musketry at very close range. Through a wave of shot, shell and bullets it pushed on towards the entrenchment, passed round its front, crossed the canal, and turning to the right emerged on an open plain where it took up a position facing the city, its right resting on a point near the entrenchment, its left stretching away towards the Grand Trunk Road. The Commander-in-Chief then transferred his head-quarters across the river, leaving Brigadier Inglis to protect the convoy till all had passed. At 5-30 P.M. the officers in the entrenchment, as they looked over the earthworks, saw a strange and wondrous sight. "A procession of human beings, cattle and vehicles, six miles long, is coming up to the bridge-of-boats below the entrenched fort. It is about sunset. The variety of colour in the sky and on the plain, the bright costumes and black faces of the native servants, the long train of cavalry, infantry, women, children, sick, wounded, bearers, camp followers, horses, oxen, camels, elephants, wagons, carts, palanquins, doolies, advancing along the road; and here, within the entrenchment, the crowd of camels and horses, the rows of cannon, heaps of shot, piles of furniture, &c., in the foreground, all seen between two pillars of this verandah, which is raised eight or ten feet from the ground, produce a very picturesque effect. But the groans of the poor fellows, on charpoys * and on the floor behind and around me dissolve the fascination of

authority to retire." It is more than probable that this report was forwarded to General Windham, and having been returned by him for alteration, Brigadier Carthew submitted his report of the 1st of December in which he omits the express statement that he had "received instructions to fall back." This would account for Sir Colin Campbell having so promptly accepted the explanation given by Brigadier Carthew in his letter, dated 15th December, which by itself is hardly satisfactory, and also for the Commander-in-Chief's prompt and handsome apology. General Windham's letter, dated the 10th December 1857, is eminently unsatisfactory.

* A native bed.

the scene."* During the night and till six o'clock the ensuing evening the passage continued. About midnight the women and children reached the Dragoon barracks and were located in a small space between two buildings not far from the mouldering remains and riddled walls of the position which Wheeler had held so long. "My feelings on entering Cawnpore," writes a woman, "were indeed most painful. The moon was bright, and revealed to us the sad spectacle of ruined houses, trees cut down, or branches stripped off, everything reminding us of the horrors that had been enacted in the place, and making us feel thoroughly miserable." The next day, owing to the fire of the enemy, the women and children were moved to the infantry barracks "where there was plenty spare ground" and "the little ones were romping and laughing in the shade as merrily as if they were in Merry England."

By the occupation of the plain beyond the canal Sir Colin re-opened our communication with Allahabad. The enemy, however, still held the city and line of canal, and they could not be attacked until the large convoy from Lucknow had been sent under a suitable escort to Allahabad. "It was," as Sir Colin writes, "precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run." His enforced inactivity tended to give

1st December

the enemy confidence, and on the morning of the 1st of December he opened fire on the camp with shrapnel by which Captain Cornwall, Sergeant McIntyre and five privates of the 93rd Highlanders were all severely wounded. On this day Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart had his left arm shattered by a small round shot. On the following day the rebels again cannonaded the camp very smartly, but they had to withdraw their guns to a distance, as the General Gunj, an old bazar of very considerable extent along the canal in front of the line of our camp, was occupied by Brigadier Greathed's brigade and he was supported by Peel's heavy guns and Bourchier's field battery. The enemy, however, continued to fire incessantly every day on the camp. They opened with a field battery upon the Commander-in-Chief's tent whose position they had discovered, though it was a common bell one and in no ways calculated to attract attention. Shot and shell constantly fell around him "wounding his orderly's horse and two bullocks, and passing through the tent of one of his aides-de-camp; he would not move an inch." Late on the night of the 3rd the convoy which had given Sir Colin so much anxiety, including the families and half the

* "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, Volume II, page 285

wounded, was despatched escorted by a strong detachment. He was now free to attack the enemy, but he held his hand, for he was afraid that the Gwalior Contingent when beaten might follow the convoy. On the 4th the rebels made an unsuccessful attempt to burn the bridge by means of fire rafts, and on the following day they attacked our left picquet with artillery and shoved infantry round our left flank. But after two hours' cannonading they were compelled to retire by our artillery. Sir Colin now knew that the women and children were approaching the place where they were to take the rail to Allahabad, and he made his arrangements for a general attack on the enemy next day.

4th December

5th December

6th December

Sir Colin Campbell's Battle of Cawnpore

The position which they held was one of great strength. Their left occupied the whole cantonment from which General Wyndham's posts had been principally assailed. The ground is high, studded with trees and much intersected with ravines ; it was also then covered with ruined bungalows and public buildings which afforded admirable shelter. Their centre was in the city itself, and they lined the houses and bazars overhanging the canal which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position. The narrow winding streets were singularly susceptible of defence and the principal thoroughfares were afterwards discovered to be barricaded. Their right stretched away behind the canal some distance beyond where the Grand Trunk Road crosses it. The bridge over it and some line kilns and mounds of brick in its front were held by them. Two miles in rear of the right, where the Calpee road crosses the plain, was pitched the camp of the Gwalior Contingent. The position of the enemy was strong on the left on account of the nature of the ground and the ruined buildings: they were almost impregnable in the centre : not so on the right because it was an open plain with only the canal—no serious impediment intervening. That was his vulnerable point. Thither therefore Sir Colin determined to throw himself with all his weight. No assistance could come to it on account of the town walls which were an effective obstacle to the movement of any troops from the left and centre to the right. They also afforded cover to our attacking columns. Having defeated the enemy's right Sir Colin's design was to seize the camp of the Gwalior Contingent, establish himself upon its line of retreat and separate it from the Bithoor force and defeat the two bodies in detail. His force amounted to 5,000 infantry, 600 cavalry and 35 guns. Against him was an army of 25,000 men mainly composed of well-disciplined and well-equipped soldiers with about 45 guns. On the 16th of

December at 5 o'clock in the morning the camp was awakened by the bagpipes playing "Hey, Johnny Cope, are you wauken, yet?" and the trumpets sounding *reveillé*. At seven the tents were struck, the baggage animals loaded and driven under a guard to the deep ravines leading down to the river. Sir Colin then explained his views to commanding officers, as usual from a memorandum carefully prepared, with a clearness none could mistake. Brigadier Greathed's Brigade, consisting of Her Majesty's 8th Foot and the 2nd Punjab Infantry reinforced, was detailed to hold the same ground opposite the enemy's centre which he had been occupying since the 2nd. Walpole's Brigade, consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade, and a detachment of Her Majesty's 38th Foot, assisted by Captain Smith's field battery, Royal Artillery, was directed to pass the bridge immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, advance skirting the walls of the town and prevent any of the enemy issuing from its gates in aid of the right—whilst from their left Hope's Brigade, consisting of the 53rd Foot, 42nd and 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Infantry, and Inglis's Brigade, consisting of the 23rd Fusiliers, 32nd and 82nd Foot, were to attack the brick mounds fronting the enemy's bridge and, carrying them and the bridge, were to push on to the Kalpi road. In order to induce the belief that the attack was to be made from his position, Windham was ordered to open a heavy bombardment on the enemy's left and centre.

Sir Colin Campbell's action at Cawnpore, 6th December

At 9 A.M. Windham opened his batteries and was promptly answered by the enemy. For two hours the artillery duel continued and a constant shower of missiles was poured into the town, slaying many in its crowded, narrow streets. At 11 A.M. the whole force, except Greathed's Brigade, was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of our old cavalry lines and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. The tremendous cannonade from the entrenchment having slackened, the order for the attack was given. Greathed advancing in the line of the canal attacked the enemy on his front with a sharp fire of musketry. Walpole with his riflemen and the 38th Regiment rushed by the bridge immediately on Greathed's left, and took the direction of the city wall. At the same time Peel's 24-pounders, Longden's mortars and Bourchier's and Middleton's field batteries opened a heavy fire upon the brick-kilns and great mounds. Under cover of their fire, Hope's and Inglis's Brigades, taking ground to the left, wheeled into three parallel lines fronting the canal. The cavalry and horse artillery

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were sent to make a detour on the left across the canal by a bridge a mile-and-a-half up and threaten the enemy's rear.

As soon as the formation in line had been completed Hope, followed by Inglis and preceded by the Sikhs and 53rd in skirmishing order, advanced against the high brick mounds covering the bridge. "The spectacle now was an animated one; grouped in masses behind the mounds the rebels fired sharply, while their guns, worked with great precision and energy, sent a storm of shot and shell over the plain, over which, like a drifting storm, came the stout skirmishers of the Sikhs and 53rd, covering their front with the flashes of a bickering musketry behind whom rolled in a long and serried line the 93rd and 42nd, sombre with their gloomy plumes and dark tartan, followed some hundred yards in rear by the thin ranks of Inglis's Brigade." And once more as at Alma, Colin Campbell rode in front of the stately '*Black Watch*' and the hot 93rd. When the skirmishers approached the brick-kilns, the enemy opened on them a steady and destructive fire, but Sikhs and Irishmen * rushed on at the double and drove the rebels from the mounds on to the bridge. The assailants paused behind the shelter. An aide-de-camp rode up, briefly repeated a few words, and the Sikhs and 53rd quitting the cover made a spring for the bridge. But the enemy were ranked again in many lines and they swept it with musketry and grape. The skirmishers were baffled: they could advance no further. The moments were running out and unless help came quickly they must fall back. Then a rumbling sound was heard. Peel and his sailors, dragging their heavy 24-pounder as if it were a light field piece, came up; passing through the skirmishers and through the murderous fire they ran it across the bridge, Peel accompanied by a soldier of Her Majesty's 53rd, named Hannaford, leading the way, and quickly brought it into action. The two brigades stirred by the sight of this gallant feat of arms, pressed forward and crossed the canal by the bridge or fording it. Swiftly resuming on the other side their line of formation they advanced. "On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers." † The enemy were driven back at

* "The 53rd (Queen's) Regiment, principally composed of Irishmen, were a fine looking set of fellows, and equally good hands at fighting."—"Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, R.A., Volume I, page 316.

† I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and goodwill with which the latter have worked, their guns have been constantly in

all points. Lieutenant Bunny, Adjutant of the Horse Artillery, seeing them fleeing rode back to Bourchier and said:—"Come along, they are bolting like the devil." Away the battery went along the Trunk Road at a gallop. "The infantry made way for us, and a mile-and-a-half ahead we came upon the enemy's camp, and at 400 yards poured round shot into the flying masses before us." 'Go to grape distance' was Major Turner's order; we limbered up, and from a distance of not more than 200 yards poured a shower of grape into their position. The men were yelling with delight; they actually stood upon the gun carriages as we advanced; the drivers cheered, and such a scene of excitement was never known. Then the Sikhs and the 53rd passed the guns and drove the rebels from the camp. "So complete was the surprise, so unexpected was the onslaught, that the *chupatties* were found heating upon the fires, the bullocks stood tied beside the hackeries, the sick and wounded were found lying in the hospital, the smith left his forge, and the surgeon his ward, to fly from the avenging bayonets."

General Mansfield sent to attack enemy's left

On passing the enemy's camp Sir Colin directed General Mansfield with the Rifles, 93rd and Longden's Heavy and Middleton's Field Battery to move round the back of the town and attack the enemy on the left at the Subadar's Tank, a position on his line of retreat. He ordered the 23rd and 38th Regiments to guard the captured camp and sent Inglis's Brigade along the Kalpi road to support the cavalry and horse artillery who had not appeared. It was now nearly 2 o'clock, and fearing that the enemy might escape with their guns, Sir Colin ordered Bourchier's Battery to press the pursuit. On it went. "Hurrah, hurrah! we are on their track: gun after gun is passed and spiked, cartloads of ammunition lay strewed along the road; Pandies are bolting in all directions. For two miles without a check, the pursuit was carried on by the battery alone, accompanied by Sir Hope Grant and his staff. Four times in that distance did we come into action, to clear our fronts and flanks; until General Grant, thinking wisely that we were too far from supports, determined to wait until the cavalry arrived." * A halt was called. A small cloud coming nearer

advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow till now, as if they were light field pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers.

* "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 176.

and nearer was soon on the left and the head of the cavalry column debouched from a grove. They had been delayed by a mistake of their guide and the difficult nature of the ground. Sir Colin now rode up and gave the order to continue the pursuit. "The cavalry spread like lightning over the plain in skirmishing order. Sir Colin takes the lead. The pursuit is continued to the 14th milestone, assuming all the character of a fox-hunt. Strange to say, not many miles beyond the enemy's camp, a fox broke right in front of the column; and a *view halloa* told Reynard that the heavy crops would be his safest refuge." *

At the 14th milestone, on the banks of the Pandoo River, the pursuit ceased. The column then retraced its steps and at midnight reached the junction of the Kalpi and Grand Trunk Roads and bivouacked on the ground where the battle had been fought.† "The night was cold," writes Sir Hope Grant, "we had no tents and little to eat. Sir Colin was the most thorough soldier of us all. When his force was required to sleep in the open air, a very common occurrence, he made a point of stopping with the men. His courage and judgment were unsurpassed. Cool and good humoured in action, always in his place when most wanted, he could not fail to win the confidence of those under him."

Meanwhile General Mansfield had moved with the force under his command towards the Subadar's Tank. The heavy field battery under Captain Longden, R.A., were sent along the road intersecting the Grand Trunk Road and leading directly to the old cantonment. The rifles were extended in skirmishing order, some 300 yards on each side of the road slightly in advance of the heavy guns, the Highlanders being kept in reserve. "The enemy began to give way immediately, successive positions being taken up and a rapid fire maintained by Captain

* "Eight Months' Campaign against the Bengal Sepoys," by Colonel George Bourchier, C.B., page 176.

† "Hope Grant now desired me to hurry back to Cawnpore before it got too dark, and select the ground for the night's bivouac. As there was some risk in going alone, Augustus Anson volunteered to accompany me. We had got about half-way, when we came across the dead body of Lieutenant Salmond, who had been acting Aide-de-Camp to my General, and must have got separated from us in the pursuit. His throat was cut, and he had a severe wound on the face. Soon after we met Inglis's Brigade, which, in accordance with my instructions, I turned back. On reaching the Gwalior Contingent camp, we heard that an attempt had been made to recapture it, which had been repulsed by the troops left in charge.

It was dusk by the time we reached the junction of the Kalpi and Grand Trunk Roads, and we agreed that this would be a good place for a bivouac, the city being about a mile in front, and Mansfield's column less than two miles to the left. I marked out the ground, and showed each corps as it came up the position it was to occupy." "Forty-one years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.P., Volume I, page 373.

Longden and Captain Middleton of the Royal Artillery, the rifles passing through the enclosure to the right of the broken ground to the left of the road with much spirit under the able direction of Brigadier Walpole.* On reaching a village close to the Subadar's Tank Middleton's Battery gallantly galloped through it before it was cleared by the infantry, and taking position on the plain opened fire upon the enemy's guns and masses of infantry in full retreat along the Bithoor road. The rifles ran up to his support and the position was then fairly occupied, Brigadier Hope coming up with the reserve of Highlanders and taking charge of the picquets which were thrown out on the line of the enemy's retreat. The enemy finding his retreat compromised brought up artillery from the old cantonment and opened fire on the position. "These guns might have been taken," writes General Mansfield, "but I refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your Excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment; and that if the slightest advance had been made in that quarter, it would have been necessary, at whatever loss, to make no stop till the entrenchment should have been reached." When Longden's and Middleton's Batteries had almost succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire our position was attacked by some guns of the enemy from the broken ground of the plain on exactly the opposite side. They were quickly answered. At dusk large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry were seen moving round to the west of the position about a mile distant in full retreat along the Bithoor road. As it was not practicable to communicate with Sir Colin after sunset, the position being almost isolated, and considerable numbers of the enemy being still in portions of the town and the old cantonment, General Mansfield strengthened picquets round his position and bivouacked on the ground.

General Mansfield's conduct in not pushing through a mile of ruined buildings at dusk and allowing the enemy to get off with their guns has been sharply criticised. He, however, explicitly states in his despatch that "he refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your Excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment." That General Mansfield's action met with the approval of the Commander-in-Chief is indicated by Sir Colin having called "attention to the

* From Major-General W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, to General Sir C. Campbell, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, dated Head-Quarters, Cawnpore, the 10th December 1857.

able and distinguished manner in which he conducted the troops placed under his orders." * Sir Colin having routed the enemy's right wing sent General Mansfield to menace their other line of retreat with the design that it would compel them without serious loss on our side to evacuate the strong city and environs of Cawnpore. And this exactly occurred. The rebel centre finding itself without support, its camp lost and its army destroyed, broke up during the night and fled from the town. Early on the morning of the 7th of December the city of Cawnpore was patrolled by two squadrons of cavalry and found to be quite clear of the enemy.

Upon Porthur

The right wing of the enemy had been so hotly pressed that they had dispersed in all directions and Sir Colin took prompt steps to pursue the centre and left who had retreated by the Bithoor road. On the 8th of December he sent a column under General Hope Grant to Bithoor after them. The force consisted of Captain Middleton's Field Battery, Captain Remington's Troop Horse Artillery, the 4th Brigade of Infantry, 2,054 strong and 551 cavalry :† 100 sappers also accompanied the force.‡ Hope Grant was to march to Bithoor, but if he thought it advisable or heard of the rebel guns being at Serai Ghat, a ferry about twenty-five miles above Cawnpore on the Ganges, he was to proceed there. Hope Grant started with the force about one o'clock in the afternoon, and owing to information received on the road exercised his discretion, changed the direction of his march and

8th December, Hope Grant sent to Bithoor

* "History of the Indian Mutiny."—Kaye & Malleson, Volume IV, pages 192-94.

† From General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Army, to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Head-Quarters, Camp Cawnpore, the 10th December 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume II, page 391.

	Men.		Guns.
‡ 1st Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery	83		5
7th Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery ..	139		6
9th Lancers	327		
5th Punjab Cavalry	85		
Hodson's Horse	109		
		743	
4th Brigade.			
42nd Highlanders	403		
53rd Foot	413		
93rd Highlanders	806		
4th Punjab Rifles	332		
		1,954	
Sappers		100	
Total ...		2,797	11

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10th December, Hope Grant defeats the rebels at Serai Ghat

proceeded to Sheorajpore, a village on the road within three miles of Serai Ghat, when he halted the force till daylight.* Having collected the baggage and placed it under a guard he pushed forward towards the river. As he neared the ferry he saw a large force of the enemy on the point of embarking their guns. Immediately he ordered up the cavalry and guns. Great was the difficulty in moving them along the country track under the bank of the river which ran at times through a sort of quicksand. Two guns of the Field Battery pushed through the treacherous soil, reached the dry bank of the river, "and under a very severe fire from thirteen of the rebels' guns, Lieutenant Milman brought his guns into play. Soon after Captain Remington's troop galloped up, and taking up a most admirable position covered by the bank of a ditch, poured on the enemy a flanking fire which, together with the remainder of the field battery that had come up, in half-an-hour's time completely silenced the enemy's fire and put them in full retreat." †

A force of the rebel's cavalry now came up to try and take our guns, but the 9th Lancers, under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab Cavalry under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant Gough, the whole commanded by Brigadier Little, advanced upon them

* Early on the afternoon of the 8th we marched out of Cawnpore, and at sunset Unjur Tiwari, true to his promise, made his appearance at the point where the road turns off to Bithoor. He told me that the Nana had slept at that place the night before, but hearing of our approach, had decamped with all his guns and most of his followers and was now at a ferry some miles up the river, trying to get across and make his way to Oudh. We had come thirteen miles and had as many more to go before we could get to the ferry, and as there was nothing to be gained by arriving there in the dark, a halt was ordered for rest and refreshment. At midnight we started again and reached Sheorajpore (three miles from the ferry) at daybreak. "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., Volume I, pages 375-76.

† From Brigadier-General Hope Grant, Commanding the Force, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Serai Ghat, 11th December 1857.—"Indian Mutiny," Volume II, page 397. In "Incidents in the Sepoy War," compiled from the private journals of General Sir Hope Grant, it is stated:—"As soon as we came within one thousand yards of the enemy a tremendous fire opened upon us, but Lieutenant Warren, a fine young fellow, who commanded the leading guns, never stopped until within five hundred or six hundred yards of the rebels when he opened fire on them. In a few minutes Captain Middleton joined him with the remainder of the battery.—"Incidents in the Sepoy War."

In the "Life of General Sir Hope Gant" edited by Colonel Henry Knollys, R.A., we find the following in Sir Hope Grant's Journal:—"As soon as we came within 1,000 yards of the enemy a tremendous fire was opened upon us, but Lieutenant Pickering, a fine young fellow, who commanded the leading guns, never stopped until within 500 or 600 yards of the rebels when he opened fire on them.—"Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel Henry Knollys, Volume I, page 313.

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and soon drove them away. The whole of the guns, amounting to fifteen pieces, were captured. The success was complete and " though the fire of grape from the enemy was most severe and well-placed, falling amongst the artillery like hail," the only casualty on our side was the General himself, who was hit in the foot by a spent grape shot without being much hurt.*

With Hope Grant's successful little expedition the two days' operations ceased. And never did Colin Campbell display to greater perfection his attention to the details, his broad grasp of the whole and his mastery of the science of war. Inspired by a fine strategical conception he fixed the enemy's attention upon their centre, while he isolated their left and centre, and with a swift driving stroke broke their right. Owing to this grand design vigorously executed, he was able with a force of five thousand men to totally defeat an army of twenty-five thousand men, numbering in its ranks the most perfectly equipped and organised force in India, occupying a strong position with forty pieces of artillery. Thirty-four of these guns fell into the hands of the victors whose casualties amounted only to ninety-nine of all ranks.

Sir Colin's plans for the future campaign

The relief and withdrawal of the gallant garrison at Lucknow having been accomplished and the enemy on his front routed, Sir Colin was free to pursue the plan of campaign determined on in Calcutta. The cardinal feature of that well-conceived scheme was the restoration of the communications with Delhi and the Punjab. This could only be done by the re-conquest and pacification of the country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, known as the Duab. Greathed's column had passed through the province, but a military grasp of the country—not a mere invasion—was required to keep the ground line of communication thoroughly safe and to make it help to sustain by transport and supplies his future operations. Delhi at the north-western extremity of the great plain, Allahabad at its southern extremity, Agra in the Jumna between the two, were held by our troops, but to completely command the Duab it was necessary also to have in our possession Futtehghur on the Ganges nearly opposite to Agra. Situated near the point where the Oudh and Rohilcund territory met and possessing a floating bridge over the river, it was of great

* Hope Grant's successful management of this little expedition considerably enhanced the high opinion the Commander-in-Chief had already formed of his ability.—" Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., Volume I, page 377.

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strategic importance. An army recruited from these territories could from thence operate by either bank of the Ganges and interrupt our cross line of communication both with Agra and Delhi with Bombay and the Punjab. Sir Colin therefore determined a great concentric movement on Futtehghur. A strong column, he knew, was about to leave Delhi and march down the Upper Duab to him. He determined to send a force to sweep the Lower Duab and meet it at Mynpooree, near the junction of the Agra and Delhi roads with that of Cawnpore. The united columns were to move straight on to Futtehghur, while he himself advanced from Cawnpore to the same point. He thus designed to sweep the rebel masses from all sides of the Duab upon Futtehghur and to drive them from thence across the Ganges into Rohilcund and Oudh, where he hoped to crush them at a later period.

Colonel Seaton's march from Delhi

Three days after Sir Colin's arrival at Cawnpore, Colonel Seaton left Delhi with a column formed of a squadron of Carabineers, Hodson's Irregular Horse, a wing of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, the 7th Punjab Infantry, a troop of horse artillery and two companies of sappers and miners, numbering in all some 1,900 sabres and bayonets. He had to guard an immense convoy of grain and stores required for the head-quarters. Hearing that a considerable body of rebels were in the Aligarh district he proceeded to that town by forced marches, and leaving his convoy under the cover of the guns of the fort, he advanced in a south-easterly direction, and on the 14th of December came upon the enemy near Chandeyree, not far from the town of Kasganj. A smart fight ensued. The enemy's cavalry with three guns and some infantry advanced on both flanks. "Our guns soon stopped their progress," writes Hodson, "and then the Carabineers and Lancers charged straight down on them in the most magnificent style, capturing all three of their guns at a dash! I grieve to say, however, that they paid most dearly for their splendid courage." All their officers went down. Captain Wardlow, Mr. Hodson, and Mr. Vyse, all killed, and Stead of the Lancers badly wounded. The infantry were not engaged at all.* Hodson charged their flying cavalry and footmen on the left and completed the rout. Seaton followed up the enemy along the road to Futtehghur, and on the 17th of December

Action of Kasganj, 14th December

* "The General will see by the list of casualties that Captain Hodson's newly-raised body of horse was not backward and rendered excellent service. It could not do less under its distinguished commander, whom I beg particularly to mention to the Major-General as having on every possible occasion rendered me the most efficient service, whether in gaining information, reconnoitring the country, or leading his regiment.—From Colonel T. Seaton, C.B., to Major-General Penny, Commanding at Delhi.

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found them in front of the town of Patiale in great force and partly entrenched. After a warm artillery duel lasting about half an hour, Seaton ordered the infantry to advance, and, placing himself at the head of the cavalry, charged the enemy. They did not wait to receive the shock, but broke and fled. "I then dashed into their camp with my regiment," writes Hodson, "Bishop's troop of horse artillery actually charging with us like cavalry fairly into their camp. We drove them through camp and town, and through gardens, fields and lanes, capturing every gun and all their ammunition and baggage. We pushed on for six or seven miles, and read them a terrible lesson." Seaton now retraced his steps to Aligarh, and taking the convoy with him proceeded to Mynpooree, where he gained another victory over the rebels.

On the 18th of December Sir Colin Campbell despatched Walpole with a column consisting of the 2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade, a detachment of 38th Foot, Bourchier's Battery, Blunt's troop of Horse Artillery, and one company of sappers to sweep the Lower Duab. On the 3rd of January, having encountered but little opposition, he joined Seaton at Bewar, fifteen miles distant from Mynpooree on the road to Futtehghur.

Sir Colin's own advance was delayed from the want of the means of transport. He had denuded himself of an enormous quantity of carriage to convey the women, children and wounded to Allahabad: and what was left he utilised for the despatch of Walpole's column. As Walpole had to make a wide sweep and traverse a greater extent than himself, he wished him to have a good start, so that having joined Seaton the three columns might advance on Futtehghur simultaneously. On the 23rd of December the carriage sent to Allahabad returned, and on the following morning Sir Colin set out with the head-quarters column. He proceeded by easy marches, clearing the country on his flanks as he advanced. On X'mas Day, Hope Grant, who had been sent to Bithoor to burn the Nana's palace, joined head-quarters with his guns and cavalry, leaving Hope's Brigade to search the neighbouring ferries across the Ganges and to destroy as many boats as possible. On the 28th instant Sir Colin sent Windham with a brigade to destroy a rebel fort and halted the two following days in order to enable Hope's Brigade to reach him. On the morning of the 30th Hodson arrived in camp with despatches from Brigadier Seaton, having ridden from Mynpooree right through the enemy's outposts. Knowing

24th December, Sir Colin sets out for Futtehghur

30th December, Hodson arrives

Hodson's and Macdowell's gallant ride

how important it was to open communications with the Commander-in-Chief he had volunteered to carry despatches to him. It was a difficult and perilous task. But no task was too perilous for Hodson. On the morning of the 30th he started accompanied by Macdowell, his second-in-command, "game to the backbone," and 75 of his own troopers. They rode straight to Bewar, fourteen miles distant. "Here we halted and ate sandwiches, and then leaving 50 men to stay till our return, pushed on to Chibbermow, fourteen miles further on. Here we made another halt, and then, leaving the remaining 25 men behind, we pushed on by ourselves, unaccompanied, for Goorsahaigunge, where we hoped to find the Commander-in-Chief. On arriving there (a fourteen miles' stage), we found the Commander-in-Chief was at Meerun-ke-Serai, fifteen miles further on. This was very annoying; but there was no help for it, so we struck out as fast as we could, the more so as we heard that the enemy, 700 strong, with four guns, was within two miles of us. We arrived at Meerun-ke-Serai at 4 A.M., and found the camp there all right. We were received most cordially by all, and not a little surprised were they to hear where we had come from." Hodson * was most warmly received by Sir Colin Campbell, and was closeted with him till dinner-time. At 8 P.M., they started on their long ride (54 miles) back. When they arrived about five miles from Chibbermow they were met by a native to whom Hodson had given alms in the morning. "He told us that a party of the enemy had attacked our 25 sowars at Chibbermow, cut up some and beaten back the rest, and that there was a great probability some of them (the enemy) were lurking about the road to our front. This was pleasant news, was it not? Twenty miles from the Commander-in-Chief's camp, 30 from our own; time, midnight, scene an open road; *dramatis personæ*, two officers armed with swords and revolvers, and a howling enemy supposed to be close at hand." They deliberated what they should do, and Hodson decided they should ride on at all risks. 'At the worst,' he said, 'we can gallop back; but we'll try and push through.' The native came with us, and we started. I have seen a few adventures in my time, but must confess this was the most trying one I ever engaged in. It was a piercing cold night, with a bright moon and wintry sky, and a cold wind every now and then sweeping by and chilling us to the very marrow. Taking our horses off the hard road on to the side where it was soft, so

* "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," page 262.

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that the noise of our footfalls could be less distinctly heard, we went silently on our way, anxiously listening for every sound that fell upon our ears, and straining our sight to see if, behind the trees dotted along the road, we could discern the forms of the enemy waiting in ambush to seize us. It was indeed an anxious time. We proceeded till close to Chibbermow. "They are there," said our guide in a whisper, pointing to a garden in a clump of trees to our right front. Distinctly we hear the faint hum in the distance, whether it was the enemy, or whether our imagination conjured up the sound, I know not. We slowly and silently passed through the village, in the main street of which we saw the dead body of one of our men lying stark and stiff and ghastly in the moonlight; and on emerging from the other side, dismissed our faithful guide. with directions to come to our camp and then, putting spurs to our horses, we galloped for our dear life to Bewar, breathing more freely as every stride bore us away from the danger now past. We reached Bewar at about two o'clock, A.M., and found a party of our men sent out to look for us." Hodson and Macdowell's gallant exploit was remarkable in that remarkable time for cool and daring courage.

1st Janu ary. Ho Grant's Brigade marches to the Kala Nuddee

On the 1st January 1858 Windham's brigade returned to head-quarters. Early in the forenoon Hope Grant was sent forward with his brigade reinforced by a squadron of cavalry, four light field battery guns and a company of engineers to the Kala Nuddee at the point where the suspension bridge crosses it. Hope found that the enemy had removed the planks and severely damaged the structure; but they had not had time to injure the pier and main chains. The rebels disappeared on his approach, and the Corps of Royal Engineers and Bengal Sappers, with a party of sailors under Major Nicholson, R.E., set to work with great vigour to repair the bridge. All day and night they worked. "The sailors were specially useful to Major Nicholson in the management of the ropes which replaced the broken part of the iron work of the suspension bridge." On the morning of the 2nd of January Sir Colin accompanied by the Chief of the Staff rode over to see if the bridge was ready for the advance of the column. On the other side of it the ground rises in a gentle slope, and about half a mile to the right front of it is situated the large village of Khudagang built on each side of the main road as it ascends the aclivity. While Sir Colin was inspecting the work, which was nearly complete, he saw a number of men clad in white descending from the crest of the hill to

2nd Janu ary. En gagemen at the Kala Nuddee

the village. He thought they were villagers and "desired some one to go and tell them not to be afraid as they would not be hurt, when all of a sudden off came a round shot from amongst them which killed four men of the 53rd."*

The sailors who were washing their garments by the river side, "leaving their soap suds and clothes never to see them again," rushed to their guns. Under cover of a heavy musketry fire the enemy brought two more guns into action and smote with shot and bullets the remainder of the 53rd as they passed the bridge in support of the picquet which had been placed on the enemy's side of the river to cover the working party. The heavy guns were advanced and a racking fire was quickly opened by Lieutenant Vaughan of the Royal Navy and Major Smith, commanding a field battery, Royal Artillery. The troops from head-quarters four miles distant were at once ordered up, and Sir Colin did not consider it expedient to press the enemy till they arrived. "The position now taken up by the 53rd was secured and the fire of the enemy kept down by our guns, but an advance was not permitted."† At 11 A.M. the main column began to arrive, Brigadier Greathed's brigade leading. The 64th and 8th were promptly sent across the bridge, and Lieutenant Vaughan with three of Peel's guns followed them. Taking up his position at the head of the bridge under shelter of the yellow bungalow he returned their fire on the village. Between two and three o'clock the enemy brought up a heavy gun and placing it under the cover of the Toll house opened fire: the huge round shot ploughed down six men of the 8th.‡ Peel having gone across the bridge advanced one of the 24-pounders up to the front line of

* Letter from an officer attached to the force with Sir Colin Campbell.

† From the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General, Head-Quarters, Fort Futtehgurh, January 5th, 1858.

"I may mention that the flanks had been secured, when the bridge was first occupied by the detachment of a wing of the Highlanders at Rowen, a village about three miles to the right where there was a ford.

"A patrol having been sent also on the previous day to destroy whatever boats might be found for several miles up the Kala Nuddee to the left of the bridge."

‡ "One round shot alone killed and wounded six men of the 8th Foot."—"Forty one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., Volume I, page 383.

"One shot alone killed or wounded eleven men of the 8th."—"Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 215.

"A shot from it killed five and mortally wounded two of the 8th Regiment."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 71.

"In another tent were two men of the 8th Foot. Each of them had an arm taken off, and

skirmishers. Vaughan, "a capital shot and as cool when under a shower of bullets as if there was no such thing as gunpowder and lead," * laid it and fired it. "His first shot struck the roof of the house ; his second struck the angle of the wall about half way down; and a third dismounted the gun and destroyed the carriage." Peel, who was standing by, said "Thank you, Mr. Vaughan; perhaps you will now be so good as to blow up the tumbril." Lieutenant Vaughan fired a fourth shot which passed near it, and a fifth which blew up and killed several of the enemy. "Thank you," said Captain Peel in his blandest and most courteous tones, "I will go now and report to Sir Colin."

He found the Commander-in-Chief at the bridge head where he and his staff had been watching the fight. "The bullets were flying about very plentifully, and both Sir Colin and General Grant were struck, though fortunately the bullets were spent and neither the one nor the other was seriously hurt." † Owing to the bridge not having been fully repaired, getting the cavalry and horse artillery across proved a long and tedious affair. At length it was accomplished. The 93rd, who had been ordered to return to head-quarters and dine before they relieved the 53rd, alone remained to cross. About four o'clock, having loaded up their baggage and tents, they began the passage of the bridge.

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one was dead. The other seemed to be doing well. Had some difficulty in pushing through the dense crowd on the bridge. In the house beyond the enemy's entrenchment, on the other side of the river, I found four men of the 8th lying dead in a room on some straw. They were all dreadfully smashed about the head and shoulders. These poor fellows and the two whom I had left in the tent (one still living) were struck by the same round shot. The four were killed where they stood, and they now looked like men asleep, the expression of each face being placid and life-like."—"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service.

* "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India." By Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 71.

† "Major English overheard in the early part of the day a very flattering compliment paid to Vaughan by some of his 53rd. Speaking of the naval guns, one said:—'Is *Peel* with us to-day?' 'No,' said the other. 'Who is it then?' 'Why, sure, it is the chap with the glass in his eye, and he is nearly as good as the other.' "To be classed with Peel was to be placed as high as one well could be. Vaughan was short-sighted, and always wore an eye-glass."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 70.

"The *Shannon's* Brigade in India."—Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney, page 60.

"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 71.

"Just before this, Sir Colin had been struck in the stomach by a spent rifle-shot, which nearly doubled him up, but did not otherwise injure him. By a like shot, when talking to him and Mansfield, I was hit in the side with such force that for some moments I could not speak. Happily I was only bruised." "Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 216.

The Irishmen, however, hearing they were to be relieved, determined they should not be deprived of the honour of delivering the assault. No sooner had the Highlanders stepped on the bridge when the advance was sounded, then the double, and the men of the 53rd springing to their feet and cheering made a dash at the Toll house and drove the enemy before them into the village. The advance had been sounded by a little drummer-boy of the 53rd, who had stuck himself up in a mound and too-tooed away the advance and double with all the breath in his lungs. "When asked afterwards what he meant by sounding it without orders, he said 'Please, Sir, I was afraid the men would lick me if I didn't.' Sir Colin furious at this daring breach of discipline rode up to the regiment and 'pitched into it well.' But these wild Irishmen were incorrigible; whenever he began to speak, a lot of them exclaimed as loud as they could 'Three cheers for the Commander-in-Chief, boys!' until at last he himself was obliged to go away laughing." *

Attack on the village Khudagung

The whole force now advanced, the 53rd on the right with the 93rd in support, Greathed's Brigade forming the centre and left of the lines of infantry, on the outwork flank of which moved the cavalry under Hope Grant. The rebels did not wait to receive the attack. Covered by their light guns in rear they began to retire in good order along the road to Futtehghur. Hope Grant then shewed how skilfully he could handle cavalry. He took his horse a wide detour to the left, and driving before him the rebel horsemen, he trotted them parallel to the enemy's line of retreat hidden from them by groves of trees and high growing crops. Then suddenly, as the distance between them narrowed to about three hundred yards, he wheeled to the right. The trumpets sounded the charge. The 19th with their lances lowered followed by the squadron of the Sikhs with their glittering sabres burst forth from the tall crops and charged down on the rebel flank. They dashed into their midst. A short tussle and the rebels breaking their ranks fled in wild confusion. Forming his cavalry into a long line, Hope Grant at the head of his own regiment, the 9th Lancers, pursued the flying foe.† They rode past, overturned carriages, exploded tumbrils, abandoned cannons.

* "Life of General Sir Hope Grant," by Colonel H. Knollys, Volume I, page 317.

† Lord Roberts writes:—" I rode a little to his left with Younghusband's squadron and next to him came Tyrrell Ross, the doctor. As we galloped along, Younghusband drew my attention with great pride to the admirable manner in which his men kept their dressing."—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., Volume I, page 363.

On the heels of the enemy sabreing, spearing, shouting, they rushed. Groups of fugitives who preserved their resolution and courage knelt with fixed bayonets and poured a volley into their assailants before they were cut down. For five miles the stern chase continued. At last the light began to fail and the order was given to wheel to the right and form upon the road. Before the movement could be carried out a handful of mutineers turned round and fired upon their relentless pursuers. The gallant Younghusband fell shot through the lungs. Lieutenant Roberts, who had been riding by his side, saw him fall, but he could not go to his assistance, for at that moment he spied a Sikh sowar and a rebel sepoy standing at bay with musket and bayonet. The horseman with his sword was no match for the foot soldier with the "queen of weapons." Roberts rode straight at the sepoy, and with one stroke of his sword killed him on the spot. Then he saw two sepoys making off with a standard. He galloped after them, overtook them, "and while wrenching the staff out of the hands of one of them, whom I cut down, the other put his musket close to my body and fired; fortunately for me it missed fire, and I carried off the standard." * For these two acts of valour Lieutenant Roberts was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieutenar Roberts awarded the Victo ria Cross

With the captured standards at their head the 9th Lancers rode back followed by the Sikh squadrons. As they passed the Commander-in-Chief, he took off his hat to them, with some words of praise and thanks. "The Lancers shook their lances in the air, and cheered; the Sikhs took up the cry, waving their sabres above their heads. The men carrying the standards gave them to the wind; the Highland brigade, who were encamping close by, ran down and cheered both the victorious cavalry and the veteran chief, waving their bonnets in the air. It was a fair sight, and reminded one of the old days of chivalry. When Sir Colin rode back through the camp of the Highlanders, the enthusiasm of the men exceeded description."

The next morning the column marched to Futtehghur and found it and the adjoining native town of Furrakhabad deserted by the enemy.

* "Lieutenant Roberts of the Bengal Artillery. General Grant, Assistant Quartermaster-General, also made himself conspicuous by his gallantry in the cavalry pursuit and earned the much coveted decoration of the Victoria Cross. He is one of those rare men who, to uncommon daring and bravery in the field, and unflinching, hardworking discharge of duty in the camp, adds the charms of cheering and unaffected kindness and hospitality in the tent, and his acquaintance and friendship are high prizes to those who obtain them."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 80.

As Sir Colin stood on the steep bluff overhanging the river he saw the last of the rebels flying over the bridge-of-boats. So rapid was their flight that they did not injure it, nor the valuable gun-carriage factory in the fort. The bridge was secured and Furrakhabad and Futtehghur occupied. On the 6th of January Seaton's and Walpole's columns joined the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, who had sent orders by Hodson for them to advance simultaneously with himself. But the attack of the enemy at Kala Nuddee and their utter rout had precipitated matters and changed in a slight degree Sir Colin's strategical scheme. But the result was eminently successful. The Doab had been re-conquered, direct communications with Delhi and Agra restored, and the rebels driven across the Ganges into Rohilcund. Sir Colin was anxious to follow up the capture of Futtehghur by the invasion and conquest of Rohilcund, but the Governor-General, moved by political considerations, very properly thought that the subjugation of Oudh was of paramount importance. In a letter, dated the 20th of December, Lord Canning writes : " So long as Oudh is not dealt with, there will be no real quiet on this side of India. Every sepoy who has not already mutinied will have a standing temptation to do so, and every native Chief will grow to think less and less of our powers. I am therefore, as things now stand, strongly in favour of taking Oudh in hand after Futtehghur, Mynpooree, &c., and the Great Trunk Road communications are made safe. What do you think of this? There may be reasons against it in favour of some other course which are not known to me but obvious to you. I am sure you will write to me unreservedly all you have to say on it." * Before the letter reached the Commander-in-Chief he had despatched to the Viceroy a memorandum " drawn up after very careful consideration." " The subject," writes Sir Colin, " has been for some days one of anxious consultation between Mansfield and myself. It is very possible that many of the points may have occurred to your Lordship ; but some of them are so purely professional, that it is likely they would escape one not bred in the army. The paper is sent, not, I beg your Lordship to believe, for the purpose of hampering you in any manner, but simply in the earnest hope of rendering you some slight assistance in considering a very difficult and knotty question ; and I entreat you to use it or put it aside as it may best suit your convenience." The memorandum stated that in the

Lord Canning's letter to Sir Colin Campbell, 20th December

* "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Volume II, page 65.

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opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, after the experience lately gained of the stubborn spirit of the people of Oudh, the reduction of that province could not be attempted with an army of less than 30,000 men. "Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers, has given the deliberate opinion, in which I coincide, as regards numbers, that 20,000 men are necessary for the first operation of subduing the city. That having been performed it will be necessary to leave a garrison in occupation, consisting of at least 10,000 men—*viz.*, 6,000 in the City, and 4,000 in a chain of posts to the Cawnpore Road—until the whole province shall have been conquered and the rebels driven out of their last stronghold." It was "for the Government to decide whether it be possible, with regard to the circumstances of the Presidency, to effect the necessary concentration of troops for this purpose." The memorandum further mentioned that, "If through exposure during the hot weather of 1858, the strength of the British forces in India be seriously reduced, *viz.*, by one-third, and less than that number could not be reckoned on were the campaign to be prolonged throughout the year, it will not be in the power of the Government at home to replace them. A great effort has been made this year under national excitement to meet a great crisis, but the means of recruitment do not admit of its repetition. As an urgent matter of policy therefore, as well as humanity, it is absolutely necessary to economise the forces of which we are now possessed." On the 30th of December Lord Canning wrote that he had given the most anxious attention to the memorandum, but he still held the opinion that the communications being made safe, Oudh should be taken in hand with the least delay possible. He however added—"that it should not be considered as a necessary consequence of our entering Oudh that the whole province should be subjugated. If it were possible to collect a force equal to taking Lucknow and holding it without attempting more for the present, it should be done. Paradoxical as it may appear, I think it of more importance to re-establish our power in the centre and capital of Oudh, which has scarcely been in our possession two years, than to recover our older possessions. Every eye in India is upon Oudh as it was upon Delhi. Oudh is not only the rallying place of the sepoys,—the place to which they all look, and by the doings in which their own hopes and prospects rise or fall—but it represents a dynasty: there is a King of Oudh seeking his own. Oudh and our dealings with it have been in every native's mind for the last two years. The attention of all native Chiefs is drawn to see whether or not we can retain

Memorandum by the Commander-in Chief stating his reasons fo[r] dealing with Rohilcund before reconquerin[g] Oudh

Lord Canning'[s] letter to Sir Colin Campbell, 30th Decembe[r]

Sir Colin's note to the Viceroy proposing an immediate advance into Rohilcund

hold of what we have taken." Meanwhile Sir Colin had addressed a clear and full note to the Viceroy in which he stated that, taking into consideration the permanent importance of preserving the roads, it appeared to him "on the whole advisable to follow up the movement now made by this force by advance into and occupation of Rohilcund—to root out the leaders of the large gatherings of insurgents which we know to exist there, to seize their guns, and re-establish authority, as is now I hope being effectually done in the Doab. It seems to me that if we halt in this course to direct the one force at our command in these parts to another object, we run no slight risk of seeing the results of our late labours wasted, and of an autumn, perhaps a summer, campaign on the same ground, to rescue the garrisons which would have to be left in Futtehghur and Mynpooree. Our late experience of the siege of Cawnpore might in such case be disagreeably repeated. The very fact of the retreat of the insurgents without a good beating renders this contingency so much the more probable, if they be not followed up with a will throughout the province of Rohilcund, where they are falling back on the rebel forces reported to be massed at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly." * Sir Colin added—"I come therefore unwillingly to the conclusion that Oudh ought to wait till the autumn of 1858, when with the countries occupied in strength all around it, the proper subjugation of Rajahs and people might be expected without risk and much loss." Lord Canning, after having carefully considered all he had thought and written on the subject "with a keen sense of the importance of the decision," adhered to his original opinion. On the 8th of January he writes—"But I am obliged to say that I still think these operations should be directed against Lucknow at no long interval." And the political considerations which influenced his decision were of the gravest nature. The Nana was meditating an attack upon the Saugor territories. "He is also intriguing with the Mahrattas of Western India. If he can point to Lucknow as wrested from us, his appeal will have a dangerous force, and one which would not be counterbalanced by any re-assertion of our power in Rohilcund." The reports from Pegu of things in distant Ava were that news of Lucknow was anxiously looked for. "Then there is that most formidable of all lurking places of danger and revolt, Hyderabad—especially Mahometan and deeply sympathising with Oudh because fearing, however unreasonably, the same fate. The recovery of Oudh would be of the greatest value to us

Lord Canning's letter to Sir Colin Campbell, 8th January

* "The Life of Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Volume II, pages 83-84.

there; whilst the penetrating into Rohilcund, leaving Oudh untouched, would be little thought of. It will become a question for early consideration in the event of our not acting against Lucknow, and of General Outram having to withdraw from it, whether a part of Brigadier Whitlock's Madras Column should not be halted at Secunderabad, to guard against all contingencies in the Nizam's dominions. I should not like to ask Madras for another man out of her proper territories." Sir Colin Campbell bowed to the decision of the Governor-General and began at once to give loyal effect to them by the adoption of active measures for the reduction of Lucknow.

Sir Colin Campbell accepts the decision of the Governor-General

Lord Canning in his letter to Sir Colin Campbell, dated the 29th of December, wrote—"The auxiliary force from Nepaul is more readily available against Oudh than in any other quarters; and I should be sorry to make it clear to Jung Bahadur that we are obliged for a time to pass by anarchy and insurrection, where they are most formidable and raging immediately under his own hills and take him off to other distant parts, where no such serious struggle awaits us." Jung Bahadur, the all-powerful Minister in Nepaul, on hearing of the outbreak of the Mutiny, had placed the whole military resources of his country at the disposal of the British Government. Lord Canning after some hesitation accepted a contingent of 3,000 men, and in July it was sent down from Khatmandu, the capital of the State. The Gurkhas entered British territory nothward of Goruckpore, where a Mahomedan Chief had declared himself ruler in the name and on behalf of the King of Oudh, had organised a species of government, collected revenues and exercised authority. At the end of July they occupied the civil station which gives its name to the district. On the 13th of July they reached Azimgarh, and two days later they were at Jaunpore in the heart of the disaffected districts. Here the Nepaulese troops were formed by a few British officers who were appointed to act with them. They were busy instructing our allies in European methods of drill, when news reached them that a strong body of rebels threatened Azimgarh. Colonel Wroughton, who commanded at Jaunpore, at once sent a regiment of Jung Bahadur's force under Colonel Shumshere Sing (a Nepaulese officer) to its assistance. They marched some fifty miles in a day-and-a-half, and on the evening of the 19th of September they reached Azimgarh. The next morning they learnt that a large body of rebels had

Jung Bahadur's offer of military assistance

The Gurkhas enter British territory

Arrive at Jaunpore, 17th July

Surprise and defeat of the rebels near Azimgarh, 20th September

assembled near the neighbouring village of Mundoree. A force of 1,200 men under the command of Captain Boileau was sent to disperse them. It chiefly consisted of the Gurkha regiment under the command of Colonel Shumshere Sing. Venables, a gallant indigo planter, was present with a small body of horse which he had raised and organised to keep order in the district. They found the rebels posted in a clump of trees and in a swamp behind the village, and as they advanced the enemy opened on them a heavy cannonade. Boileau ordered Shumshere Sing to push his men forward at double pace. Promptly the Gurkhas responded to their leader's command, and rushing forward they drove the enemy from their position and captured three guns. Venables "was always where fighting was hardest; he was first up at the first gun taken, and killed three men with his own hand."

Action of Chanda, 31st October

The gallant conduct of the Gurkhas dispelled from the minds of the English officers the prejudice that had existed against the little mountaineers. They were not so smart as the Bengal sepoy, but they could march and fight. At Chanda on the 31st of October they again proved their stubborn courage. News having reached Colonel Wroughton that a rebel leader was collecting a large force at Chanda to seize the district of Jaunpore, he at once sent against them a column consisting of about eleven hundred Gurkhas. After marching about ten miles they found the rebels in a well-chosen and excessively strong position. They numbered at least five thousand with five guns manned by experienced gunners. The fight was hot and stubborn. But the enemy was dislodged from his position with the loss of nearly all his guns and his ammunition. Many gallant deeds were performed by the Gurkhas that day. "Lieutenant Gumbheer Singh of the Shere Regiment," wrote Colonel Wroughton in his official despatches, "now lies covered with wounds. This officer I beg prominently to bring to the notice of Government for his great gallantry, such as would in our service entitle a person to the highest honours being conferred on him. The Lieutenant rushed on seven men defending a gun, cut down five and wounded the others, who made off. He himself received eight sword cuts." *

Gallantry of Lieutenant Gumbheer Singh

A short time after the action of Chanda, Colonel Longden of the 10th Foot, who had been sent from Benares with a small force consisting

* From Lieutenant-Colonel F. J. Wroughton, in Military charge Gurkha Forces, to Lieutenant-Colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to Government, Central Provinces, Camp Singramow, 31st October 1857.

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of three hundred and twenty men of the 10th Foot, two 9-pounder guns, a small detachment of European artillery and a hundred and seventy of the Madras Native infantry, reached Jaunpore. Two days after their arrival (4th November) a body of rebels again crossed the Oudh frontier. Colonel Longden uniting his force to the Nepaulese contingent advanced against them and drove them across the border. To protect it from future raids, the Jaunpore force was greatly strengthened and made a brigade command under Brigadier-General Franks, a man of fiery violent nature and a martinet of the old school. He knew how to command men and how to lead them. He had never studied the art of war, but he had an instinct for winning battles. He was more feared than loved by his men. In the Sutlej Campaign as he was about to lead them against a strong Sikh battery he said "I know you intend to shoot me. But boys do let me get in first." His horse was blown to pieces, but his boys carried him in triumph out of the battery. Another force consisting of British and Nepaulese troops was organised in Western Behar under Colonel Rowcroft. It was to move from Tirhoot along the river Gandak to Goruckpore. The good service rendered by the Gurkha Contingent also led Lord Canning to make a further arrangement with Jung Bahadur by which he himself was to lead a force to the disaffected districts, and having cleared them of rebels he was to march into Oudh and co-operate with Colin Campbell in his attack on Lucknow.

The Jaunpor force ma a briga comman under Brigadie General Franks

A force organise under Colonel Rowcrof

On the 21st of December Jung Bahadur's compact little force of 1,000 Gurkhas composed of fourteen regiments of infantry and four batteries of artillery of six guns reached the frontier. Here he was met by Brigadier-General G. H. Macgregor, C.B., and the officers who had been attached to his force.* They were received by the Maharaja in

Jung Bahadur force rea the fro tier, 21s Decemb

* No. 5071, dated 14th December 1857. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to appoint Brigadier-General G. H. Macgregor, C.B., to be Military Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent with the Gurkha Force commanded by Maharaja Jung Bahadur, and Lieutenant J. F. MacHowden of the 19th Regiment, Native Infantry, to be Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the Brigadier-General.

The following officers are also attached to the Gurkha Force :—

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Captain A. C. Plowden, 30th Native Infantry.

Captain F. N. Edmonstone, 4th Light Cavalry (Lancers).

Lieutenant F. B. Foote, 71st Native Infantry.

Lieutenant A. Cory, 16th Native Infantry.

Lieutenant G. E. Hill, 32nd Native Infantry.

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Surprise and defeat of the rebels near Azimgarh, 20th September

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The Jaunpore force made a brigade command under Brigadier-General Franks

A force organised under Colonel Rowcroft

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Captain A. C. Plowden, 30th Native Infantry.
Captain F. N. Edmonstone, 4th Light Cavalry (Lancers).
Lieutenant F. B. Foote, 71st Native Infantry.
Lieutenant A. Cory, 16th Native Infantry.
Lieutenant G. E. Hill, 32nd Native Infantry.

full durbar. His dress was most magnificent. "The first day he wore the skin of a wild animal for a coat, richly trimmed with head-bands of pure gold; his girdle was of the same, studded with precious stones; his trousers of fine cloth of gold. As for his turban, it was really magnificent; first there was a row of rubies all round it, then emeralds, and a broad plate of pure large diamonds in front with a large waving plume. His two younger brothers were with him, of course dressed as superbly, befitting their high rank in Nepaul." After the durbar the English officers went out to see the troops. "They were drawn up in lines of regiment one behind the other, the best of course in front, but we were very agreeably surprised, both as to their discipline, *physique* and equipment. They marched as steadily as any troops I ever saw. The double march was singularly steady; and they formed column, square, and deployed—passed in review in a most soldierlike and steady manner. Far from realising our pre-conceived notions of Gurkha diminutiveness, they, at any rate in the crack corps, were giants; and even those in the non-selected regiments were very much larger than in our Gurkha battalions. I enquired about their composition; and General Rumheer Sing, the second-in-command, informed me that with the exception of seventeen they were all pure Gurkhas. The Jung is most anxious to get at the enemy." His wish was gratified on the 13th of January. A few miles from Goruckpore, the Gurkhas came suddenly upon the rebel force strongly posted in a jungle. Their guns at once opened fire and the rebels vigorously replied with artillery and musketry. But the duel was of short duration. The Gurkhas swift as bloodhounds rushed forward and the enemy turned and fled. For two miles through the jungle it was a race for life. Nor were these sturdy mountaineers then exhausted. Through the town the Gurkhas chased the rebels to the ghaut on the river. "At one place a number of rebels tried to rush up the banks and effect an escape into the fields, but were intercepted by the Gurkhas and cut to pieces. The great majority however jumped into the river where they were shot down in great numbers. Three or four hundred must have been killed there, the river being at one time literally covered with floating bodies."

Jung Bahadur defeats the rebels at Goruck-pore, 13th January

The station of Goruckpore was again occupied and the district cleared of rebels. On the 19th of February Jung Bahadur reached the left bank of the river Gogra which separated Oudh from our districts. There he was joined by Colonel Rowcroft, who had moved up early in

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December in the direction of Goruckpore. On the 25th of December he received from Jung Bahadur a reinforcement of 500 Gurkhas. His whole force now only amounted to 1,100 men, of whom 130 of the *Pearl* Naval Brigade were the only Europeans. The next day he attacked five thousand rebels with a large train of artillery strongly posted in the village of Sohanpore covered in front by a tank with high banks and two or three large topes (woods) on the right. On arriving within half a mile of the enemy's position Rowcroft formed line and took ground on the right to turn their left flank and act more easily on the tank. The operation was performed with conspicuous success. The rebels were driven from the village and after a pursuit of six miles across the river Gandak. "The troops behaved, as British marines and seamen ever do, most excellently and gallantly: Captain Sotheby was ever ready and present with the guns and to afford me every assistance in the field." * The Gurkhas proved themselves worthy comrades. "All the officers of the two Gurkha regiments were anxious and ready to render good service; and the men of both regiments were steady and willing in the field and kept well to the front with the European forces. One Gurkha officer specially distinguished himself that day. Lieutenant Burlton reports that Subadar Himkumal Bushnea, 9th Company, Randull Gurkhas, behaved very gallantly, constantly encouraging his men, and in riding at one of the rebels who was attacking Lieutenant Burlton, inflicting fortunately only a cut through his turban and helmet, the Subadar was very severely wounded by a tulwar round the left hip, a Sikh then rushing up, cutting down and killing the rebel." † On the following morning Rowcroft crossed the river and punished those who had been forward "in marauding and giving aid to the rebels" by destroying their homesteads. Then in pursuance of orders received from Brigadier-General Macgregor he marched to Burkai Ghat on the Gogra, the chief river of Oudh. Here

Jung Bahadur joined b[y] Colonel Rowcrof[t's] force

Colonel Rowcroft defeats t[he] rebels at Sohanpor[e] 26th Decembe[r]

* "Captain Sotheby has paid great attention to the drill and training of the naval brigade for land service, and in quickly training the horses and ponies for the guns—horses for the large 12-pounder guns and ponies for the three others—and the seamen to ride and act as gunners; and under Lieutenant Turner, R.N., in charge of the artillery, they have had constant drill and training, and are now ready and steady for field service and were in the action of the 26th of December." From Colonel H. Rowcroft, commanding Sarum Field Force, to Colonel R. J. Birch, C.B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Camp Mujhowlee, on the River Chota Gundah, 25 miles west of Sewar, 28th December 1857.

† From Colonel H. Rowcroft, Commanding Sarum Field Force, to Colonel R. J. Birch, C. B., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, 28th December 1857, Appendix.

he received orders to embark his force in boats and ascend the river. On the evening of the 19th of February he arrived within four miles of the Nepaul Column and landing on the right bank was joined by a brigade of that force. Advancing up the stream he defeated a body of rebels at Pherepore and bringing up his boats he made of them a bridge over which the Nepaulese troops crossed. Jung Bahadur pursued his march to Lucknow, and to Rowcroft was assigned the task of holding Gorakhpore and keeping open the communications.

Jung Bahadur crosses into Oudh, 19th February

General Franks marches for Lucknow

On the day that Colonel Rowcroft and the Nepaulese force came in touch General Franks was ordered to enter Oudh. His field force consisted of three British regiments, the 10th, 20th, and 97th, six battalions of Nepaulese under General Pulivan Sing, two field batteries, and some other guns, but his cavalry consisted only of thirty-eight mounted policemen known as the Benares Horse commanded by Captain Matheson.* To make up for his deficiency in that arm he had mounted twenty-five men of the 10th Foot and placed them under the command of Lieutenant Tucker of the Bengal Artillery. The force opposed to him consisted of 10,000 men under the rebel chief Mehndee Hussan and 8,000 men under one of his sub-lieutenants Bunda Hussan. At 8 A.M. on the morning of the 19th, Franks found the enemy under the sub-lieutenant at Chanda, "a large village at the south-eastern angle of which are a considerable mud fort and a serai, both of great height and loopholed for musketry."

Second action of Chanda, 19th February

* Corps—	Number of effectives.
6th Company, 13th Battalion, Royal Artillery	108
8th Company, 2nd Battalion, Royal Artillery	52
Detachment A Company, 3rd Battalion, Madras Artillery ...	66
" 4th Company, 5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery ...	30
" Benares Horse	38
Her Majesty's 10th Regiment	730
" 20th "	717
" 97th "	661
Allied Gurkha Forces, six battalions, Infantry and Artillery attached	3,193
Native Artillery Detachment	115
Total ...	5,710

Franks's force soon drove the enemy before it, carried the position, and captured six guns, following the rebels through and past the village. After a long chase Franks rested his men. Near sunset while the ground for encampment was being taken up, the enemy under Mehndee Hussan appeared on his left front. His force immediately changed front, attacked the enemy, and routed them. He then bivouacked for the night. The next day he halted to enable the baggage which had been delayed by difficult ground to arrive. News reached General Franks that the rebel leader intended to bar his progress by making a wide circuit to the left and occupying the strong jungle pass position and Fort of Budhayan, nine miles in front of him. But Franks's sagacity was as conspicuous as his energy. At daybreak on the 21st, having drawn up his force in order of battle as if he were going to attack the enemy in front, he allowed his whole baggage to file away past his right rear towards a village situated half way to the Fort, where it had been given out that he intended to halt. But he pushed the baggage rapidly through it, and withdrew without being noticed: his advance guard, who overtook the baggage, crossed the ravine, and seized the fort just before the enemy. The rebel leader forestalled in the possession of the fort, proceeded by a long detour for the town of Sultanpur where he determined to dispute Franks's further progress. The rebel force numbering 25,000 men, of whom 5,000 were sepoys and 1,100 cavalry, with 25 guns, was under Mirza Gaffoor Bey, a General of Artillery under the ex-King of Oudh, who had been sent from Lucknow specially to take the command. The position which he occupied was formidable. Behind a deep and winding ravine which runs into the river Goomtee his line, extending a mile and a half in length, was posted on a plain. His left rested on the Sultanpur bazaar, the centre was placed behind the ruined lines of the police battalions, and his right was covered by a range of low hillocks in advance of the village and strong masonry caravanserai of Badshahgunge. Near the point where the direct road leading to Lucknow crosses the ravine the enemy placed their principal battery. Three of their guns were placed on the extreme left, and six were posted on the serai on the right. The ravine whose whole front was lined by groves of trees was deep and easy of defence where the road crosses it: it was also very deep on the enemy's left where it

Franks occupies the Fort Budhay[an]

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ran into the river, but to the left it was much narrower and shallower. At six o'clock in the morning Franks marched from his camp, and three hours later his cavalry caught sight of the enemy's outposts near a village on the high road. Immediately forming his men in battle array he marched through the hamlet, and the enemy's picquets concluded that his advance would be as they wished directly down the high road. Then advancing with his few troopers and the mounted detachment he drove the outposts beyond the ravine. A thick belt of trees now concealed his force from the enemy's. Taking advantage of the screen, Franks galloped with a few horse to the left to examine the head of the ravine "which I felt convinced disappeared in the plain, and this proved to be the case, for my search found a point where the road from Allahabad crosses it, where the troops and heavy guns could pass the ravine out of reach of the enemy's fire. Some rising ground here gave me a good view of the rebel position, and ascertaining that it might be turned by its right, I ordered the whole force to take ground obliquely to the left." Concealed by the mango groves the force proceeded round the enemy's right completely out of fire. When they debouched from the wood the rebels opened on them from their heaviest guns, but the shot fell far short. Franks instantly deployed his line and sent the skirmishers with the light guns well ahead to close on the enemy's position. But far in advance of the leading skirmishers rode Lieutenant McLeod Innes who during the defence of the Residency had shown how great professional skill and calm judgment can be combined with valour of no ordinary order. "He was the first to secure a gun which the enemy were abandoning. Retiring from this they rallied round another gun farther back, from which the shot would in another instant have ploughed through our advancing columns, when Lieutenant Innes rode up unsupported, shot the gunner about to apply the match, and remaining undaunted at his post the mark for a hundred matchlockmen, sheltered in some adjoining huts, kept the artillerymen at bay until assistance reached him."* The gun being captured the British lines circling gradually forward drove the enemy from the different points of his position to the deep ravine which here swept

Action of Sultanpur, 23rd February

Gallant action of Lieutenant McLeod Innes

* From Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters camp, Camp Dilkusha before Lucknow, 9th March 1858.

For this act of gallantry "surpassed by none in my experience," wrote General Franks, "Lieutenant McLeod Innes was awarded the Victoria Cross."

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round his rear. His retreat was cut off. The central battery with five guns still stopped our advance. Then Franks himself cap in hand led the skirmishers and eight of the 10th Foot up to the guns and they were captured "after an obstinate resistance, the gunners standing by their pieces and serving them to the last." The battle was at an end. The enemy fled in all directions, escaping across the deep ravine which prevented the further advance of Franks's guns. His want of cavalry also precluded a vigorous pursuit. Twenty-one of the enemy's guns, nine of them of siege calibre, his camp and his ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

The force halted after the action for the men to rest and that same evening it was joined by the Lahore Light Horse and Pathan Horse under Captain Balmain. The next afternoon the 3rd Sikhs under Lieutenant Aickman reached the camp, having ridden forty miles that day.* On the 25th in compliance with a telegram from the Chief of the Staff the force resumed its march. On the morning of the 1st of March just as the column was about to leave its camp, Aickman, who was in command of the advanced picquets, heard that a body of 500 rebel infantry and 200 cavalry, with two guns, under a noted rebel chief, were encamped three miles off the high road on the banks of the Goomtee. He had only 100 men, but sending a trooper at full gallop to Franks asking that the cavalry and the guns might be sent to his support, he led them to the spot, and finding the enemy charged into their midst. A tough fight ensued. Aickman himself was engaged in a hand-to-hand contest with several of the rebels and received a severe cut across the face. But his troopers beat them off, and vigorously pressing the foe drove them across the river and captured their two guns. For his dash and courage Aickman was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieutenant Aickman awarded the Victoria Cross

Franks continued his advance and on the 4th of March he arrived within eight miles of Lucknow. Here he learnt that a large body of

* "The next morning Franks was joined by the Jalandhar Cavalry. This body of horse raised on the Guide principle under the auspices of Colonel Lake, Deputy Commissioner of Jalandhar, only a few months before, and equipped and drilled by Lieutenant Aickman, had marched from the Sutlej to join Franks in an incredibly short space of time—the last march covering forty miles. "I did not expect you for a fortnight," exclaimed Franks, as he welcomed Aickman. "Had I known you would have been here, I would in any case have postponed the action." "The Indian Mutiny," by Colonel Malleson, C.S.I., Volume IV, page 235.

the rebels occupied the Fort of Dhowara, two miles to the right of the road and situated in very difficult ground amongst the ravines which run into the Goomtee. Being apprehensive that if they were left unmolested they might cut off his long train of baggage, Franks determined to drive them from their citadel. Sending the main column under Brigadier Eveleigh, C.B., a mile further on the road he proceeded with two Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Arbuthnot, a squadron of 9th Lancers, and some Sikh and Pathan Horse under Captain Coles, 9th Lancers, to the Fort. No sooner did he approach it than the enemy opened fire from two small guns. The Horse Artillery guns were brought into action at 600 yards, but they had no effect. They were moved up successively to 400, 300 and 200 yards, but they were too light to make any impression on the walls and to put down the fire of the matchlockmen securely posted behind the parapet. Franks therefore ordered up a company of marksmen from each British regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Longden, 10th Foot, and two 24-pounder howitzers of Major Cotter's Madras Battery. A few rounds from them drove the enemy from the outer enclosure, "but a sharp matchlock fire was still kept up from the loopholes which everywhere pierce the keep into which the greater part of the defenders had retired." * The companies of the 20th and 97th gallantly headed by Captain Middleton, 29th Regiment, and Ensign Elton, 37th Native Infantry, attached to the 10th Foot, attacked it from the south-east, effected an entrance, and captured the guns. The rebels driven to bay, barricaded themselves in a house guarded by a huge heavy gate. Repeated attempts to break it down failed. "The shot from one of their own guns which we turned against it, making no impression on the massive gate, a fire kindled against it having no effect, and my only Engineer officer, Lieutenant Innes, having been severely wounded, while trying to burst open the entrance, I determined," wrote General Franks, "to withdraw from the place." His decision was also influenced by a report brought to him that his presence was required with the main body around which considerable bodies of the enemy were hovering. They however fell back towards the city, and Franks's force resuming its march reached Sir Colin's camp the same evening. It had in thirteen days marched a

Attack on the Fort of Dhowara

Franks's column reaches Lucknow

* From Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, C.B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Head-Quarters Camp, Dilkusha, before Lucknow, 9th March 1858.

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hundred and thirty miles, had beaten an immensely superior enemy in four actions and had captured thirty-five pieces of ordnance.*

While Franks's column and the Nepaulese army under Jung Bahadur were marching from the eastern frontier of Oudh to the capital, Outram was holding his own in Alumbagh against a pertinacious foe. As the Alumbagh was capable of accommodating only a small garrison he had, after establishing a strong picquet there, encamped his main force a mile in rear of the building itself in the open plain across the Cawnpore road, and he protected his camp by batteries abattis and by judiciously turning two or three swamps into account, which however were very nearly dry in February. These defensive works, not connected by a continuous trench, occupied a circuit of about eleven miles which extended from a village to the left of the main road to the old and tumbled fort of Jellalabad on the extreme right, in which was placed a Sapper picquet and part of the park, the rest being in rear of our camp. The advanced posts were within gunshot range of the outworks of a vast city. Such was the position which for three months Outram held against 120,000 organised troops with more than 130 guns, besides the armed and turbulent scum of a population of 700,000 souls.† His force amounted to considerably

* "But this march of General Franks, beside being important in itself, was valuable from its clearing the way for Jung Bahadur's army following in its rear." "Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny," by Lieutenant-General McLeod Innes, R.E., V.C., page 276.

† Strength of the enemy on January 26th 1858, as ascertained by Captain Alexander Orr of the Intelligence Department:—

37 Regiments of	Sepoys, including Oudh Force	...	27,550
14 "	New Seises	...	5,400
106 "	Nujeeb's Seises, including Oudh Force	...	55,150
16 "	Regular and Irregular Cavalry	...	7,100
Camel Corps	" " " "	...	300
	Total	...	95,500

Artillery, guns of all sorts and calibres, not including wall pieces, and the guns brought from Futtehpore, 131. Number of artillerymen, not known.

"The above is exclusive of the armed followers of the talukdars and zemindars still in Lucknow, on January 26th, amounting, at the lowest calculations, to 20,000 men, exclusive of the armed budmashes of the city, and exclusive also of four or five regiments that fled to Lucknow from Futtehpore, with three to five guns, amounting to certainly not less than 3,000. The total aggregate of hostile forces in Lucknow on the 26th January not less than 120,000 of all arms. Since that date several of the zemindars' troops have left Lucknow, but their places have been much more than supplied by the regiments ordered in from the district." "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 455.

less than 4,000 of all ranks." Of these the forts of Alumbagh and Jellalabad absorbed about 600 men, brigade and camp duties 450 more, and thus after deducting sick and wounded there remained of all arms and ranks (European and Native) little more than 2,000 available for action during the absence of the convoys (averaging 450 men) which we had fortnightly to send to Cawnpore." *

Outram acting under orders took up his position on the plain of Alumbagh to hold the armed hosts of Lucknow in check until the Commander-in-Chief was ready to undertake the capture of that city, which he hoped would be in a very few months. But for strategic reasons he disliked the position: its close proximity to the city enabled the enemy to attack him when they thought fit, and to make good their retreat when defeated. It was also cramped and open to surprises. When Outram therefore heard that Colin Campbell proposed to defer the capture of Lucknow till the next winter, a period of ten or twelve months, he considered it his duty, not as a General of a Division but as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to recommend a withdrawal of his forces to some post near Cawnpore. He argued "it is immaterial what particular spot in Oudh is held as

* Corps	Detachment. Europeans.	Native.
Artillery	332	108
Cavalry—		
Military Train	221	...
Volunteer Cavalry	67	...
12th Irregular Cavalry	3	240
Oudh Irregular Cavalry	1	37
Infantry—		
6th Fusiliers	526	...
84th Foot	431	...
75th Foot	355	...
78th Highlanders	439	
90th Light Infantry	591	
18th Madras Fusiliers	411	
Ferozepore Regiment	5	295
Madras Sappers	4	110
27th Madras Native Infantry	9	457
Total ...	3,395	1,047
Grand Total, Europeans and Natives ...	4,442	

a proof that we have not deserted it, so long as a footing is retained in the province; for no civil government can be exercised so long as we are not in possession of the capital itself."* To continue to hold a position in the immediate neighbourhood of Lucknow he considered "would render necessary the employment of a much larger body of troops to maintain their post and keep up their communications with Cawnpore; and also, remaining in the vicinity of the city, without making any effort to take it, would be a declaration of weakness, which under the present circumstances is in every way to be deprecated." Outram, however, begged the Governor-General distinctly to understand "that he only advocates the withdrawal of this force from its present position, in the event of the re-conquest of the capital and of Oudh during the present season being definitely abandoned. If, on the other hand, it be contemplated to undertake these operations, he is of opinion that political considerations imperatively demand that our present position be maintained at any cost." It was maintained and at little cost, by the energy, skill and courage of conception and execution of Outram.

Sir Colin Campbell, however, refused to realise the dangers and difficulties of Outram's position. After the defeat of the Gwalior contingent at Cawnpore a memorandum by the Chief of the Staff was sent to Outram stating that the Commander-in-Chief was of opinion that he should take immediate steps in pursuance of the advantage gained to put his communications with Cawnpore in a thoroughly effective condition. "You will therefore on the receipt of this memorandum, detach to the rear 400 European soldiers, 200 Madras Infantry, Captain Olpherts's Light Field Battery and half your cavalry, with all your camels." To this large demand upon his resources Outram felt bound to demur. He reminded the Commander-in-Chief that in a letter to the Governor-General in Council which was forwarded under a flying seal for the Commander-in-Chief's information he had stated:—"We have barely carriage for a weak brigade, which, however, would not be detached with prudence to a distance involving an absence of more than a day, without exposing the camp to considerable risk, menaced as it is by many thousands of the enemy, supported by several guns posted in the gardens and

* "James Outram: A Biography," by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., Volume II, page 285.

enclosures on this side of the canal, on our front, and flanks, which daily send round shot into our advanced posts, though from so great a distance as to do no injury." Outram, besides drawing attention to this passage in his letter to the Governor-General, further informed the Commander-in-Chief that the enemy were busily employed in erecting a battery on his left flank which might become offensive at any moment, that they had brought out two horse artillery guns "which might do much harm by moving on our flanks if we had no guns of a similar description to oppose them," that the cavalry force was most inefficient, that detaching 200 Madras Infantry from Bunnee would weaken too much that most important post which was already threatened by the enemy. Finally, Outram pointed out the extensive nature of his position.* In reply to his letter he received a second Memorandum from the Chief of the Staff informing him that "It is a subject of the deepest regret to His Excellency that he cannot concede to the reasoning of Sir James Outram. "His Excellency intreats Sir James Outram to believe that he is fully alive to the circumstances of his position, and he does not think it possible for him to be threatened by any real danger.

"Including the post of Alumbagh and Bunnee Sir James Outram has at his disposal 4,400 fighting men, of which the bulk is composed of European infantry, besides a very powerful infantry artillery.

"The effect of the late success on the right bank of the Ganges cannot but be felt throughout the Province of Oudh as elsewhere.

"If the left be threatened by a battery His Excellency would suggest the advisability of attacking and destroying it before it can become a cause of annoyance.

"If on the occasion of a detachment going out, Sir James has fears for his position, His Excellency would further venture to suggest that the front of the camp should be contracted, or that it should be converted into a bivouac in case of really imminent danger."

The tone of the memorandum reveals the fault which marred the great ability of the Chief of the Staff. It was hardly necessary to inform a man of Outram's standing and brilliant service that if a battery annoyed him he should destroy it, and the Chief of the Staff too hastily supposed that the effect of the late success on the

* From Colonel Berkeley, to the Chief of the Staff, dated Camp Alumbagh, 11th December 1857. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 418.

right bank of the Ganges cannot but be felt throughout the province of Oudh to an appreciable degree as elsewhere. It certainly was not felt in Oudh to any appreciable degree. As to the obvious suggestions that he should destroy the battery and contract his front Outram replied: "It would be entirely out of my power to destroy the batteries alluded to—that is to say, I could not take the guns, for my spies inform me that the horses are always kept harnessed in readiness for immediate flight. All that I could do, therefore, would be to destroy the work itself, which would involve loss of men to no purpose, from the enemy's musketry in the neighbouring cover, as the insurgents have unlimited command of labour, and in the course of a very few days would erect another battery in the same or in an adjacent position. Neither could I contract my front in proportion to the diminution of my force. I cannot retire from either flank position without abandoning strong posts which the enemy would immediately occupy, and thus acquire the power of doing us much mischief; nor could they be dislodged without more loss than I should care to have to report for your Excellency's information."* The arrangements for the convoys were henceforth left to the discretion of Sir James Outram. He calculated in each case the strength of the escort according to the exigencies of the time and situation, and not one was ever molested.

The attacks of the enemy against Alumbagh

At first the rebels of Lucknow were no doubt depressed by the severe blows which Colin Campbell had dealt them, but when they received large accessions from the sepoys dispersed in other parts by the Commander-in-Chief, and when our victories were not followed up by any decisive action, their courage and hopes revived. Exaggerated accounts of the minor successes gained by rebel bands also reached them. Skirmishes between our advanced pickets and those of the enemy grew more frequent, and on the 21st of December Sir James Outram learnt from his spies that the enemy contemplated surrounding his position in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and to intercept his communication with Bunnee. With this object they despatched a force to Guilee, a village three miles from the camp, situated a little to the right of the road to Dilkusha. On the evening of the 21st he was informed that the rebels had been

First affair at Guilee, 22nd December

* "James Outram: A Biography," by Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., Volume II, page 287.

reinforced and that their strength amounted to about 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and eight field guns.* Having also ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkoosha, Outram moved out at 5 A.M. on the 22nd of December in the hope of surprising them at daybreak, and intercepting their retreat to the city. His forces consisted of 1,227 infantry under Brigadier Stokes, 190 cavalry under Major Robertson, and six 9-pounder guns under Captain Olpherts. The right column under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Parnell, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th Regiments and of the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, with a cheer dashed at a strong position held by the rebels. "They were met by a heavy fire. Regardless of the overwhelming numbers, and of the six guns reported to be posted there, the suddenness of the attack and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy with hardly a casualty on our side." † Colonel Grey in command of the left column consisting of 400 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers made a simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee, drove the enemy from it, and captured two guns. The flying foe were pursued across the plain by the volunteer cavalry under Captain Barrow until they found refuge in a village from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged by the assistance of two of Captain Olpherts's guns under the command of Lieutenant Smithett, and changing their line of retreat they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkoosha. The military train under Major Robertson having been however despatched to make a flank movement followed them up so rapidly that they dispersed their cavalry, and drove their guns into a ravine where they were captured. Being far ahead of the infantry the military train were however unable to remove them. A large body of fresh troops from the city menaced their front. The main body of the enemy of about 2,000 infantry who, on having their rear assailed, had begun to withdraw to the city, seeing their guns in possession of so small a force menaced their right flank. "But by the bold front shown by the military train, and the gallant advance of the skirmishers, they were held at bay until the arrival

* Afterwards ascertained to have been only four; all of which were captured.

† Division Orders issued by Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., dated Camp, Alumbagh, 23rd December 1857.

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of a party of the 5th Fusiliers and two 9-pounder guns under Captain Olpherts completely secured the capture of the guns, and enabled a working party of the Madras Sappers under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven." * In Division Orders Sir James expresses his warm acknowledgments to the officers and men and records his approval of the conduct of Staff Sergeant Roddy "who was in command of the two guns attached to Colonel Grey's column and whom his commanding officer, Captain Olpherts, has mentioned for the able way in which he brought his guns into action and the good service he rendered in covering the rapid advance of the column." †

In forwarding Outram's report of the action to the Government the Commander-in-Chief states that he "considers the whole affair to have been extremely well conducted and to reflect much credit on the troops engaged." ‡

Attack made by enemy on Outram's position, 12th January

The enemy defeated but undismayed made another attack three weeks later. Early in January reports reached Outram that Mansoob Ali, one of the rebel leaders, was collecting men and receiving reinforcements from Lucknow to intercept his communications. He therefore sent a stronger escort than usual with his convoy on its way from Cawnpore, consisting of 450 infantry, 4 guns, and 80 cavalry. The rebels knowing of this reduction of his force determined to attack him. At sunrise on the 12th of January they came forth 30,000 strong and gradually spread round the whole front and flanks of his position. But Outram had made such dispositions of his small forces and outpost as were necessary and was ready to receive them. As soon as their movements were decidedly in advance, the brigades—the right mustering 713, and the left 733 Europeans and 100 men of the regiment of Ferozepore—were formed in front of their lines. The enemy first advanced upon the left front and flank, but as soon as

* Division Orders issued by Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., dated Camp Alumbagh, 23rd December 1857. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 422.

† "Major Robertson has also brought to his notice the great assistance he received on every occasion from Captain Lane, 5th Bengal Light Cavalry, and Lieutenant Rich, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, attached to the military train. Division Orders issued by Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., dated Camp Alumbagh, 23rd December 1857.

‡ From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated Head-Quarters Camp Pura, December 1857. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 421.

they were fairly within range they were met by such a severe fire of artillery from Alumbagh and from the advanced batteries of the outposts on the left front and centre that they fled with the utmost precipitation. On the left rear Major Olpherts moved out his guns at a gallop, and advancing well to his front completely drove off and dispersed a very large body of infantry and cavalry which was endeavouring to penetrate to our rear, turning them back towards the city, and doing much execution by the fire of his guns on their masses at 500 yards. At this time Outram received a report that Alumbagh and his eight advanced outposts of Jellalabad were threatened. On proceeding to the right he found that the enemy had brought three horse artillery guns supported by an immense mass of infantry against the picquet which connected his right with Jellalabad. It had fortunately been strengthened to 100 men with two guns. Outram moved the regiment of Ferozepore and the 5th Fusiliers, with two guns of Moir's Bullock Battery, from the right brigade to the front, taking the enemy in flank and driving them back. "They were then exposed to the fire of Maude's guns from Alumbagh which played upon them with great effect." About the same time the enemy again advanced on the left and the right and were again repulsed. Simultaneously thay advanced on the Alumbagh, but the fire of Maude's guns and of the riflemen soon scattered them. By five o'clock in the afternoon the whole of the enemy had disappeared.

Attack of the enemy, 16th January

Four days later they made another attack, and though they did not show in such general strength, it was more bold than before. In the morning led by a Hindu devotee dressed as Hanuman, the monkey god, a large body made a sudden rush on the Jellalabad picquet, but they were received with a tearing fire which promptly drove them back leaving on the ground their leader. Throughout the day they continued to advance skirmishing and threatening an attack on the left, but they suffered severely whenever they ventured within range. When darkness fell they attacked in great extent the villages on the extreme left. Major Gordon, 75th Regiment, allowed them to approach within 80 yards of the front when he met them with a withering fire of grape and musketry. A vast number were swept down at once and the remainder fled. "Some shells from an 8-inch mortar expedited their retreat." Meanwhile a large body of cavalry had showed on the left rear and were safely left to the vigilance of

Captain Olpherts, who watched and kept them in check with his four horse artillery guns, supported by a detachment of the military train under Captain Clarke. The loss of the enemy was severe.

Attack of the enemy, 15th February

The rebels though beaten off continued day by day to gain a better knowledge of the ground around Outram's position, and taking advantage of every cover they diligently entrenched themselves and harassed his troops by demonstrations of attacks. On the 15th February a strong body of horsemen supported by infantry were spied moving to our left rear. A convoy was approaching, and as a violent dust storm was blowing at the time they calculated they would get near it unobserved. But Outram straightway ordered out two of Captain Olpherts's horsed guns and a troop of the military train to observe their movements. A further report of the enemy's increasing strength being made he supported them with the rest of the battery, the remainder of the military train, a detachment of horse, and Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

" In the meanwhile a portion of the enemy's cavalry escorting a person in a palankeen having advanced well into the open, Captain Olpherts's two guns and the troop of the military train galloped to the front and opened on them with grape, killing and wounding several and dispersing the remainder. I have since been informed that it was the Moulvi himself who headed this party and that he was severely wounded." *

Fifth attack of the enemy, 16th February

The next day the enemy again filled their trenches with men and assembled in vast numbers under the groves of fine mango trees in their rear. At the same time a body of cavalry and infantry was detached to threaten our left flank. During the morning they made several demonstrations of attack, but after much show they retired. About sunset their buglers again sounded and they suddenly issued in clouds of skirmishers from the trenches, advancing for some distance towards our batteries on the left and centre of our line. Under cover of a smart musketry fire a mass of them with loud shouts of "Chalo, bhai" ("Come on, brother") made a rush at the outposts of the left front village. But "they were repulsed by the picquet consisting of 200 men of the 90th Light Infantry under command of Lieutenant-Colonel

* From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 17th February 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 440.

Smith of that regiment, losing a good many men, the 90th having three wounded. As soon as it was dark they concentrated a very heavy musketry fire on the north and east faces of the Alumbagh, which they continued for about two hours, but which fortunately did no harm; they did not finally retire until 8-30 P.M. Their loss must have been severe, as their flashes gave an excellent line for our guns which opened on them with shrapnel shell and grape." *

ixth ttack f the nemy, 1st 'ebruary

The rebels, advised of the approach of the two columns from the eastern frontier of Oudh and of the great preparations being made in Cawnpore by Sir Colin for an immediate advance, saw that no time was to be lost if they were to drive Outram from his position. There had been for some weeks dissensions in their ranks, but in the face of a great impending danger they forgot for a moment their old animosities, and the Hindus swore on the Ganges and the Mahomedans on the Koran that they would slay the British at the Alumbagh or perish in the attempt. The time was opportune. A large convoy they knew was on the road from Cawnpore and the escort for this had taken away most of Outram's cavalry. Sunday, the 21st of February, was a favourable day to strike the decisive blow. Their spies told them that Outram, his officers, and the majority of his men attended church parade on the Sabbath. But Outram also had spies. Late on Saturday evening he was informed of the proposed operations of the enemy. At the first streak of day twenty thousand rebel troops with a large train of artillery silently emerged from their shelter in the city and adjacent villages, and having filled their trenches with as many men as they could hold they massed their infantry in the groves in support of them. Then they commenced a simultaneous movement round both our flanks at the same time, threatening the whole length of our position and attacking the north-east corner of the Alumbagh and also the picquet and fort of Jellalabad against which they brought four guns." Outram on perceiving their intention immediately reinforced these posts. The enemy under cover of long grass and underwood came on to deliver the assault. But no sooner had they advanced within grape shot when our guns sent many a blast of grape tearing through them. Meanwhile Outram detached about 250 cavalry and two guns to the rear of the fort of Jellalabad

* From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 17th February 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 439.

where they suddenly surprised about two thousand of the enemy's cavalry. "Our guns immediately opened on them killing several which caused them to withdraw to the immediate vicinity of the infantry attacking the fort." * They remained there till the attack was abandoned when all withdrew towards the city. About ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry also attacked our left flank, but five field guns and a squadron of the military train quickly sent them back. Before the day was half spent the assailants broken and dispirited retired to the city.

Four days after this mortifying repulse they however again renewed the assault. The Queen Regent and her son, the Prime Minister, and the principal nobles mounted on state elephants came out of the city to encourage the assailants and witness their triumph. About 9 A.M., large bodies of infantry and cavalry with four guns advanced from their trenches which were filled with men and menaced our left. At the same moment thirty regiments of infantry, one thousand cavalry, and eight guns also moved out against our right accompanied by the Royal procession. A strong body held the village and topes in front of their outworks while the remainder with two guns swung round the right rear, occupied the groves immediately to the east of Jellalabad, and poured a shower of shells into the citadel. Outram at once sent Barrow's Volunteers and Wall's Horse to sweep round and take them in the rear. After having given them sufficient time to make the movement, he himself soon after 10 A.M. moved out with the 1st Brigade under Brigadier Russell, Olpherts's Field Battery, Remington's Troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the military train, a squadron of the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse † and Graham's Horse to

Attack of the enemy, 25th February

* From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to Major H. W. Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 21st February 1858.

† "Up to the 25th February troops had been gradually arriving, the 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and a battery of Horse Artillery having arrived." "Outram at the Alumbagh:" "The Calcutta Review," Volume XXXIV, page 9.

Sir James Outram writes :—"Colonel Berkeley, my able and zealous Military Secretary, whose knowledge of the ground was of great service to Brigadier Campbell in cutting off the enemy's retreat, was wounded while gallantly charging at the head of Hodson's Horse, as was Lieutenant Morrison while rendering to Barrow and Wall assistance similar to that which Colonel Berkeley afforded the Brigadier." From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 26th February 1858.

Hodson in his Diary writes, March 11th :—"There has been a great fuss about the

attack and intercept them. As Outram advanced a portion of the enemy's reserve made a demonstration against his left, but Olpherts at once wheeled his four guns to the left and advancing a little distance unlimbered and opened fire. The Royal pomp swiftly left the field. Then Remington taking up a position about four hundred yards to the left and in advance of Olpherts's opened fire on the foe as they fell back, and supported by a squadron of the 7th Hussars and by Brasyer's Sikhs held them in check. The column then moved forward, flanked on the left by Major Campbell of the Bays with the Native Cavalry. The enemy on hearing the fire of Remington's guns had begun a retreat. It was quickly converted into a rout. The two bodies of cavalry swept down on their flanks. Hodson's troopers for a second hesitated, but their gallant commander supported by the Native officers and Gough, the Adjutant, led the way and charged the guns. A rebel trooper ran his spear into Gough, who would have been a dead man, if Hodson had not at that moment cut down his opponent. One gun was captured and the enemy were driven away from the other. But they swiftly rallied and poured a steady fire on the small band who kept them at bay. The military train rushed up, secured the guns, and the enemy fled. At 1 P.M. they had vanished. "Judging from the corpses which strewed the field where the cavalry had charged, and from the dense masses upon which our guns repeatedly opened, the enemy's casualties must have been heavy." *

About 4 P.M. they however again moved out against Outram. "On this occasion they directed their principal efforts against our left, and evinced more spirit and determination than they had hitherto done. Repeatedly they advanced within grape and musket range, and as they ever met with a warm reception from our guns and Enfields, especially from those of the left front picquet, commanded by Major Master of the 5th Fusiliers, they must have suffered severely." †

matter; Sir Colin having taken great and very just offence at its being reported to him that the cavalry were 'led' by Colonel—a staff officer * * * He got wounded and then was officially reported to have 'led the cavalry,' whereas we had Brigadier Campbell (a capital officer), and Colonel Haggart, of the 7th Hussars, present besides the officers commanding regiments, *quorum pars fui*." "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," page 284.

* From Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., Commanding 1st Division, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Camp Alumbagh, 25th February 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 446.

† *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

Thus ended the last attempt of the enemy to take by assault Outram's position. For more than twelve weeks he had with a small body of British soldiers gallantly held the extended position which he was by circumstances compelled to take up against a hundred and twenty thousand rebels mainly disciplined soldiers, and had repulsed their fiercest attacks. The sepoys proved by their heavy losses that it was not courage in which they were lacking, but, as at Delhi, leadership. If they had been led by men who were acquainted with the operations of war the English Commander would have found it impossible to hold his extended position and keep open his communication with Cawnpore. Outram's success was due not only to his quality as an able and daring commander but his all-enduring fortitude, his unflagging cheerfulness and all-embracing sympathy as a man. He kindled the same enthusiasm among the soldiers as he had done among the wild and savage Bhils. They knew his deep trust, his earnest anxiety to promote their comfort and provide for their amusement. Why his men loved him is shown by an account of his daily ride round the pickets by one who paid his camp a flying visit and accompanied him. "As we rode," he writes, "at what seemed a studiously slow pace across the open plain between the centre pickets and Alumbagh, the General received his customary salute of round shot from a heavy gun in the enemy's front battery, which the soldiers had nicknamed 'Nancy Dawson.' Several whizzed by, noticed only by a pariah dog, which had a narrow shave. At the Alumbagh the site of Havelock's grave was pointed out, and from one of the bastions I saw once more extended before me the gardens and suburbs of Lucknow, a fair scene in which lurked much mischief. Signs of the enemy were discernible within easy range, but Nancy's noisy greeting is all I recollect of them. Jellalabad leaves the impression of a peaceful and picturesque Indian landscape, with its crumbling fort, *jheel* and tempting topes of trees. As to the other defences, it seemed to a non-military eye, that there were few anywhere and that for long stretches there was nothing at all to prevent the swarms of Lucknow from coming in where they pleased. Sir James had a cheery word for officers and men at each post, generally some small compliment—such as a regret the enemy would not come on, because you're always so well prepared—and his visit seemed a welcome one, everywhere. As you know, he could be uncommonly irate

on provocation, but there was nothing to find fault with on that day. I was told that when he did 'let out' at anyone, especially a youngster, he was not comfortable till he had made it up by some kind word or deed, and that as often as not a 'wig' ended by the offer of a cheroot—a valuable gift at the Alumbagh. His holster was stuffed with these luxuries, instead of a revolver, and he dispensed them right liberally."

By infusing his own ardour and serene confidence into the whole force Outram was able to hold an almost untenable position. Full justice was not done by Sir Colin Campbell or the Chief of the Staff to Outram's defence of Alumbagh, which must be viewed as a fine example of courage and good conduct, and will always stand out as a glorious episode in the annals of the Indian Mutiny.

The enemy saw that the crisis was near, Sir Colin's army was approaching the city, and they strenuously strove to extend and perfect the works on which many thousands of workmen had been unceasingly employed for the past three months. The primary object of the earthworks was to bar our approach to the Kaiser Bagh, or Royal Palace, about 400 yards square, containing several tombs and range of buildings. It had not been originally fortified but had been strengthened since the last occupation of the Residency by British troops, and was now regarded by the rebels as a citadel and the key of their position. The line of the canal was the first or outer one. They had strengthened its lower shallow end, where Colin Campbell had crossed when he relieved the garrison, by a deep and straight cut made to the river. They broke down bridges, they scarped the banks of the canal which served them as a wet ditch, and they built on the inner bank from its junction with the river to the Charbagh a formidable rampart of earth with bastions. A strong battery for three guns, resting against a mass of buildings called the Hazratgunge, supported the outer bases at the junction of three main roads. The second line starting from the river and passing in front of the Moti Mehal and encircling the Mess-House stretched to the Hazratgunge main street of the city, which it joined at the small Imambara. The third line at right angles to the first two defended the Kaiser Bagh, whose rear was closed in by a mass of buildings through which approach would have been dangerous to the assailant. About 131 guns and mortars of various calibres were mounted on

these works. But formidable as these lines were the enemy did not entirely rely on them; they had loopholed and fortified almost every house and enclosure, constructed strong counter-guards in front of the gateways, and placed stockades and traverses across each of the principal streets and constructed isolated batteries to sweep down them.* The enemy's works were vast and strong, but there was a cardinal fault in design, and of that Sir Colin took prompt advantage in his attack. The works rested on a river which could be easily crossed and then they could be enfiladed and taken in reverse by our batteries.

Sir Colin Campbell's measures for the siege of Lucknow

During the month of January Sir Colin Campbell laboured strenuously in arranging the measures necessary for the reduction of Lucknow. No time had been lost in issuing the requisite orders. On the 11th of January Sir Colin wrote to Lord Canning :—"We are all hard at work and have been ever since the receipt of your first letter. Indent and carriages to a large extent have been sent to Agra for the necessary siege-train." † An army large enough to operate with success had to be concentrated at Cawnpore. Two 68-pounders had to be transported there from Allahabad, and at that spot had to be collected the provisions, carriages, and munitions of war required for a great siege. The siege-train from Agra had to travel one hundred and seventy miles and could not reach Cawnpore before the first week in February at the earliest. A pause in the main operations became inevitable. But as the proposed advance on Lucknow was kept a secret, neither the public nor the troops could understand the cause of the delay, and Sir Colin did not escape the wrath of ignorance. He was violently assailed for the delay and accused of indecision, dilatoriness, and wasting the best of the cold weather.‡ Keeping his

* Report from the Chief Engineer to the Chief of the Staff, La Martinière, 31st March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, Appendix. "As the main streets were also commanded by bastions and barricades, and every building of importance, besides being loopholed, had an outer work protecting the entrance." *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

† "Life of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Volume II, page 97.

‡ "There appeared in the *Times* a critique of his conduct up to May 1858, which was dated from Dublin and signed by 'A disabled officer,' who had just returned from the war. It is instructive to read by the light of facts the criticism of the hour. The writer states—'Did the Chief now act? No, not a bit of it, not he, foolish people should not hurry *him*. Day after day, and week after week, and still the long roads of white tents stood motionless, or made but very petty and partial moves, while the sun got warmer and warmer, till at last

own counsel, the Commander-in-Chief developed his plans indifferent to the abuse poured on him. He remained at Fatehgarh as the best strategic centre for protecting the transport of the siege-train from Agra to Cawnpore, and for despatching troops to any quarter severely threatened by the enemy from Oudh, Rohilcund, or the trans-Jumna territories. On the high road to Bareilly, seventy-seven miles distant, and on a direct country road to Lucknow, one hundred and eleven miles distant, Fatehgarh was equally conveniently situated for an advance either into Rohilcund or upon Lucknow, and the rebels were long kept in a state of uncertainty as to which was his immediate object. In fact Sir Colin did his best to create a belief that an immediate advance into Rohilcund was to be undertaken. On the 19th of January he wrote to Lord Canning:—"It has appeared to me necessary owing to the very disturbed state of the country to keep up as long as possible the delusion that I am about to operate on Rohilcund." * For this purpose he sent on the 12th of January Walpole and his brigade, guns, some cavalry and sappers, along the Rohilcund road to take position on the Ramgunga river, a deep tributary of the Ganges. The day before the enemy had destroyed the bridge of boats across it. Materials were collected and Walpole made a great show of repairing it. The Commander-in-Chief with his Staff rode out to examine the spot. The enemy was deceived. For twelve days he remained in force on the banks of the Ramgunga ready to oppose our advance into Rohilcund. Then a column 5,000 strong with five guns crossing the Ramgunga above the broken bridge, marched to the Ganges which they also crossed and occupied the village of Shumshabad. On the night of the 26th of February Brigadier Hope with two troops of Bengal Artillery; two squadrons, 9th Lancers; Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders; Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders; the 4th Punjab Rifles; and the head-quarters of Hodson's Horse, which had returned to camp

Action of Shumshabad

February also was actually gone and still nothing was done. By this time in truth those whose faith in Sir Colin was not very strong could stand it no longer, and began audibly to swear. The cold weather was gone, and the heat was upon us, yet the campaign not really commenced.'"

"We remained a whole month at Fatehgarh and loud were the complaints in camp at the unaccountable delay. Those who accused him of 'indecision, dilatoriness, and wasting the best of the cold weather,' could not have known how little he deserved their censure." "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.T., V.C., Volume I, page 337.

* "Life of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Volume II, page 103.

from the Ramgunga that day, marched out against it. A thick fog compelled Hope to move cautiously and it was 9 o'clock before the column closed up under cover of the village of Shumshabad. About three-quarters of a mile beyond it, the rebels, who were in considerable force, had taken post in a good natural position and had strengthened it with trenches and batteries. It was on a gentle rising ground terminating abruptly in a knoll some thirty or forty feet high which looked upon a plain of great extent. "On the knoll was a brick building, the shrine of a Mussulman saint, and the place was surrounded by the remains of an old entrenchment upon which they had raised a sand-bag battery. Their front was defended by a deep ravine (impassable for cavalry or guns) which runs at right angles across the road to Mhow along which the column moved." * Their right had a slope down the plain which afforded them an easy escape. No sooner had our troops come within range when the enemy opened a well directed fire of round shot. Macdowall, Hodson's gallant second-in-command, received a mortal wound. Remington then supported by Hodson's Horse led his troop of horse artillery at a gallop across the bridge, and wheeling to the right opened fire on the flank of the enemy's camp. The rebel cavalry made a daring attempt to outflank and cut off these guns, but were boldly met by Hodson. "We had a very stiff fight of it, as we were far in advance of the rest of the troops, and had to charge a very superior body of the mutineer cavalry, but there was nothing for it but fighting, as had we not attacked them, they would have got in amongst our guns. We were only three officers and about 180 horsemen. It was a terrible mêlée for some time, and we were most wonderfully preserved." † Hodson, however, got two sabre cuts on his right arm. The 9th Lancers under Captain Steele quickly coming to his support drove the enemy over a steep bank into the plain below. Adrian Hope then advancing with his infantry carried the rebel camp with a rush.

Sir Colin Campbell felt that the time had come when he might with safety disclose his plan and withdraw his force to Cawnpore, the base of his future movements, in the hope of immediately undertaking

* Brigadier A. Hope, Lieutenant-Colonel, 93rd Highlanders, Commanding 3rd Brigade of Infantry, to the Chief of the Staff, Camp near Fatehgarh, January 28th, 1858.

† "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," by George Hodson, page 272.

the siege of Lucknow. The enemy had fled discomfited across the Ganges: the force collected in the Punjab for the purpose of threatening Rohilkhand from the north-west was expected to reach Umballa on the 1st of February: the siege-train was well on its way to Cawnpore. On the 27th of January he despatched to that city the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and the next day he sent after them a squadron of the Lahore Light Horse. On the 1st of February Sir Colin himself, accompanied by a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the 9th Lancers and a squadron of Bengal Cavalry, set out for Cawnpore, which by forced marches he reached in four days, having done eighty-two miles. Brigadier-General Hope Grant started a few hours after the Commander-in-Chief with the head-quarters of the cavalry and artillery and Hope's Brigade, leaving at Fatehgarh, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery to join Brigadier Walpole's force which had been recalled from the Ramgunga. Hope Grant was ordered to reach Cawnpore by the usual marches. Walpole was directed to remain at Fatehgarh for three days, when, if not followed by the enemy, he was to move towards Cawnpore, leaving a garrison consisting of the 82nd Foot, a light field battery of Royal Artillery, a few sappers, and a body of police cavalry under the command of Colonel Hale of the 82nd to hold Fatehgarh.

1st February: Sir Colin Campbell sets out for Cawnpore

On the morning of Sir Colin's arrival at Cawnpore the 7th Hussars, Anderson's troop Royal Horse Artillery, and the 79th Highlanders crossed the Ganges and encamped at Unao, whose blackened parapets bore traces of Havelock's hard won victory. "Where the dead were buried no one knew." A brief time had passed since they fell. At midnight on the 20th of July Havelock saw his Highlanders formed across the Ganges— the first of a small band, twelve hundred Europeans all told, who were going forth on the desperate enterprise of relieving their countrymen at Lucknow. Yet a few months, and England was prepared to put forth her strength, and Cawnpore witnessed a different scene. Across two good bridges of boats about half a mile apart there flowed day after day a continuous stream of dense battalions of infantry, glittering squadrons of cavalry, well horsed batteries, long lines of camels and elephants carrying the munitions of war. On the 8th of February Hope Grant, who had reached Cawnpore the previous day, went across with a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, the 9th Lancers and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers and marched

to Unao, the forces at that place being pushed on to Busserutgunge. The artillery park and Peel's heavy battery followed in a few days escorted by further detachments. On the 12th and 13th the siege-train which extended over a distance of at least twelve miles reached Unao, escorted by Hope's Brigade. By the 15th of February the main portion of Sir Colin's army had crossed and were stationed on the Lucknow road at Unao, Busserutgunge, Nawabgunge and Bunnee to protect the parks and huge convoys of stores, as they made their way to the plain of Banthora where the whole army was to assemble.

The main portion of Sir Colin's force cross the Ganges

On the 8th of February Sir Colin left Cawnpore for Allahabad where Lord Canning had arrived, and after having consulted with the Governor-General he returned the following day, and on the 18th of February a General Order was issued announcing the *formation* of the army of Oudh into brigades and divisions. Major-General Archdale Wilson, who commanded the army before Delhi when the Moghul capital fell, was nominated to the command of the artillery division; Brigadier Robert Napier to the command of the engineer brigade; and Brigadier-General Hope Grant to that of the cavalry division. The infantry was distributed in three divisions: the first under Major-General Sir James Outram, the second under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, the third under Brigadier-General Walpole.*

18th February. Formation of the army of Oudh

Two days after the General Order announcing the formation of the army of Oudh into divisions and brigades had been published, Sir Colin wrote to Lord Canning: "We shall be ready to commence operations from Buntera, which is six miles from the Alum Bagh, about the 18th instant. It is a question, however, whether we shall begin so soon. Jung Bahadur and General Franks cannot, under the most favourable circumstances, be at Lucknow and able to take part in the fray before the 27th instant. Together they muster 12,000 infantry. Thus

20th February. Letter to Lord Canning

* Sir Colin Campbell's selection of the divisional officers created much discontent among the senior officers who had been sent out from England for the purpose of being employed in the field and was severely criticised at the time. Sir Colin, however, in a letter to the Duke of Cambridge stated that he had "selected the officers to command divisions with the greatest possible care, having found an officer inexperienced in war in this country cannot act for himself. Until a man has passed some time in India, it is quite impossible for him to be able to weigh the value of intelligence. In like manner he cannot judge what are the resources of the country, and he is wholly unable to make an estimate for himself of the resistance the enemy opposed to him is likely to offer." Sir Colin concluded the letter as follows: "I do not wish to undervalue the merits of General or other officers lately arrived from England, but merely to indicate to Your Royal Highness the difficulties against which they have to contend. What is more the state of things at present does not permit of trusting anything to chance or allowing new comers to learn except under the command of others."—"The Life of Lord Clyde," by Lieutenant-General Shadwell, C.B., Volume II, pages 117 to 119.

with their forces united to mine, I should have 22,000 infantry, and without them 10,000 for the actual siege of Lucknow. The position which that force—I mean Jung Bahadur's and General Franks'—would take up on the left bank of the Goomtee would render our battering operations comparatively easy in front along the line I propose to attack. The loss on our side should in such case, as a matter of course, be small in comparison with what it would be if we were to attack with the forces now under my immediate attack only. Another advantage would be found in time being afforded for putting matters in a more comfortable state as regards the threat against the Cawnpore district, itself not an unimportant matter." "After stating that our Goorkha ally might feel hurt if we were to appear to shut him out from participating in the grand operations," Sir Colin concluded as follows: "I beg to assure Your Lordship that we are able to take the strongest positions of the city without him, and that I am perfectly ready to follow Your Lordship's wish with the greatest willingness, whatever may be the course you prefer."

Letter from Lord Canning.

Lord Canning's reply was prompt and decisive. On the 15th of February he wrote: "I wish the pause in the operations against Lucknow could have been avoided; but I am sure that, as matters stand, we do better to accept the necessity and wait for Jung Bahadur. It would drive him wild to find himself jockeyed out of all share in the great campaign * * * I am convinced that he would break with us and go back to his hills within a week. The loss of this help would be very inconvenient, but to find ourselves on bad terms with him would be much more so. I am therefore quite reconciled to a little delay; but I shall let General MacGregor know that we cannot wait an unlimited time, and now that all the Jung's wants have been supplied he must make the best of his way. It will be a good thing if the intervening time can be turned to account against the Nana."

Sir Colin chafed at the delay and he telegraphed to General MacGregor to inform him positively when Jung Bahadur would cross over into Oudh. He, however, took advantage of the unavoidable pause to press on the completion of the works which had been started to improve the position at Cawnpore in view of the possible contingency of an attack by the remnant of the Gwalior Contingent which was again showing signs of activity. The operation of sending forward all that was requisite for a campaign went on incessantly. From the

Commander-in-Chief to the youngest subaltern, all took part in the great toil and every man was labouring with untiring zeal and energy to achieve the work.* Sir Colin was in the saddle at break of day and spent the morning galloping from post to post inspecting the works and visiting the troops going to the front. During the hot hours of the day he was employed in transacting multifarious public business. Reports had to be examined, despatches read and answered, maps and plans of Lucknow studied, and the memorandum on the siege operations prepared by Napier at his request to be considered.† Napier recommended that the attack on Lucknow should be made from the east side and he was guided by the following reasons.

Napier's recommendations regarding the attack on Lucknow

"The west side presents a great breadth of dense and almost impenetrable city, resting on the strong buildings on the river bank. After overcoming these obstacles, there would have remained the Kaiserbagh with the enemy's principal defences still to be reduced."

"The east side offered—first the smallest front, and was therefore the more easily enveloped by our attack; secondly, ground for planting our artillery which was wanting on the west side; and thirdly, it gave also the shortest approach to the Kaiserbagh, a place to which the rebels attached the greatest importance; more than all, we knew the east side and were little acquainted with the west."‡

Napier considered that "the side of attack being fixed the two next steps of primary importance were, after taking up a position in the Dilkoosha Park to bring a direct fire on those points in the enemy's fortifications in rear of the canal, the fire from which would affect the line by which we should cross them, and to enfilade these fortifications from the left bank of the Goomtee."

* "The heads of departments are always busy. No one near Mansfield has a sinecure. Norman, the Adjutant-General of the Army, is a sort of steam engine made of bones, flesh (very little of that) blood and brains, and his tent to any one but himself might bear the inscription of the Inferno. Colonel Pakenham (officiating Adjutant-General of Her Majesty's Forces in India) pours out his soul over schedules all day long, and may be seen wandering now and then in the precincts of the Sahib-ka-dera (Chief's tent) in the hope of securing a few moments' consideration of those important but rather saw-dusty documents. As to little George Allgood no nearer approach can be made to ubiquity than by the aid of thoroughbred Arabs, hard riding and incessant work and exertion he manages to effect daily. * * * He is the Quartermaster-General; lays out the camp, makes plans, procures information. Then there are the doctors and the officers of the Commissariat whose life is one long report." "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Volume I, page 211.

† "Went over to the Commander-in-Chief's tent and found him busily engaged with Colonel Napier (not one of the Napiers; but as good a soldier as ever lived) looking over plans and maps of Lucknow, and referring now and then to the reports of the spies from the city." "My Diary in India," by William Russell, LL. D., Volume I, page 211.

‡ Report from the Chief Engineer to the Chief of the Staff, La Martinière, 31st March 1858. Appendix.

Hope Grant sent against the Nana

Sir Colin decided to adopt the plan which Napier had sketched. Before receiving Lord Canning's suggestion that he should turn the intervening time to account against the Nana's people, he had despatched Hope Grant with a small compact force * "to make a detour to a small fortified place called Futtehpore Churassie, where the Nana was supposed to have taken refuge about 25 miles north of the Cawnpore road and on the bank of the Ganges." † On the morning of the 15th of February Hope Grant set out with his column and making his way almost entirely across country reached his destination in two days. But the Nana had flown. After having blown up the fort Hope Grant proceeded by short marches to Lucknow clearing the country as he went of rebels. On the 23rd of February he reached Meeanjung, an old moderate sized town, surrounded with a high loop-holed brick wall with circular bastions at the angles and at convenient distances along the sides. "The gates were strongly fortified, with bank, ditch and pallisade in front of them." ‡ As soon as he discovered he was to be opposed Hope Grant changed the direction of the columns from the Rohilkhand road along which he had been marching to the left, and soon discovered a spot for his two guns of position whence he saw the wall could be breached.§ "I posted Turner's

Capture of Meeanjung, 23rd February

* "It consisted of the 34th, 38th, 53rd Regiments, two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, two troops of Horse Artillery, *viz.*, Anderson's and Turner's, two guns of position, an 18-pounder gun, and an 8-inch howitzer, and a Company of Sappers." "Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58," compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 230.

† "Rumours had been flying about that the Nana was somewhere in the neighbourhood, but wolf had been cried so often with regard to him, that but little notice was taken of the reports, until my faithful spy Unjur Tiwari brought me intelligence that the miscreant really was hiding in a small fort about twenty-five miles from our camp." "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 390.

‡ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 138.

§ "After a careful investigation, Hope Grant decided to breach the north-west angle of the wall, as from a wood near the infantry could keep down the fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters, and the heavy guns would be in a measure protected while the walls were being bombarded." "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 391. Captain Oliver Jones, R. N., who accompanied the force as a volunteer, states that the infantry were "drawn up where they were at hand, but under cover from the fire of the fort; the light company of the 53rd, under Captain Hopkins, thrown forward in a plantation which approached the walls near enough to check the musketry fire in front." "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 139.

9-pounder troop," writes Hope Grant, "a little further back to play on the town and divert the attention of the enemy. Four guns of Anderson's troop with the 7th Hussars were ordered to proceed along the Cawnpore road in order to keep in check a body of the enemy which manifested a disposition to attempt to get round our flank. The other two guns with the 34th Regiment and a troop of cavalry were left to cover the baggage on the Rohilkhand road." * After an hour's firing the guns had effected a practicable breach.† The 53rd were ordered up and the General with a few words of encouragement sent them to the assault. They joined their light company in the wood. Turner's troop of horse artillery came up in the most gallant style within grape range and opened a heavy fire. Soon the Aide-de-Camp Augustus Anson was sent to order the 53rd to the assault. "The cannonade ceased and they immediately debouched from the plantation headed by their gallant Colonel (English) and marched as steadily as if on parade to the breach." ‡ When they got near, with a loud shout the high-blooded Irishmen dashing through the water of the ditch entered the breach. A short fight ensued. The soldiers pushed forward with the bayonet and the rebels fled through the gate.§ Dire destruction awaited them. The Lancers ran them through, the 7th Hussars and Irregulars cut them down. Nevertheless there was some resistance to the pursuit. "A little knot of them got round the tree, with their backs to it and defended themselves long until they were all slain."

About two, the action was over and the pursuers recalled. Five hundred of the enemy were killed and four hundred made prisoners. But as they were principally townspeople, Hope Grant directed "to their inexpressible surprise and delight" that they should be set at

* "Incidents in the Sepoy War, 1857-58," compiled from the Private Journals of General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 233.

† Hope Grant states: "An hour's firing." Captain Oliver Jones writes: "About a couple of hours' pounding brought down a piece of the wall large enough to let four men abreast enter." Lord Roberts writes: "A sufficiently good breach was made in about two hours."

‡ "Recollections of a Winter Campaign," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 139.

§ "Hopkins, the plucky Captain of the Light Company, was the first inside the walls followed closely by Augustus Anson, and an adventurous Post-Captain of the Royal Navy, who, being unemployed, came to see what 'a winter campaign in India' was like." "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., Volume I, page 392. Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., the adventurous Post-Captain, states:—"Anson was first through the breach, he beating me by a neck." "Recollections of a Winter Campaign," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 140.

liberty. With a vigorous hand he always guarded the rights of life and property of the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which his force passed. Inflexible to marauders, he was ever on horseback watching and enforcing obedience to orders.* Exhorting his officers to vigilance he warned them that straggling and marauding were the greatest evils for an army, quoting the words of Sir Charles Napier that without obedience "an army was an armed mob dangerous to its friends and contemptible to its enemies." He saved the people from robbery and violence, but a General can only mitigate the evils and horrors of war. At the capture of Meeanjung occurred many piteous events which illustrate the misery that attends the glory of arms. In a house was discovered a poor woman tending a wounded child who had been shot through the side,† while a young man, her nephew, was lying dead by her side. Elsewhere in a small hut a workman was sitting at his loom dead with his hand in the act of arranging the thread. Another scene enacted itself that day, more piteous than the poet's picture of Priam, when he "braved what none other man on earth hath braved before to stretch forth my hand toward the face of the slayer of my sons." The walls of the town and some of the streets had to be levelled in order to render the place incapable of defence. Roberts, the Assistant Quartermaster-General, was superintending the work of destruction "when an old infirm man who was sitting at the door of a house entreated him to spare it, saying that yesterday morning he was the happy father of five sons, three of them lie there, pointing to three corpses; where the other two are GOD only knows; that he was old, and a cripple, and that if his house was burned he would have nothing left but to lie down and die. Roberts who is

* One day he found several men robbing different houses. "I made them all prisoners and handed them over to the guard I had brought with me and then returning to the main picket, which I had directed to confine every man who returned, I ascertained there were altogether 25 men in durance. These wild Irishmen were marched out in front of the houses. I had them tied up, and twelve of their number were flogged on the spot. I placed two of the officers in arrest and caused the guard to be relieved by a party from another regiment. The next morning I paraded the whole of the 53rd and gave it to them most handsomely over the face and eyes. I told them in the words of Sir Charles Napier that without perfect obedience 'an army is an armed mob dangerous to its friends and contemptible to its enemies.' This had a capital effect and the regiment and myself afterwards became great friends. On the line of march whenever they saw me approaching, they were overheard saying to one another: 'Now boys, take care of your backs. Here is the Provost-Marshal coming.'" "Incidents in the Sepoy War," by General Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 232.

† "It must be said very much to the credit of our soldiers they never hurt the women, nor the small children, though of course occasionally they got killed, for bullets and shells will hit them as well as men, if they get in the way." "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R. N., page 144.

as good as he is brave, gave directions for sparing the old man's house; and I hope the two missing sons have escaped, and have returned to comfort his few remaining days." *

On the 25th of February Hope Grant's column marched to Mohan, situated on the bank of the Sai Naddi, a picturesque stream, and the next day, having crossed it by a beautiful old bridge, encamped on a wide plain. On the 18th of March Hope Grant received instructions from the Commander-in-Chief to march to Buntera, the centre of his army. The order, owing to some mistake of the messenger, had been delayed. It was therefore late in the day before the force started, and as the march was long and a deep narrow river to be crossed the moon had risen over the sandy-soiled plain covered for miles with white tents before Hope Grant and his column reached their encamping ground. The previous morning Sir Colin having seen the last detachment of the army put in movement had ridden from Cawnpore to Alumbagh and back to Buntera (upward of fifty miles) where he had moved his head-quarters. "What a vigorous old hero he must be," a chaplain enters in his diary.

At last the time for an advance on Lucknow had come. Very early in the morning of the 2nd March the first bugle sounded. It was followed by the shrill pipe of the Boatswain's mate. Many a smouldering camp fire cast its fitful glare upon the regiments as they *fell in*. A few lances glimmered in the firelight and Sir Colin accompanied by his small cavalry escort rode up and inspected the Highlanders. As the grey dawn began to break, they marched off with the pipers playing "The Campbells are coming." The siege of Lucknow which all had so anxiously longed for had opened.

Sir Colin advances on the Dilkoosha, 2nd March

Sir Colin's advance force consisted of three troops of horse artillery, four guns of the *Shannon* brigade under Peel himself,† thirteen hundred cavalry under Hope Grant, and the 2nd Division of infantry under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard. Through a sandy plain sparsely covered with wiry grass ran in a straight line the Lucknow road.

* "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India." By Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 145.

† "On the march I again met Captain Peel and his brigade * * *. He was in great spirits at the thought of soon having his monster guns in full play at the devoted city of Lucknow." "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 149.

Along it were dragged the heavy guns, on either side of them were the infantry, the cavalry and horse artillery outside all, and the baggage in the rear. From one horizon to the other the force extended. After a weary tramp of nine miles through the sand the force passed the Alumbagh on the left and Outram came out to meet the Chief. After advancing through a camp outside the walls Sir Colin halted his men about a mile from the fort of Jellalabad. "A heavy shower of rain fell which had the happy effect of laying the dust." During the thunderstorm the men ate the food which each soldier carried with him. They were soon again set in motion and after passing Jellalabad they went through a stretch of land covered with high crops. Then they suddenly debouched into a grassy plain "on which were scattered many black skinny mummy-like skeletons of rebels killed some time ago." In front of them was an abandoned village on a slight elevation. As they crossed the open space where the unburied corpses lay a large gun opened on them from a grove on their left opposite to the village. "What followed was exciting. The Lancers dashed forward. Then came the horse artillery bounding over low dykes and ditches, as if the heavy field pieces and carriages were baby-carts. One artillery horse was struck and left behind dying or dead. Each gun had four horses. They had next to be dragged through a narrow lane, traversed by pits and chasms, all but impassable. There one of the horses got into difficulty and could not be induced to go a step further. This blocked up the passage, and prevented the possibility of pushing on the carriages immediately behind. There was no room to turn, and no other available road. In a twinkling one of the gunners cut or unbuckled the traces, releasing the animal, the road was cleared; and cavalry and artillery hastened on. There was only one gun in the grove, but the rebels served it rapidly, and a good many shots were fired before our field-pieces could be got into position. Presently a poor Lancer was brought to the rear in a doolie with his lower jaw horribly shattered." * The gun was captured and the advance guard proceeded towards the Dilkoosha which was reached without further opposition. But "when the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard, the enemy opened several guns which were in position in strong bastions along the line of canal. The fire was heavy

* "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, Volume I, page 404.

and well sustained." * The Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picquet on the right and the Mahomed Bagh, a large mango grove surrounded by a wall, on the south left. To keep down the hostile fire some of the naval brigade guns and some of the heavy guns belonging to the artillery were placed in battery on the brow of the hill to the right front of the Dilkoosha. "Peel, as was his custom, leading his guns and perfectly indifferent to the balls which occasionally struck the ground within a short distance of his feet." † Two of the *Shannon* guns were also posted near the corner wall of the Mahomed Bagh. The cannonade and musketry fire of the enemy was unceasing during the afternoon. Two of the naval brigade were mortally wounded by a round shot.‡ Brigadier Little was struck by a musket ball on the left elbow § and three bullets struck a tree close to Sir Colin. To keep his men out of range of the enemy's fire the Chief was compelled to retire his camp as far back as possible, but not as far as he wished owing to the ravines in the rear. That night the troops bivouacked on the ground, the infantry with their arms by their side, and the artillery horsed in readiness to repel any attack. A good day's work had been done. Sir Colin had obtained a secure base for further operations, with his right resting in a wood a short distance from the Goomtee whose fords were carefully watched.

The Dilkoosha occupied

The following morning the engineer brigade and three infantry regiments joined the Commander-in-Chief from the Alumbagh. The engineer brigade and park were established below the Dilkoosha on the right bank of the river in a park called Beebiapore. During the next day some Native sappers threw up a breastwork for two guns in front of the Dilkoosha House and during the night extended it into a battery ‖ for four guns to keep down the fire of the enemy's

3rd March, Engineer Park established in Beebiapore

* From General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, 22nd March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 465.

† "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," by Captain Oliver Jones, R.N., page 155.

‡ "Two of Peel's naval brigade men were terribly wounded near the tope where the Lancers were posted. One had his forehead shot off. A comrade jumped up and stuck it on again—a large piece of skull and brains; and the unfortunate man is still living though in a hopeless state. The other had his thigh frightfully smashed by the same round shot." "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, page 408.

§ General Little was owing to his wound compelled to relinquish his command, and Colonel Charles Hagart of the 7th Hussars was appointed Brigadier-General of Cavalry in his place.

‖ No. 1-L.

batteries in their front line of works and to check that of two or three guns which they had advanced to the northern angle of the Martinière.

4th March. The remainder of the siege-train together with Walpole's division closed up on the Dilkoosha position

By the 4th of March the remainder of the siege-train, together with Brigadier Walpole's division, had closed up on the Dilkoosha position and the Chief moved his head-quarters to the fine French chateau in Beebiapore park. The right of his line resting on Beebiapore and the Goomtee, the left being towards Alumbagh, Sir Colin's position embraced all the open ground on the south-eastern margin of the city. Between his left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position, there was an interval of two miles. This interval was occupied by Hodson's Horse. Brigadier Campbell with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery secured the extreme left and swept the country towards the north-west.

Two bridges of casks commenced across the Goomtee

On the night of the 4th of March two bridges of casks * were commenced across the Goomtee on the left of the Dilkoosha near the spot where the river makes a great bend. By the morning our communication was effected and a strong picket being thrown over, a small earthwork was constructed on the opposite side to assist them in defending the bridge. The enemy had not during the night discovered our operations at the river, but as soon as dawn broke they saw what was being done and attempted to stop them. A large body of their horsemen appeared on the left bank and approached the picket when a volley at close quarters sent them galloping back. Then a column of smoke rushed out of a grove and three field pieces began to play on the working party. A gun placed at the angle of the Martinière also opened on the bridge. Round shot tumbled into the Commander-in-Chief's camp. The two guns with the covering party, however, soon compelled the enemy to withdraw their horse battery. Peel brought two of his big guns from our park to stop the fire of the gun at the Martiniére. He posted them on the river bank and a smart cannonade ensued. "But the obstinate brawler would not be silenced." A troop of Lancers and another of Bays were sent down to the bridge to cooperate with Peel if necessary. But the enemy made no real attack,

* The groundwork of each was a collection of empty beer casks lashed by ropes to timber cross-pieces, and floated off one by one to their positions; a firm roadway of planking was afterwards fixed on the top of the whole range from end to end. Firm indeed must the construction necessarily have been for troopers on their horses, heavy guns and mortars, ammunition wagons and commissariat carts, all would have to pass over these bridges, secure so far as possible from accident to man or beast.

and cover for the men and guns was formed by a working party of the line under the direction of Captain Lennox, Royal Engineers.*

All during the 5th working parties were engaged constructing the bridges and the embankments that were to connect them with the shores on both sides.† On that day General Franks joined the Commander-in-Chief with his column which became the fourth division of the Army of Oudh. Sir Colin had now under him the largest and most effective army that had ever assembled in India. It equalled nearly twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-four men with a hundred and sixty-four pieces of artillery exclusive of Jung Bahadur's force of eight thousand men which was expected to arrive in a few days.‡

* Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Harness, Company, Royal Engineers, to Brigadier R. Napier, Bengal Engineers, Commanding Engineer Brigade, Kaiserbagh, Lucknow, 19th March 1856. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, Appendix.

† "A Year's Campaigning in India," by Captain J. Medley, B. E., page 167.

‡ Field Forces under the Commander-in-Chief.

Abstract of effectives.

Corps.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	87	......	1,526	613	930
Engineers (754 unarmed Pioneers included).	50	41	1,911	2,002	......
Cavalry	132	61	3,420	3,613	3,587
Infantry	558	45	11,940	12,543	......
Total ...	827	147	18,797	19,771	4,517
Grand Total ...			19,771		4,517

Field Force under Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, C.B.

Abstract of effectives.

Corps.	European officers.	Native officers.	Non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file.	Total.	Horses.
Artillery	17	......	327	344	193
Cavalry	13	11	519	543	417
Infantry	110	96	4,800	5,006	......
Total ...	140	107	5,646	5,893	610
Grand Total ...			5,893		610

6th March, Outram's force crosses the Goomtee

The construction of the bridges was pushed on with vigour and by 12 o'clock that night they were ready. An hour later, without sound of trumpet or bugle, regiment after regiment moved up before the camp. When all had assembled the column advanced. A thick mist from the marshes by the River hung over the land and the darkness was intense. The rumble of the artillery guns and the light jingle of the steel scabbards as they fell against the stirrup irons alone betrayed the movement of the troops. The soldiers marched on in profound silence, now making their way through the groves, now toiling across broken ground, now wading through deep water-courses which crossed the ground. It was almost 4 o'clock when a troop of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, the advance guard, reached one of the bridges and began to cross. Outram,* who was to guide the operations on the left bank, had come down earlier and having looked at the bridge and expressed his approval, sat down on the ground and smoked while he anxiously awaited the approach of the column. Later on Sir Colin himself " being anxious to get his men across before the enemy could discover our intention and open upon us, rode down to the river-side and pitched into everybody most handsomely." But this, Hope Grant adds, " had a good effect and hastened the passage materially. Everything was got over in safety just as daylight appeared."

The sun swiftly dispelled the mist and sparkled on the broad waters of the Goomtee and the gleaming points of the lances and the bayonets of Outram's force † drawn up in three lines. " It was a magnificent sight, the Rifles in green, the gallant 23rd Fusiliers in their admirable dress looking so ready for work, the old 1st in their blue caps and tunics and clean white bills, the 79th with waving plumes and tartans, the well-tried Sikhs, the gorgeous Bays, and the

* Outram left the Alumbagh which he had so long and gallantly defended to the care of Brigadier Franklyn of the 5th and 78th Queen's Regiments of Foot.

† Outram's force consisted of the 4th Company, Royal Engineers, and 254 Bengal Sappers, Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's troops, Horse Artillery, Captain Mackinnon's troop, and Captain Remington's troop of Bengal Artillery.

2nd Dragoon Guards, 9th Lancers, a detachment of 1st Punjab Cavalry.
2nd Punjab Cavalry, a detachment, 5th Punjab Cavalry.

23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, 79th Highlanders, 1st Bengal Fusiliers,	5th Brigade.
2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, 2nd Punjab Infantry,	6th Brigade.

Lancers, the glorious 9th, who so glad to see the old dirty shirts." * Outram marched in a northerly direction and after proceeding a short distance the enemy appeared on his left flank. On being approached by the cavalry they were discovered to be in force, chiefly troopers. "The 2nd Punjab Cavalry then attacked on the right, while Major Smith of the Queen's Bays with two squadrons of his regiment, one squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Lieutenant-Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of horse artillery, advanced from our left." The enemy fled helter-skelter. The Bays and Lancers pursued cutting down all they passed with their long flashing swords. The Bays who led were young soldiers who had never known the excitement of battle and intoxicated with blood rode at break-neck speed. In small groups of twos and threes, their ranks broken by the rugged nature of the ground, they reached the infantry posts of the enemy. Percy Smith, their gallant leader, and two troopers were shot dead, several were wounded. Corporal Goad of the Lancers took the body of Major Smith on his back and attempted to carry it away under a shower of bullets. But he was unable to succeed. Then Cornet Sneyd made the same attempt. He also failed. The body had to be left on the field. Sad were the faces of his regiment as they rode back exhausted and with breathless horses to join the rest of the column. The next day the body was found with the head and legs severed from it and the trunk otherwise horribly mutilated. They buried the mangled remains in a grove. "The whole regiment attended the funeral, which took place so late that it was necessary to have a lamp at the grave."

Gallant action of Corporal Goad and Cornet Sneyd

After the enemy had been dispersed Outram pitched his camp on the Fyzabad road, about four miles from the city in front of the village of Ishmalgunze, the non-occupation of which had mainly tended to produce the disaster at Chinhut.† "Early in the following morning (7th March) the enemy made a smart attack on our advanced picquets and brought out several guns under cover of ravines and clumps of trees in our front. They were, however, speedily withdrawn on our skirmishers and Horse Artillery and Captain Middleton's field battery protected by

7th March

* "The First Bengal European Fusiliers at Lucknow," "Blackwood's Magazine," July 1858.
"The Sepoy War," by Sir Hope Grant, page 248.
"Up among the Pandies," by Lieutenant Majendie, page 167.
"From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain, Her Majesty's Indian Service, page 419.

† Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 477.

the cavalry, coming to the front and opening their fire. The artillery practice on this occasion, as on the preceding day, was admirable." *

In the course of the day the lower bridge, which had been dismantled during the night, was moved down stream to a point near Beebiapore, where it could not be seen by the enemy occupying the Martiniére. It was quickly again formed, and in the evening the siege-train for the operations on the left bank crossed the river by it. The next morning they reached Outram's camp, who, acting under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, sent back to head-quarters Colonel D'Aguilar's troop of Horse Artillery and the 9th Lancers.

8th March On the 8th a party of Native sappers constructed a battery on the left front of the Dilkoosha for six guns to bear on the Martiniére. Peel had to take his guns to it. He might have gone round the Dilkoosha and come out on the left of it, but he, with characteristic coolness, marched round from the right and in full view of the enemy. "It would have been a pretty sight, had it not been a matter of life and death, to see how solidly the blue-jackets marched with Peel and their officers among them, and how the sepoy artillerymen plumped shot after shot right across the line of their march, always contriving, however, to strike the spot over which a gun had just passed, or that to which a gun was just coming. It was a terrible game of cricket, and we were all relieved when we saw the men and the guns safe behind their battery parapet." †

A battery for four guns was also thrown up on the right front of the Mohamed Bagh to fire on the Martiniére;‡ another battery of four guns was thrown up on the right front of the Dilkoosha. The same morning Sir Colin had ridden across the river, and after a reconnaissance it was decided that Outram should make an attack on the enemy's position next day.

During the night Outram caused an entrenchment for eight 24-pounder guns and three 8-inch howitzers to be made.§ The elephants

* Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 478.

† No. 2-L.

‡ "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, Volume I, page 293.
No. 3-L.

§ Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir Jame Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 477.

drew the heavy guns along the sandy road, and at daylight they were placed in position and opened fire. The word was given and the rifle brigade threw out a cloud of skirmishers, the sharp crack of whose rifles ere long told that the work had commenced. They advanced towards a thick wood over some open broken ground, and "a very pretty sight it was —the green-coated riflemen running quickly forward, loading and firing as they go." After advancing about three-quarters of a mile they found themselves at the entrance of a dense jungle occupied by the enemy. The skirmishers were checked for a moment. But guns were quickly brought into action and the shells shrieked through the forest and long high grass. Again the little riflemen dashed into the high vegetation followed by the rest of the right column. Highlanders, Riflemen and Sikhs drove the enemy through the jungles and villages, which afforded them an excellent cover, and, bringing their right shoulders forward, debouched on the Fyzabad road, in rear of the enemy's battery, which had been so fruitful a source of annoyance during the two preceding days. The guns, however, had been removed.

19th March. Left attack (Outram)

In the meantime the left column of the attack, composed of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, supported by two companies of the 79th Highlanders, which had been held in readiness on the left of the battery, together with the Horse Artillery under Brigadier Wood, which had been formed in rear of the bridge across the Kukral, advanced, and, in concert with the right column attacked the Chukkur Kotee (or Yellow House), "the key of the rebel position." * The rebels, however, fled from it before the guns could be brought into action. Some sepoys, however, remained in the dark rooms on the ground floor and three officers and nine men were killed in the vain attempt to expel them. Secure behind doorways they shot every man who crossed the threshold. Outram, not wishing to sacrifice any more lives of his soldiers, had artillery brought up and the sepoys were driven out by salvoes of shells. He then directed the colours of the Bengal Fusiliers to be fixed on the top of a small summer room which had been constructed on the second storey of the building. "This had been much shattered by our shot; nevertheless young Battye mounted and fixed the colours there. This was the

Capture of the Chukkur Kotee or Yellow House

* Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 477.

signal of our success to Sir Colin, who was awaiting the results of our operation at the Dilkoosha."

9th March. Right attack (Sir Colin Campbell).

Very early on the morning of the 9th, Sir Colin came from head-quarters, and, mounting the roof of the Dilkoosha, stood watching through his field-glasses the progress of Outram's operations. His eyes looked over the Goomtee gliding and twisting between its monotonous banks to a plain of sand interspersed with broad fields which stretched as far as the horizon. On the edge of an open space covered with brown bent grass stood a glaring shell of brick and stucco: it was the Yellow House, the grand stand of the King of Oudh's race-course. Nearer the river was an Italian villa, beyond and behind which stretched dense dark groves. More towards the city lay an enclosed extensive park, above whose noble trees a mass of buildings raised their turrets and castellated gables. This was the Badshah Bagh, or Garden of the King. Near it was a graceful mosque with two slender minarets trembling in the heat mist. Beyond the Badshah Bagh was a suburb of poor low houses, through which the road lay to the iron and stone bridges. That was Outram's line of march. It was arranged that on the first day he should push from the bridge over the Kukral rivulet down to the Yellow House, the key of the enemy's position. The whirling dust clouds raised by the cavalry, the flashing of bayonets appearing and disappearing among the trees and the musketry fire enabled the eyes of the spectators on the roof of the Dilkoosha to trace his progress. But his advance was slow. Sir Colin himself was engaged in a warm artillery duel with the enemy. Early in the morning batteries 1 and 2-L to batter the Martiniére and 3-L to silence the enemy's right batteries opened fire. The shot and shell made great holes in the walls and dashed down the parapets of Claude Martin's fantastic building. The Naval Brigade had also some eight or ten rocket tubes, and these rockets swept the trenches and enclosure.* Not long after the cannonading had begun Colonel Napier pointed out a wall he wished breached,

* As I came up to-day Peel said, "Well, I think they are getting rather sick of it yonder," pointing towards the Martiniére. At this moment a rocket was fired from his battery, which, after a few erratic twists, hissed away for the corner of the Martiniére park and burst among the houses. "That was well pitched," said he. I asked, "Well, how are the rockets doing to-day?" "Well, you know, rockets are rockets. If the enemy are only half as much afraid of them as we who fire them, they are doing good service." "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, Volume I, page 293.

and two of Peel's guns were placed under natural cover to the left and front of No. 1-L Light Battery. "Peel, with his usual indifference to danger, thinking only of the effects of his shot against the breach he was making, and taking no notice of the bullets which were buzzing about our ears, was standing upon a little knoll, a fair target to the marksmen. One could see the fellows lay their muskets along the top of the rifle-pit; then puff, a little white smoke; then bang and whew-ew-iz, then sput against some stone as the bullet fell flattened close to our feet. At last one bullet more true than the others, struck him, and he fell saying, "Oh! they have hit me!" * It passed almost through the thigh close to the bone. He was taken to the Dilkoosha and the bullet was extracted. "His sole annoyance regarding the wound was that it kept him from the guns and the field." † Day by day, stretched on his cot, he heard with feverish excitement the progress of our arms, and the news of the gallant conduct of the sailors gave him great delight. When Lucknow had been captured and the time came for the Naval Brigade to rejoin the *Shannon*, one of the King of Oudh's carriages was prepared for him. "Our carpenters padded it, lined it with blue cotton, made a rest for his feet, and painted H. M. S. *Shannon* over the royal arms of Lucknow.‡ When, however, he saw it to-day, he declined making use of it, saying that he would prefer to travel in a doolie like one of his blue-jackets." The litter in which he was placed had been used by a small-pox patient. At Cawnpore he was attacked with the disease and on the 27th April his gallant soul fled. Brave as he was, he is distinguished by a simple joyous nature which seems to have affected every one with whom he came in contact in a remarkable degree. With a jest he won his sailors' hearts, and his singular serenity in the darkest hour of battle raised their hopes and gained their sure trust.

Captain Peel wounded

Death of Captain Peel

He was their natural leader because he was their own ideal of a

* "Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India in 1857-58." By Captain Oliver J. Jones, R.N.

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perfect sailor-man. "We never felt ourselves" wrote a seaman, "to be the *Shannon's* Naval Brigade or even the *Admiralty* Naval Brigade, but always *Peel's* Naval Brigade.*

After their "noble Captain" had been carried away, the blue-jackets continued to pour shot and shell into the Martiniére. The enemy replied from their battery. For three or four hours the tremendous cannonade continued. About 1. P.M. Brigadier Lugard, who was to direct the assault against the Martiniére, began to turn out his force. It consisted of the 4th Brigade with the 38th and 53rd regiments of the 3rd Brigade in support. The 42nd Highlanders were to lead the attack. "The men employed in the attack," the precise order issued that morning stated, "will use nothing but the bayonet. They are absolutely forbidden to fire a shot till the position is won. This must be thoroughly explained to the men, and they will be told also that their advance is flanked on every side by heavy and light artillery, as well as by the infantry fire on the right." For some time the men remained drawn up behind the Dilkoosha screened from the enemy. "Looking down on them as we did, they seemed as regular and stiff as toy battalions." At last the time arrived. It was about 2 P.M. when Sir Colin saw the British Ensign fly from the Yellow House and sent down the order for the assault. Through the din of the cannonade rise the words of command in the courts below us. "Forward! forward! forward! tapering away from company to company." The columns with their supports, accompanied by horse artillery, emerged from their cover. The Punjabees and 42nd made a rush to take the enemy in flank, and the 93rd,

Capture of the Martiniére

* "The *Shannon's* Brigade in India." By Lieutenant Edmund Hope Verney, page 139.

"Brave, but humane, daring but forethoughtful, he so perfected the means at his disposal, that when they were brought in the field they where irresistible, and did as much as men and material could do. In action, cool, collected, and fearless, he led on his guns, and poured their well-directed fire upon the enemy, encouraging his men by his calm yet earnest manner, utterly regardless of danger, utterly unmoved by the iron storm often raging about him.

"Highly educated and talented, a good sailor, a good navigator, with a complete knowledge of his profession, having a thorough acquaintance with its arms, its powers, and its requirements, he was simple and unostentatious in his manner, friendly and conciliatory in his address, upright and honourable in his heart. His life, short as it unfortunately has been, has left behind it one of those beacon-lights of glory, one of those polar stars of honour for future heroes to steer their course by; and his name is added to those of that glorious company so dear to every British heart, the naval heroes of England."—"Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India," By Captain Oliver J. Jones, R.N., page 201.



Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896

LA MARTINIERE, LUCKNOW, 1857.

extended in skirmishing order, supported by the 90th Light Infantry, swept down the front. Their batteries continued to play on the advancing column, and from the trenches and rifle-pits there came a wild fire of musketry. But they were quickly cleared, and the rebels, abandoning the Martiniére, fell hastily back on their first line of works, from which they poured a very sharp fire of grape and musketry on the Martiniére Gardens.*

Sir Colin, on seeing that the Highlanders had possession of the Martiniére, descended from the roof of the Dilkoosha, and, mounting his horse, galloped his staff to the newly won post. "The enemy got sight of us, and their round shot came by with that peculiar noise which cannot be imagined by those who had not heard it and cannot be described by those who have."† Not a soul was touched. Soon the party were clambering up the winding staircase of the Martiniére and got out on the balconies, from which they watched Outram's troops coming in splendid order. His artillery, unlimbered on a patch of sand over the Goomtee, was pounding away at the enemy behind the canal works, whilst Hope's brigade, having pushed forward, were returning the musketry of the enemy. Then from the balcony was suddenly seen a figure rising out of the waters of the Goomtee and scrambling up the canal parapet which terminated at that spot. "He gets up, stands upright, and waves his hand." "What is he?" "He must be one of our fellows, sir; he has blue trousers and red stripes." And so it was—Butler of the Bengal Fusiliers." ‡

After the occupation of the Yellow House, Outram drove the enemy rapidly through the old Irregular Cavalry lines and suburbs to the Badshah Bagh. "The fortified gates of the strong walled enclosure were blown open and the garden occupied and two guns found by our troops." § He then had placed in position on his extreme left at a bend of the river near the village of Jugrowlee three guns and a howitzer to enfilade the enemy's outer line of works along the canal. A battery of two 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers was placed near the river to keep down the fire from the town. Two

Left attack.

Guns placed to enfilade the enemy's outer line of works

* "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Volume I, page 295.

† "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Volume I, page 297.

‡ *Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.* page 298.

§ Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 479.

companies of the Bengal Fusiliers under the command of Captain Salusbury were sent to the left to protect the guns meant to enfilade the enemy's works. When they were unlimbered and Major Nicholson of the Royal Engineers opened fire, he remarked that the lines seemed deserted. Captain Salusbury proposed getting boats and sending a party across. But Major Nicholson considered it would be hazardous to diminish the force protecting the guns. Then Lieutenant Butler of the 1st Fusiliers and four men volunteered to go down to the river and call to the Highlanders, who were about 600 yards on to the other side. They reached the bank, but in vain they shouted to the Highlanders. Then Butler took off his coat and plunged into the river, there 60 yards wide and running swiftly. After much buffeting he reached the other side and entered the works from the rear. Mounting the parapet he attracted the attention of Sir Colin and his staff in the balcony of the Martinière. A staff officer rode down to Butler, who told him that the enemy had left the works, and strongly urged that men should be sent at once to occupy the deserted batteries. But the staff officer cantered off for instructions. Butler stood on the parapet wet and cold, without arms, a target for the mutineers, who twice fired at him. He again began to signal. A Highland officer advanced, and, understanding the importance of securing the bastion, ordered his company to advance and secured it without delay, the rest of the Highlanders and Sikhs following. Having handed over the bastion, Butler again entered the stream and swam back to his own side. For this cool deed of daring Lieutenant Butler was awarded the Victoria Cross.

Lieutenant Butler swims across the river

Lieutenant Butler awarded the Victoria Cross

The Sikhs and Highlanders, having secured the bastion, advanced along the line of defences, sweeping stray rebels before them till they reached the vicinity of Banks' house. It might have been taken, but as no heavy guns were up, it would have cost us many lives. Though vehement and fiery by nature on the battlefield, Sir Colin always manifested perfect self-control. As a commander he was always willing to run a legitimate risk and was prepared to sacrifice men to gain an adequate object, but he never threw away the life of a single soldier. His Fabian tactics not unfrequently exposed him to the reproaches of his own men: some of the hot-headed wished him to storm Banks' house that evening; but what William the Silent said

of himself was true of Sir Colin : he heeded not "the babble of soldiers"— a great and rare virtue in a general.

10th March. Right attack. Capture of Banks' House

Early in the morning of the 10th, a battery (No. 4-L) for four guns, one howitzer and three 8-inch mortars, was established under natural cover at a corner of the Martiniére Park to breach and shell Banks' house. The breach was soon made, and the plumes of the Scotch bonnets were seen waving along the ramparts as they advanced in skirmishing order. When they approached the building the firing ceased and, rushing through the building, they soon took possession of it without much opposition. Thus the first part of Sir Colin's plan of attack had been completely accomplished with little loss of life.

The second part of the plan now came into operation. The first step was to convert Banks' house into a strong military post and to construct a battery (No. 5-L) for four guns and eight mortars near it to breach and bombard the Begum's Palace, a large pile * of buildings and enclosures immediately in front and covering the Kaiser Bagh. In addition to this two guns (one 8-inch gun and one 8-inch howitzer) of the Naval Brigade and six 5½-inch mortars were placed in position near to the bungalows to the right of Banks' house. Their fire was also directed against the Begum's Palace and the bastion in front of Hezrut Gung. "These batteries were erected and the guns brought up with such energy that they opened fire very soon after Banks' house was in our possession. Communications were also made between the bungalows and Banks' house.

10th March. Right attack

Beyond the river Outram was occupied in strengthening his position. Roadways for guns were made through the Badshah Bagh, and the Dilaram (Heart's Rest) House situated near the river was seized and fortified under a heavy fire from the Chuttur Munzil on the opposite bank. Hope Grant occupied himself the while for patrolling the vicinity. One patrol under Brigadier Hagart pursued a body of rebel troops to a village which was set on fire. On their return they reported that Major Sandford,† of the 5th Punjab Irregular Cavalry, having entered

Major Sandford

* "This is a block of buildings of great size forming the southern point of the second line of defence. We could see the elaborately ornamented gables and entablatures, with minarets and gilt spires of the palace above the walls in front of us." "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, Vol. I, page 308.

Report from the Chief Engineer to the Chief of the Staff, La Martiniére, 31st March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, Appendix.

†*Outram writes* :—"A most valuable young officer." "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 477.

Gallant action of Lieutenant Campbell

the village had not come back. Campbell, a gallant officer belonging to Probyn's Horse, with three men, went in search of him. They found at the foot of a wall Sandford's helmet with a hole through it; but his body could not be seen. While they were searching for it, the enemy opened on them a smart fire from a small loopholed fort. Two bullets struck one of the Sikhs in the arm and thigh. He called out to his officer to save him, and Campbell carried him away amidst a shower of bullets. On his return Campbell reported what had occurred and the Brigadier having dismounted a party of the 2nd Dragoon Guards to keep down the fire from the fort, Lieutenant Probyn volunteered to take some of his men into the village and search afresh for Sandford.

Gallant action of Lieutenant Probyn

"Campbell accompanied him, and amongst the party was a Native officer, a splendid type of a Sikh. At the wall where the helmet had been discovered they found a hole, through which they crawled, and then on the top of the house they saw poor Sandford's body. But how were they to get to it without incurring fresh loss from the fire of the enemy. The Sikhs understood the business. Punjab Singh (the Native officer) and some others threw themselves flat on the roof, crept up to the body, let it drop from the wall, and then scrambled over themselves. It was gallantly done." *

11th March. Bombardment of the Begum Kothi

All night the guns near Banks' house smote the Begum's Palace, and the mortars sent their flight of shells, "which shot like showers of falling stars into the city." "At daybreak Peel's enormous guns were brought to bear on the palace, and they battered away at it hour after hour, while from across the river Outram enfiladed the enemy's works and, with two additional 24-pounders, played on the mess-house and the Kaiser Bagh from Banks' house. Sir Colin with field glasses watched the effect of every shot and shell. "A puff of blue smoke at the Naval Brigade Battery; then a cloud of dust at the Begum Kothi; a cloud of blue smoke beyond Banks' bungalow; then another cloud of dust at Begum Kothi; a cloud of blue smoke in the King's Garden; a shell describing a parabola through the air; another cloud of smoke at the Begum Kothi; then crack-crack as the shells burst among the rebels." † When the heavy volumes of dust and smoke rolled away from the Begum's

* "The Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B., page 254.

† "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Service, Volume II, page 429.

Palace, high above its walls were seen its richly ornamented gables and entablatures with minarets and gilt spires and roofs of the adjacent buildings swarming with rebels. Their guns boldly bellowed forth a reply, and the fire on both sides waxed hotter and hotter. The day was far advanced, and no breach was reported as practicable. Reluctantly Sir Colin Campbell left Banks' house in order to receive the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, who had arrived the day before and was about to pay him a State visit.

Reception of Jung Bahadoor.

That morning the head-quarters camp had been moved to the Dilkoosha. Before the chief mess tent had been erected a large canopy for the formal reception. A battery of guns and a squadron of the 9th Lancers were drawn up on the flank, and a strong guard of honour of the 42nd Highlanders, their band and pipers at the entrance. Doffing his working dress—blue patrol jacket, brown corduroy breeches, high boots and a pith hat—for the scarlet and gold lace and a cocked hat of a general's uniform, Sir Colin arrived punctual to the moment. "Four o'clock came; no signs of Jung Bahadoor. A quarter of an hour passed by; the Chief walked up and down with one hand behind his back and the other working nervously like one who is impatient or expectant. At half-past four the regular cannonading close at hand ceased and up rose a startling, heavy, rolling fire of musketry. We all knew what it meant. The assault on the Begum Kothi was being delivered." * Louder and louder rang the musketry. Then was heard the boom of the saluting guns, the band began to play, the word of command rang out "Stand to your arms!" and at the end of the lane the Maharajah was descried with his dazzling company. He wore a jacket of red cloth covered with jewels, and the splendour of his brothers who accompanied him was hardly less glorious or conspicuous than his own. His well knit figure and the dignity of his carriage and manner struck the eyes of the spectators. Closely attended by his suite, he slowly walked up between the stalwart line of soldiers. The Commander-in-Chief stepped out to meet him. Jung Bahadoor, with white kid gloved hand raised to his glittering crest, above which nodded a plume of paradise feathers, delicately beaded with emeralds and diamonds, advanced towards him and took his outstretched hand. Then seating themselves on chairs the two Chiefs exchanged, through

* "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Volume I, page 309.

an interpreter, formal compliments. Jung Bahadoor's face brightened when Sir Colin alluded to their both being Highlanders. As they were conversing a tall figure clad in a gray tunic covered with the dust and dirt of battle walked up the aisle of men, his long sword clanking on the ground. "I am directed by the Chief of the Staff, Sir, to tell you that we have taken the Begum's Palace with little loss, and we are now in possession of it and the adjoining buildings." The speaker was Hope Johnstone, the Deputy Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff. Sir Colin told with much vivacity the news to his illustrious visitor. Then, much to the delight of the Nepaulese Prince, six "as fine Highlanders as ever trod on heather" walked past him playing a heart-stirring pibroch. The Chief rose, Sir Colin introduced his officers and the historic ceremonial came to an end.

Storming of the Begum Kothi

Napier reported two breaches practicable, and Sir Edward Lugard made his dispositions for the attack. The storming brigade under the command of Adrian Hope consisted of the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Rifles, with some Gurkha troops in support. To the 93rd was assigned the honour of leading the assault, and Brigadier Hope divided them into two divisions: the right wing, under Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay, was to assault and enter by the front breach; the left wing was to attack the breach on the flank of the position by the battery at Banks' house. At 4 P.M. the large guns became silent and the enemy's musketry fire slackened. The 93rd emerged from the enclosures and, advancing up the road, got under cover of some ruined buildings. Then Hope gave the signal. Both wings dashed from their cover, and over the field rose the Highland slogan as a wave of Tartans swept forward, unruffled by the storm of musketry sent from wall and loophole. The right wing, on reaching the high wall forming the outer barrier of the palace, found in front of them a huge parapet of earth with a steep scarp and ditch nearly eighteen feet wide and ten feet deep. Instantly Captain Middleton and four Grenadiers leapt into it and were quickly followed. Hay, Middleton and Wood got shoved up the ditch on to the berm and, having obtained a footing, proceeded to pull up the men. Then one by one they pushed through the breach, for the enemy, being taken by surprise, had left it undefended. At the same moment the left wing, headed by the gallant Clerk waving his claymore and shouting, "Come on 93rd," reached the right breach.

No sooner were the right wing within the works than they found themselves in front of another high wall, and a close and destructive fire was poured into them from it. John Macleod, the Pipe-Major, who had been the first man to push his way through the breach, at once began to play the bagpipes, heedless of the bullets that flew around him. Having no means of protecting themselves against the fire or of returning it with effect against men who were under cover of their battlements, the Highlanders made a dash at a small narrow hole which had been made by our 9-pounder in the walls. But they were held in check by the enemy's musketry until some of them broke open the blocked up windows and were shoved through.* Every room door, gallery or gateway was barricaded. At every window or coign of vantage was a rebel marksmen. In threading their way through the dark narrow passages many a man fell shot down by an unseen foe. Barrier after barrier was forced and in small parties, headed by their officers, the soldiers pushed on till the great inner square was reached. Here a host of sepoys stood ready to receive them. The assailants were few in numbers, but the Highlanders stood unappalled. The command was given "keep together and use the bayonet," and a firmer grasp of his weapon told of the stern spirit which wrought within. Then with piercing steel they forced their way into the dense mass, being well supported by the Sikhs, who kept pace and stroke in the tremendous conflict. No quarter was given, no quarter was expected. The Highlanders and Sikhs drove the insurgents from court to court. They fought them in the cloisters and they bayoneted them in the small dark rooms. Bands of rebels, maddened with fear at the bags of gunpowder with lighted slow matches thrown into their lairs, rushed out and perished on the bayonets of their foes. For two hours the blind and bloody contest raged.

Meanwhile the left wing, after entering the right breach, drove a body of the rebels with great slaughter through some of the buildings of the huge pile, and followed them towards the Imambarah

* "In the court I met Adrian Hope, and as he had actually led one of the storming parties, I gladly availed myself of his offer to be my guide. He had got in through a window through which he had been shoved by his men, and he came head long on a group of sepoys in the dark room inside, who bolted at once at the apparition of the huge red Celt, who tumbled upon them sword and pistol in hand." "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, LL.D., Volume I, page 313.

and the outworks of the Kaiser Bagh. Two companies of the 93rd, under Captain Stewart, went too far in pursuit, and came under a heavy fire from a loopholed wall at the end of a street. A serai on the right of the road leading past the Begum's Palace from Banks' bungalow had been taken at the same time as the palace by the 42nd, and a company of them, under Captain John Drysdale, were sent to Stewart's succour, and had five men killed in a moment. Night now began to thicken and the rebel masses disappeared, the tumult in the palace subsided, and the troops bivouacked in its courts under a strong guard. Morn revealed a miserable sight, the ground cumbered with the bodies of several hundred sepoys and the low rooms choked with corpses, many of them smouldering in their cotton clothes.* "The capture of the Begum's Kothi was," Sir Colin writes in his despatch, "the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege."

Captain Hodson mortally wounded

In that great death wrestle many brave men went down on both sides. But no braver man fell than Hodson, whose work of fighting now came to an end. He was with Donald Stewart † in the head-quarters camp when a signal gun announced that the Begum Kothi was about to be attacked. He mounted his horse and rode towards the mortar batteries where he found Brigadier Napier

* "I looked at two such rooms, where, through the dense smoke, I could see piles of bodies, and I was obliged to own that the horrors of the hospital at Sebastopol were far exceeded by what I witnessed."—*Times*, 29th April 1858.

† It was current in the camp, and the story has often been repeated, that Hodson was killed in the act of looting. This certainly was not the case. Hodson was sitting with Donald Stewart in the head-quarters camp, when the signal gun announced that the attack on the Begum Kothi was about to take place. Hodson immediately mounted his horse and rode off in the direction of the city. Stewart, who had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to accompany the troops, and send an early report to His Excellency of the result of the assault, had his horse ready, and followed Hodson so closely that he kept him in sight until within a short distance of the fighting, when Stewart stopped to speak to the officer in charge of Peel's guns, which had been covering the advance of the troops. This delayed Stewart for a few minutes only, and as he rode into the courtyard of the palace a Highland soldier handed him a pistol saying. "This is your pistol, sir; but I thought you were carried away mortally wounded a short time ago?" Stewart at once conjectured that the man had mistaken him for Hodson. In face they were not much alike, but both were tall, well made and fair, and Native soldiers had frequently saluted one for the other. It is clear from this account that Hodson could not have been looting, as he was wounded almost as soon as he reached the palace." "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 404.

reconnoitring the breach. Hodson said laughingly, "I am come to take care of you." "The signal was given for the troops to advance," writes Napier, "and we watched their progress and entry into the building. All serious opposition soon ceased, and we followed through the breach into the palace." Hodson had got separated from Napier in the crowd when two soldiers came running to him and asked for some powder bags. Showing the men where to go for them he rushed forward to the spot from where they had come. "Where are the rebels?" he cried out. Forbes-Mitchell, a Sergeant in the 93rd, pointed to the door of the room, and Hodson shouting "come on" was about to rush in. "I implored him not to do so," writes Forbes-Mitchell, saying it was certain death; "wait for the powder; I've sent men for powder bags." Hodson made a step forward, and "I put out my hand to seize him by the shoulder to pull him out of the line of the doorway when he fell back shot through the chest." * He gasped out, "Oh! my wife," and immediately choked with blood. His orderly, a large powerful Sikh, carried him in his arms out of danger. Forbes-Mitchell helped to lift him into a litter, and they took him to Banks' house, where his wound was examined and dressed. It was mortal.†

Occupation of the Shah Nujjeef

During the day two Engineers, Medley and Lang, with four natives crept up to the Kuddum Russool and found the little building deserted. Looking down into the garden of the Shah Nujjeef it also appeared to be abandoned. Medley went back to ask for men to go and take the Shah Nujjeef and having procured 100 men and 50 sappers, he returned, and on reaching it he found the place evacuated. "But as we were only 200 yards from the enemy's second line of intrenchments a sharp musketry fire was opened upon us from them, and we had an officer and one or two men wounded. We set the sappers to work to make the place defensible, and at my suggestion 100 more men were thrown into the place." ‡

* "Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny," by William Forbes-Mitchell, late Sergeant, 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, page 211. Forbes-Mitchell adds:—"It will thus be seen that the assertion that Major Hodson was looting when he was killed is untrue. No looting had been then commenced, not even by Jung Bahadoor's Gurkhas. Major Hodson lost his life by his own rashness; but to say he was looting is a cruel slander on one of the bravest of Englishmen."

† "He was shot through the right side of the chest in the region of the liver, the ball entering in front and going out behind. There had been profuse bleeding, and I saw that the wound was most likely mortal." Letter from Dr. Anderson. "Hodson of Hodson's Horse," by George H. Hodson, M.A., page 287.

‡ "A year's Campaign in India," by Captain Medley, R.E., page 176.

"It appeared afterwards that the Chief considered our position too far in advance of the

11th March. Left attack

Whilst Sir Colin Campbell had been pushing forward on the south of the Goomtee, Outram had been operating with equal success on the left bank. During the night of the 10th a battery (No. 4-R) of four 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers and five mortars was erected in front of the garden of the Badshah Bagh, and it opened fire at daybreak on the Kaiser Bagh. At the same time Outram began his attack on the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges. His right column * formed on the Fyzabad road under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Walpole, and worked its way, covered by its skirmishers, through bushes and trees. "Hidden in the jungle or in the small cottages, which snugly enclosed among the trees formed excellent temporary fortresses, were parties of the enemy, who opened a smart fire on us as we advanced. Skirmishers were pushed forward and two guns brought into action abreast on the road to riddle the wood with case shot and to drive out our hidden foes." Slowly driving the enemy before them the right wing went forward, till they took possession of a large mosque with an extensive walled garden attached, which commanded the approach to the iron bridge. The left column † under the command of Colonel Pratt, proceeded along the lower road skirting the river. "The enemy opened three guns on them from the opposite side of the river, and also held the ground in great strength in front of the rifle skirmishers, commanded by Brevet-Major Warren, Captains Wilmot and Thyne, and Lieutenant Grey, who all behaved most gallantly." Fighting their way through a series of intricate streets the column occupied the houses down to the river's bank and seized the head of the iron bridge, to the right of which Outram placed in battery his two 24-pounder guns. Lieutenant Moorsoom, who had been deputed to guide the column, was struck whilst reconnoitring in

Outram seizes the head of the iron bridge. Death of Lieutenant Moorsoom.

* The right column consisted of—

The 79th Highlanders.
2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade.
1st Bengal Fusiliers.
Captain Gibbons' Light Field Battery, and two 24-pounders.

† The left column consisted of—

Two 24-pounder guns.
Three field battery guns, Royal Artillery.
23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.
2nd Punjab Infantry, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pratt.

These two columns were connected by a strong chain of skirmishers. Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 480.

front of it on the head by a bullet and died instantly. "I deplore sincerely," wrote Outram, "the loss of this most gallant and promising young officer, whose soldier-like zeal and acquirements rendered him an ornament to his profession." * The Rifles also deplored the loss of a young comrade whose bright and brave nature caused him to be loved by officers and men. Captain Thyne was lying down in the heat of the day on a native cot in one of the houses captured by his company, when a round shot coming through the wall struck him on the arms and thigh and smashed the bones into many pieces. The limbs were amputated, but the shock was too great, and in about an hour he died.

Outram advances to the stone bridge

Outram, having left the Bengal Fusiliers posted in the mosque, proceeded with the remainder of the right column in the direction of the Fyzabad road. He soon met Hope Grant's cavalry and artillery, who had been operating on the extreme right, and then turned towards the stone bridge, Hope Grant covering his advance on the right.† As his men moved through a wood, they surprised the camp of the 15th Irregular Horse, whose standards and two guns were captured by the Rifles, the enemy flying in all directions over the plain, many being cut up by our cavalry." Then through the strong suburbs Outram forced his way without much opposition till he reached the stone bridge. But as the enemy were able to command it with guns as well as with musketry from the tops of several high and strong stone houses from the opposite side of the river, and the position was, moreover, too distant and the approaches too intricate to warrant his holding it permanently with the force at his disposal, Outram withdrew to the mosque held by the Bengal Fusiliers.

Summary of operations on the 11th of March

On the 11th of March Sir Colin had achieved a great step in his project. He had on the right bank of the river captured the Begum's Palace and secured the Secundra Bagh and the Shah Nujjeef. Outram

* Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 480.

† Outram's advance was covered by Hope Grant's Horse Artillery and cavalry; but we had to keep at some distance away to the right, in order to avoid houses and walled enclosures. Soon after crossing the Sitapur road we heard guns to our left, and, proceeding at a smart trot came up with Outram just as he was about to attack a large body of the rebels who, finding themselves in an awkward position, with the river in their rear and their retreat by the iron bridge cut off, made but a feeble resistance before they broke and fled. Some few escaped by the stone bridge, but the greater number, including the whole of the mutinous 15th Irregular Cavalry, made for the old cantonment. We pursued with our cavalry, and very few of them got away. "Forty-one Years in India," by Field Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 401.

on the left bank had advanced as far as the iron bridge and completed his arrangements for its occupation.

Death of Captain Hodson

In the night Hodson lay at Banks' house suffering great pain. He talked of his wound, which he himself thought was mortal. He was very weak but by means of stimulants he rallied and slept for a few hours. Early next morning his old and tried friend Napier came to see him. He was quite sensible and composed. He spoke of his wife, whom he so dearly loved, and the brothers and sisters at home. Napier had to leave him for a time, and when he returned he found him in severe pain. He said, "I think I am dying. The doctor gave me hopes, but I do not believe in them. I should like to have seen the end of the campaign, and to have returned to England to see my friends, but it has not been permitted. I trust I have done my duty. "I could have no difficulty," says Napier, "in answering this question as every one in the country proclaims it." The stern exigency of the hour demanded Napier's presence at his post, and before he had time to return to him, Hodson had died, calm and composed at his last hour as he was in the front ofdanger and battle." * He was in his thirty-seventh year. Late in the same evening he was carried to his rest. Sir Colin Campbell and the officers of the garrison followed the coffin to the garden at the back of the Martiniére. After the words "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live" had been said and the body was being lowered into the grave then, "all the old warriors' courage and self-possession," says an officer who was present, "could no longer control the tears." The day after the funeral Sir Colin wrote to the widow: "The whole army, which admires his talents, his bravery and his military skill, deplores his loss and sympathises with you in your irreparable bereavement."

12th and 13th of March

During the 12th and 13th Napier avoiding the main road, which was well defended by the enemy's bastions, pushed his approach with the

* "Then fell one of the bravest in the Indian army, an officer whose name has been brought too often before the public by those in high command to need my humble word in praise. There was not a man before Delhi who did not know Hodson, always active; always cheery: it did one's heart good to look at his face when all felt how critical was our position. Ask any soldier, who was the bravest man before Delhi? who most in the saddle—who foremost? and nine out of ten in the infantry will tell you 'Hodson'; in the artillery as many will name 'Tombs.' I once heard one of the Fusiliers say, 'Whenever I sees Captain Hodson go out, I always pray for him, for he is sure to be in danger.' Yet it was not only in the field that Hodson was to be valued: his head was as active as his hand was strong, and I feel sure when we who knew him heard of his death no one but felt that there was indeed a vacancy in our ranks." "The First Bengal European Fusiliers." "Blackwood's Magazine."

greatest judgment through the enclosures and houses which lay between the Begum Kothi and the small Imambara, the next place it was necessary to storm.* The heavy guns opened breaches where necessary, and the sappers, supported by the infantry, pressed slowly but steadily on, breaking open communications, so as to allow ample support being furnished from the rear when required. A hot fire of musketry was kept up, as the besiegers slowly worked their way forward from the neighbouring houses, to which the covering party briskly replied.

On the 12th Jung Bahadoor, with a force of about 9,000 men and with 25 field guns drawn by men, had arrived and taken his position in our lines. On the 13th, at the request of the Commander-in-Chief, he moved close to the canal. On the afternoon of that day the troops at the Begum Kothi were relieved, and General Lugard's place was taken by General Franks.

During the night of the 12th Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and all the time they were throwing shells into the city, the heavy guns were knocking at the Imambara.

14th March. Capture of the Little Imambara

At daylight (14th March) two breaches were considered so far advanced that arrangements were made for the assault. The storming party, consisting of two companies of the 10th Foot and one hundred of Brasyer's Sikhs were posted behind a wall with only the breadth of a road between them and the wall of the Imambara enclosure. A strong working party of sappers with scaling ladders, powder bags and tools were drawn up in rear of them. The whole of Brigadier Russell's brigade of General Franks' division was to support the assault. The enemy lined the top of the walls and all the neighbouring houses and kept up a brisk fire. After an anxious but not long interval a hurrah burst forth from the men of Russell's brigade. They "saw first a Sikh and then Brasyer himself and another Sikh make their appearance on that part of the Imambara which had been played upon by the 68-pounder." † The Imambara had been entered. While the storming parties were being formed up Lieutenant Beaumont, R. E , worked from the left of the advanced post through a few earthen walls o a house on our side of the road between our front and the

* The small Imambara must not be confounded with the great Imambara between the Muchee Bawan and the Moosa Bagh close to the river Goomtee.

† "Capture of Lucknow." *Calcutta Review*, June 1860.

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Imambara. He was accompanied by Major Brasyer and some of the Sikhs, and succeeded in blowing in the wall and driving the enemy out of the houses, which proved to be in connection with the trench intended to flank the outer walls of the Imambara." He next blew in the outer wall of the Imambara, and Brasyer and his Sikhs rushed in at the moment that the storming party had been ordered to arms.* Their unexpected entry through the opening made by Beaumont checked resistance, and the assaulting columns passed the breaches without difficulty and seized, as rapidly as openings could be made for them, the enclosure of the King's coachman's house and the King's brother's house.† The roofs of both houses overlooked the Kaiser Bagh, and the King's brother's house adjoined and overlooked the eastern extremity of the third line of the enemy's works running along the immediate front of the Kaiser Bagh. The second line of the enemy's fortifications had now been turned, and Colonel Harness, Commanding Royal Engineers, was recommended by Brigadier Russell to stop the further advance and obtain secure possession of the ground that they had passed over. But the Sikhs could not be restrained. Some of them had followed on the heels of the flying foe, and made their way into an outlying court of the Kaiser Bagh on the left. From the roofs of the houses a party of them, under the personal command of Brasyer and some men of the 90th whom young Havelock Franks, Adjutant-General, had led to the spot, plied with such destructive musketry the three nearest bastions of the entrenchment below that the enemy abandoned their guns, and Brasyer, leading his Sikhs by a deserted bastion, proceeded to clear the enclosures on the right of the Kaiser Bagh. Havelock called up the 10th to support Brasyer, and he made his way from house to house.

The walls and the enclosures were pierced with loopholes through which the insurgents commenced a well sustained fusillade. They were

* Memorandum relating to the siege of Lucknow in March 1858, more specially with reference to the distribution of the Royal Engineers during the operations. Compiled in 1860 from notes of different officers. By Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, R.E. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, Appendix X.

† Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel H. D Harness, Commanding Royal Engineers, to Brigadier R. Napier, Bengal Engineers, Commanding Engineer Brigade. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, Appendix X.

under shelter and at so short a distance every shot told. But our infantry pushed on. Their ranks grew thinner and thinner. Men had to be left to keep possession of the places as fast as they took them. At length about fifty of them reached the Cheenee Bazaar which skirted the Kaiser Bagh and lay inside the third line of defences. The enemy, seeing their small numbers, began to gather around both flanks, when Havelock with some Sikhs charged along the line of entrenchment, drove out the rebels, seized two adjoining bastions, and with their guns checked and scattered off a large body of rebels who, finding that the second line of defences had been turned, were making for the Kaiser Bagh. General Franks and Brigadier Napier now came up with strong supports, and a consultation was held in a gateway as to what was to be done.

Shortly after 11 o'clock an orderly rode up to head-quarters with a piece of folded paper in his hand and delivered it at one of the tents. The Commander-in-Chief with all the head-quarters staff quickly mounted their horses and galloped off to the city. "As we rode the news flew from mouth to mouth, we are in the Kaiser Bagh." Loud were the cheers from the men as Sir Colin passed them marching past towards the citadel of the enemy. He dismounted, and, amidst the shouts of the troops, walked up the steps of the Imambara. Sir Colin had planned that the operations of the day should end by its capture. He had been led to expect a desperate resistance at the Kaiser Bagh, and had determined that after due siege had been laid it should be stormed next day by the Highlanders. But after a brief consultation at the gateway, Napier and Franks came to the conclusion that they were perfectly able to take it. More troops were sent for from the rear. Orders were despatched for the troops holding the Secundra Bagh and other posts in front of the second line of defence to advance and attack the Motee Mahal, the Mess-House and the other intervening points. Soon "all the well known ground of former defence and attack—the Mess-House, the Tara Kotee, the Motee Mahal, and the Chutter Manzil—were rapidly occupied by the troops." * Some of them pushed forward and entered the third line of the enemy's fortifications.

* From General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, 22nd March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 470.

When Franks had been reinforced he sent forward his troops, and as soon as an opening had been made from the Cheenee Bazaar, they entered the courtyard of Saidut Ali's Mosque at the back of the Kaiser Bagh. The Sikhs, 150 in number, led by Brasyer and some fifty men of the 97th, drove the enemy from their guns in the courtyard of the mosque, and followed them so closely that they found themselves in the principal square of the Kaiser Bagh. Here a large body of the enemy were ready to oppose them. They were vastly outnumbered, but Brasyer plunged his handful of men into them with the bayonet, and they bore them onward till they forced them to the Badshah Manzil, the special residence of the King. The rebels now began to collect in their rear, while from the windows of the palace came gusts of bullets. Slowly the small band fell back till they reached the bronze gate on the north-west side of the Kaiser Bagh. Here they took refuge. But outside the gateway in their rear was a second gateway, and in front of it the enemy had a gun protected by a loopholed wall. The gun opened fire and was followed by a peal of musketry from the gateway. From the palace buildings on their front the enemy plied them with musketry. A supreme moment. Then Brasyer and Lieutenant Cary, 37th Native Infantry, burst open a window in front of the gun, and jumping down were soon followed by several Sikhs. The gun was captured and the enemy driven to the second gateway. They were kept there in check till reinforcements arrived. Then the storming regiments getting mixed, soldiers and sailors, Sikhs and Gurkhas, fighting hard, drove bodies of rebels through courts "as large as the Temple Gardens, filled with marble statues and marble fountains." The masses were broken, but multitudes of armed men found refuge in the buildings and every palace became a fortress. From the green jalousies and venetian blinds closing the apertures which pierce the walls in double rows a stream of bullets was poured into the square, and the marble pavement was stained with the blood of many a Sikh and soldier.* Building after building was taken and blood thirst, revenge, and greed for gold drove the assailants mad. The strong boxes of the Princes of Oudh were burst open, and

* "In the fall and sack of great cities an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity : the same effects must be produced by the same passions, and when these passions may be indulged without control, small alas is the difference between civilised and savage man." "Gibbon's Roman Empire." Milman, Volume VII, page 174.



Photo-etching from photographic print by S. Beato.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1896.

GENERAL VIEW OF BUILDINGS IN KAISAR BÂGH, LUCKNOW, 1867.

their gold and silver glutted the avarice of the Sikh and the British soldier. Rough hands tore away the silks, velvets, brocades, laces and gems accumulated by the lights of the Harem. Wrought silver plates were torn from the *musnud* (throne) of some favourite mistress or queen; the monuments of western and eastern art were broken to pieces, and fragments of rare China and of crystal vessels strewed the floors. When night put an end to the pillage, the palace of the Kaiser had become a ruined charnel-house.

Next day fighting was renewed, and bodies of the enemy who held the lower stories on the north side were driven out. The sappers were occupied in checking the fires then burning in three parts of the squares and in destroying gunpowder. Guards were placed over the palaces and plundering stopped by order.*

On the morning of the 12th Outram sent a strong party to occupy the wide street which ran down to the iron bridge. Up it there swept a pelting fire of case shot and bullets, which rendered it unsafe. The English and Sikhs, who occupied the houses on both sides, replied by a steady fire at every object visible on the house-tops and in the windows of the mansions and mosques along the other bank of the river, which was here only thirty or forty yards wide. The insurgents, however, directed their principal fire upon the batteries of heavy guns to the right and left of the bridge. A detachment of infantry, picked shots, told off for the purpose had been sent down to them; but it required all their exertion and all their skill to keep down the rebel fire, so that the gunners might work the guns without grievous loss.

14th March. Left Attack

On the morning of the 14th the increased thunder of the heavy guns across the river told the picket at the bridge that the Chief was near the little Imambara. In the afternoon they heard that not only the little Imambara but also the Kaiser Bagh had fallen. All was got ready for a move across. The horses were hooked on to the guns. The infantry, in obedience to orders, opened a heavy fire on the opposite bank; the enemy responded by a heavy cannonade of round shot, shell

* *March 15th.*—To-day plundering is stopped by order * * * * * I visited the Kaiser Bagh again to-day. Every yard would fill a canvas under the hands of Lewis or David Roberts. The place is full of powder and explosions are frequent. If the Tuileries, the Louvre, Versailles, Scutari, the winter palace, were all to be blended together, with an *entourage* of hovels worthy of Gallipoli, and an interior of gardens worthy of Kew they would represent the size, at all events, of the palaces of the Kaiser Bagh and the gardens inside. "My Diary in India," by William Howard Russell, M. D, Volume I, page 337.

Gallant action of Lieutenant Wynne and Sergeant Paul

and case. Lieutenant Wynne and Sergeant Paul of the fourth company of Royal Fusiliers volunteered to undertake the removal of the barricade which had been thrown across the iron bridge. It was a work of supreme danger.* They advanced under cover of the parapet of the bridge, till they reached the barricade. They then began to remove the sandbags one at a time, and passed them to a line of men extended to receive them. After one or two had been removed, the enemy, discovering what was going on, opened a hot fire on them. But, heedless of the bullets whistling around them, Wynne and Paul continued at the work. Bag after bag was removed. Lower and lower they crouched as the shelter diminished. Then they lay on the ground and removed the second lowest tier. The last offered no serious obstacle to the advance of the troops, and they rushed back unharmed through a shower of bullets. All was now ready for crossing the bridge when Outram and staff arrived on the scene. They ascended one of the houses to reconnoitre, and after a short time Outram descended and said: "I am afraid, gentlemen, you will be disappointed when I tell you that I am not going to attack to-day," explaining to us at the same time that Sir Colin Campbell had ordered him not to cross if he saw a chance of *losing a single man*, a contingency which we could hardly expect to avoid, as the enemy had a 9-pounder gun sweeping the bridge, a discharge or two of grape from which *must* have made some havoc among our advancing troops.† "Thus a grand opportunity was lost," writes Lord Roberts. "The bridge, no doubt, was strongly held, but with the numerous guns which Outram could have brought to bear on its defenders its passage could have been forced without serious loss; the enemy's retreat would have been cut off and Franks' victory would have been rendered complete, which it certainly was not, owing to Outram's hands having been so effectually tied." ‡

* "History of the Corps of Royal Engineers," by Major-General Whitworth Porter, Volume I, page 492.

† "Up among the Pandies," by Lieutenant Vivian Majendie, page 212.

"By means of the field telegraph, Outram was kept *au fait* as to the movements of Franks' division, and he could have afforded it valuable assistance had he been allowed to cross the Goomtee with his three brigades of infantry. Outram with his soldierly instincts felt that this was the proper course to pursue, but in reply to his request to be allowed to push over the river by the iron bridge, he received from the Commander-in-Chief through Mansfield the unaccountably strange order that he must not attempt it, if it would entail his losing a single man.—"Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 404.

‡ "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 405.

On the following day Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., was sent out with cavalry on one side towards Sitapur to intercept fugitives, while Brigadier Campbell marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela on a similar duty. But it was too late. The enemy had scattered themselves over the country and entirely disappeared, "and many of the rebels who still remained in the city seized the opportunity of the cavalry being absent to get away." *

15th March. Two brigades of cavalry sent to pursue the enemy

On the 16th Sir James Outram with the 5th Brigade under the command of Brigadier Russell, comprising the 23rd Fusiliers, the 79th Highlanders, and the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, crossed the Goomtee by a bridge of casks opposite the Secundra Bagh. He left Walpole's division to watch the iron and the stone bridges. On reaching the Mess-House Outram was joined by Her Majesty's 20th and Brasyer's Sikhs. They then passed through the Kaiser Bagh by an impromptu road made by the sappers and miners and, pushing to the right, made towards the Residency. They were shortly under a smart fire of musketry. The word "Charge" was given by Sir James, who was in front, and the 23rd Fusiliers, rushing through the gateway, drove the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, the remainder of the brigade following them in reserve. The Residency was once more in our possession.

16th March. Outram crosses the Goomtee

When the enemy had been dislodged from the Residency two companies of the 23rd under Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, accompanied by Captain Gould Weston, who pointed out the road, pressed rapidly forward. No sooner did they appear, when a scattered fire of musketry was opened on them. Then from above a barricade of wood there came a curl of smoke and a storm of grape swept over them. Before the sepoys could load again the Fusiliers were at the muzzle, and, with a loud cheer, rushed into the work and captured the brass gun which was in position to sweep the iron bridge. "In the meanwhile the Residency height was crowned by a Field Battery of Madras Artillery under the command of Major Cotter, which kept up a heavy fire on the

Capture of the Muchee Bhawan and the Great Imambara

* "Forty-one Years in India." By Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 406.

Lord Roberts writes: "It was not a judicious move on Sir Colin's part to send the cavalry miles away from Lucknow just when they could have been so usefully employed on the outskirts of the city. This was also appreciated when too late, and both brigades were ordered to return, which they did on the 17th. "Forty-one Years in India," by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, K.G., V.C., Volume I, page 407.

Muchee Bhawan." This battery was subsequently withdrawn and replaced by two 68-pounder guns of the Naval Brigade.

On their arrival the Bengal Fusiliers moved to the iron bridge, and shortly afterwards advanced with Brasyer's Sikhs. "In all directions the rattling of musketry was heard, and the bullets fired at a great elevation from distant houses whistled overhead, right and left." The 23rd made their way through a labyrinth of lanes and streets, and as the gallant Brasyer was leading on his Sikhs, he fell deeply wounded. The advance continued under musketry till they reached the high and buttressed wall of the Muchee Bhawan. The old stronghold was precipitately abandoned by the enemy, and the soldiers pursued them to the outer courtyard of the great Imambara. They dashed across the court so beautifully decorated with rich tessellated pavements, rushed up a noble flight of steps, and seized the great central hall, whose mirrors and chandeliers were said to have cost one of the most magnificent Nawabs of Oudh nearly a million of pounds sterling. A company of the Bengal Fusiliers under Captain Sallusbury was pushed on to the Constantinople Gate of Lucknow (the Room-i-durwaza)—a gate built on the model of that which gave to the Court of the Sultan the title of the Sublime Porte. Here another gun was captured. The 79th were then brought up to occupy the Imambara, and the remainder of the Bengal Fusiliers were placed in the Muchee Bhawan. Five 8-inch mortars were immediately placed in position on the former: two naval guns and five 10-inch mortars were also posted in the Residency, and the whole kept up a steady fire on the city during the night.

Some of the enemy which Outram had driven before him crossed the river by the stone bridge and engaged Walpole's division, but were heavily repulsed. A large mass of the fugitives, however, crossed higher up, and, circling round the division, escaped by the Fyzabad road into the open country, "and we," writes Hope Grant, "were too far to overtake them."

16th March. Last attack of the enemy on the Alumbagh

On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy showed in strength before Alumbagh, whose garrison had been reduced to about four hundred infantry, the military train, a small detachment of the 7th Hussars, and some artillery. Directing a large body against the front of the position, the insurgents made an effort to turn the left flank with their cavalry

and artillery. Their horses came on boldly, but the vigorous action of Olpherts's guns stopped them and sent them back. Meanwhile Vincent Eyre's guns so warmly raked the whole line of their main body of infantry that they too had to retire. Jung Bahadoor was now requested to move to his left up the canal and take the position in reverse from which our position at Alumbagh had been so long annoyed.*

On the morning of the 17th of March the Goorkha force occupied the Char Bagh and Cawnpore road. In the afternoon the enemy in great force attacked their position in the city. "Their flank was, however, turned by the direction of the Maharaja in person, and they were completely defeated with the loss of ten guns and all the wagons of a light field battery." † The same day Outram, continuing his advance, occupied the Dirolutkhana and the Hoseinabad Mosque, and took possession of the block of buildings known as Shurfood Dowlah's House, which was occupied without any casualty, the enemy precipitately retreating, although they had made every preparation for a vigorous defence.

17th March, Jung Bahadur advances up the canal

During the operations, however, a grievous casualty occurred. On Outram's force arriving at the Jumma Musjid, a large quantity of powder in tin cases and leather bags was found in a courtyard in the rear. Outram directed that it should be destroyed under the supervision of the Engineers. It was taken under guard of a party of sappers and miners, commanded by Captain Clerke, R.E., and Lieutenant Brownlow, R.E., to a large and deep well. A line of men was formed, and the cases passed from hand to hand as rapidly as possible. When one of them was being thrown down it struck the side of the well and exploded. A flame of fire flashed up, ignited case after case, caught the powder in the carts, and the two officers, and about 40 men were blown up. Some of the party were killed by the explosion, and the rest, including Clerke and Brownlow, were left in a horrible condition. They were removed to the hospital, where the surgeons, with the utmost kindness, applied the usual remedies; but during the night the sufferers, mad with

* From General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India in Council, dated Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, 22nd March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 472.

Telegram from Brigadier-General MacGregor, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General, dated Camp Char Bagh, Lucknow, 18th March 1858.

† Telegram from Brigadier-General MacGregor, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General, dated Camp Char Bagh, Lucknow, 18th March 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 463.

pain, died, and the next morning they were buried in one of the gardens of the Kaiser Bagh. "During the funeral severe cannon and musketry resounded incessantly from the city."

Though the rebels had been steadily driven out of their strongholds, one or two more bouts of fighting had to be done before they were expelled from the vast city. Seven or eight thousand of them had collected in the Moosa Bagh, a large building with numerous courts and enclosures situated on the right bank of the river about five miles north-west of Lucknow. Sir Colin determined to expel them from their last stronghold, and by a vigorous pursuit of his abundant horse, to make the stroke prove final. He therefore ordered Outram with a strong force * to press forward along the main road up the right bank of the river and attack the Moosa Bagh in front. Brigadier Campbell with a brigade of infantry, some guns, and 1,500 cavalry he posted on the left front and strictly charged him to fall on the enemy when they attempted to retreat. He commanded Hope Grant on the left bank of the river to assist in dislodging the enemy from the Moosa Bagh and to attack those who attempted to cross the stream. He directed the Nepalese troops to enter the city from the Charbagh line of road.

19th March. Capture of the Moossa Bagh

At about half-past 6 A.M. Outram proceeded to the Gao Ghat on the river and found the house belonging to the last Prime Minister of Oudh occupied by the enemy, who opened a sharp fire of musketry on the head of the column. "Two companies of the 79th, led by Lieutenant Everett, being ordered to advance, soon drove the enemy out and took possession of it." † Considerable delay here took place in consequence

* It consisted of—

Two squadrons, 9th Lancers.

One company, Royal Engineers.

One company, Native Sappers.

One Field Battery, Captain Middleton's

Two 18-pounders,
Two 8-inch howitzers,
Four 8-inch mortars, } Under Captain Carleton, R.A.

Three companies, 25th Regiment.

Seven companies, 23rd Regiment.

79th Highlanders.

2nd Punjab Infantry.

† Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow, "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 483.

of the Engineers having to break through a thick wall; but, when this had been accomplished, the troops advanced through the suburbs without opposition towards the Moosa Bagh. On reaching open ground two guns began to play on the column, and the enemy appeared in great strength on the road. Outram immediately ordered out skirmishers from the 79th and 23rd and Captain Middleton's Battery to the front, "whose fire soon silenced that of the enemy, during which time the Lancers made a flank movement to the enemy's left; and on advance their whole force took to flight, abandoning their guns."* The two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, led by Captain Cole, "a young officer of great promise," followed up the pursuit for about four miles, when they overtook the enemy, captured six guns, and killed about a hundred of them, the rest dispersing over the country and escaping by the aid of the nullahs and broken features of the country. "The conduct of the officers and men of the 9th was most gallant, as they undauntedly charged masses of the enemy." † A small body of them reached a deep ravine, through which they could not ride. The enemy which lined it opened fire, and Captain Hutchinson fell mortally wounded.‡ The Field Artillery and Infantry followed in support as rapidly as possible and captured four more guns. Outram then occupied the Moosa Bagh with the 2nd Punjab Infantry under Major Green, and withdrew the rest of the troops to their quarters in the city.

Brigadier Campbell's failure to intercept the enemy

Sir Colin's combinations for greater success had, however, been thwarted by some misconception on the part of Brigadier Campbell and the difficulties of the ground he had to traverse. He left his encampment near the Alum Bagh about 2 A.M., and had a little skirmishing here and there as he passed by villages and wooded and broken ground. A vidette, approaching too near a small mud fort apparently

* Memorandum of operations carried on under the command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., during the siege of Lucknow. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 484.

† *Ibid.* *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

‡ *Monday, March 22nd.*—Poor Hutchinson died at ten o'clock last night. A piece of his skull was pressing on the brain, which accounts for his condition after receiving the fatal wound. Buried him in the beautiful walled garden at the river-side, below the Dilkoosha, at half-past five this evening. The band of the 42nd Highlanders accompanied the funeral procession to the burial place. Brigadier Hagart and the whole of the 9th were present.

The Lancers carried their lances with flags reversed. The deceased (who had an income of £2,000 a year, they say) was laid in the grave sewed up in a bed quilt and a white sheet. A coffin could not be obtained. "From London to Lucknow," by a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Indian Forces, Volume II, page 454.

unoccupied, was fired on. Colonel James Hagart, Commanding the 7th Hussars, with a troop "in point of numbers not more than half a troop" of the 7th Hussars, some of Hodson's Horse, a few men of the 78th Highlanders, and two of Major Tombs' guns, was sent to dislodge them. After a couple of shells, about 50 men, led by the Daroga or headman of the village, rushed out of the fort and came down upon the guns. Hagart ordered the 7th to charge. But the rebels reached them before they could get well in motion. Captain Slade and Cornet Banks were at once cut down, and Lieutenant Wilkins had his foot cut almost through. Hagart, followed by the wounded Wilkins and some of the men, rode "in at once to where a lot were hacking at poor Banks on the ground and saved him for the time at least. He was dreadfully mutilated, and died fifteen or sixteen days after. We then set to work and killed every one of our opponents. They seemed to have no idea of giving way but fought desperately. I was told they were fanatics maddened with bhang." *

Meanwhile Brigadier Campbell continued his march, but he reached his ground too late to intercept the heavy retreating masses of the enemy. He did not even then make a prompt attempt to pursue them. It was not till many thousands of the enemy had streamed out and already crossed miles of country that he was persuaded to allow some of his troops to follow them. The first to get under way were two troops of the 1st Sikh Irregulars under Captain the Honourable Hugh Chichester, with whom Lieutenant Sandeman † and Lieutenant Mackenize ‡ were sent. After a gallop of several miles they overtook large bodies of the enemy on foot.

Their cavalry had disappeared. A series of scrimmages and single combats ensued. The remainder of the 1st Sikhs, the 7th Hussars, and the military train came up, and the pursuit grew fiercer. The main road, the lanes and the fields were covered with bands of fugitives running for their life. Some stalked along with their muskets on their shoulders, sullenly disdaining to run, and when assailed by their foes died fighting

* An account of the engagement communicated in a manuscript correspondence by Lieutenant-Colonel James Hagart, C.B. (retired), brother of the Brigadier, printed in "Incidents in Sepoy War," by General Sir Hope Grant, G.C.B. Sir Hope Grant writes: "Everything he (Hagart) had about him bore traces of his gallant struggle."

† The late Colonel Sir Robert Groves Sandeman, K.C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General, and Chief Commissioner in Baluchistan.

‡ The late Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie, C.B.

hard. Many were killed. After a stern chase of several miles the enemy have vanished, and the horses being too fatigued to continue the pursuit, Wale gave the order to halt. "Then from the far side of a ravine a solitary figure fired his musket at a group of officers. He must have aimed at the one who, from his full brown beard and apparent age, seemed to him to be the most important and most likely to be the commander. That shot cost us the life of our brave commanding officer. The gallant Captain Wale fell, mortally wounded by two slugs, one of which passed through his beard into his throat, the other into his mouth. He was instantly avenged for as the rebel sepoy turned to fly, he also fell dead, hit in the spine by a bullet from the revolver of Captain Chichester." * "Sandeman, who was by his side, carried him in his arms to a place of shelter. In a few minutes, to the deep grief of his officers and men, by whom he was loved as few commanding officers are ever loved, poor Wale breathed his last." They buried him in the Moosa Bagh. In that Royal Garden, now a wilderness of shrubs, stands under the spreading arms of an old mango tree a solitary tomb, and the inscription informs us it was erected by a comrade to the memory of Captain F. Wale "who lived and died a Christian soldier." †

Sir Colin's plans had thus been thwarted by an error of execution and one more fight had to be fought before he achieved his project. The Moulvie of Fyzabad, one of the most daring and resolute of the rebel leaders, returned to Lucknow, and with two guns and a large body of fanatics occupied a fortified building in the heart of the city. On the 21st of March Sir Edward Lugard with the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Rifles was sent to take the stronghold. The resistance was wonderfully fierce and violent, several of our men were killed, and the commandant ‡ and second-in-command § of the 4th Punjab Rifles, on whom the brunt of the fighting fell, were desperately wounded. Brigadier Campbell with his cavalry attacked the insurgents when retreating from the city, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued them for six miles.

* "Mutiny Memoirs," by Colonel A. R. D. Mackenzie, C.B., page 201.

† *Ibid. Ibid. Ibid.*

‡ Major A. T. Wilde.

§ Captain J. Hood.

So ended the memorable Siege of Lucknow. The capture of the Moosa Bagh and the expulsion of the Moulvie from his stronghold marked the victorious close of a series of signal operations which had extended over twenty days. By patience and sound judgment at all times, by a wise boldness at the right moment, Sir Colin seized a long range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent. which had been fortified with much skill and labour. He was nobly supported in his well laid plans by the professional skill of Napier, the determination and dash and vigour of Outram, and the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms. A gallant soldier himself, who was at his best in the thick of battle, Sir Colin Campbell would never sacrifice his army in vain conflict with hopeless obstacles. In the siege and capture of Lucknow our loss was small. The casualties amount to only 16 British officers, 3 Native officers, and 108 men killed; 51 British officers, 4 Native officers and 540 men wounded, while 13 men were missing. "That this great success," writes Lord Canning, "should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives enhances the honour due to the leader who has achieved it." *

* General Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Allahabad, Monday, 5th April 1858. "Indian Mutiny," Volume III, page 487.

SELECTIONS

FROM THE

STATE PAPERS

INDIAN MUTINY

1857-1858

THE INDIAN MUTINY

CHAPTER I

LUCKNOW—DEFENCE OF THE RESIDENCY.

From the Governor-General of India, to Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 27th April 1857.*

The 48th Regiment, or any other which you may wish to get rid of, may be moved to Meerut. Let the Commander-in-Chief know if you find it necessary to send it away, but do not wait for any further authority. Should you have to dispose of a second, it can go to Cawnpore in the first instance, but I hope this will not be necessary. It is very desirable that our mistrust of a particular regiment should not be made notorious, and the removal of any corps from Oudh to a place where troops are not wanted would be understood at once of course. If you have regiments that are really untrustworthy, there must be no delicacy in the matter, but I hope that there are not two of that sort to be sent away. Your account of the Irregulars,* upon whom we shall then have to lean more exclusively, does not give me confidence in them, and indeed has been a disappointment to me, for I was under the impression that although taken straight from the King's service they had shown themselves well satisfied with the change. Is not this the case with the artillery? who bodily I think volunteered the other day for service in Persia, or elsewhere, at the pleasure of the Government.

* This account no doubt was contained in a letter written by Sir Henry Lawrence to Lord Canning, dated the 18th of April. A portion of the letter is printed in Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War," vol. I, page 577, and a portion in the "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, page 564. A thorough search has been made for the letter among the records of the period but it has not been found. It was probably a private or demi-official communication.

I think that you have done all that could be done in the matter of Rooknoodowla.* I trust to your keeping me informed of all that passes in regard to the sepoys; for we are very far from being out of the wood yet. The fate of the 34th ten times more deeply tainted than the 19th is not yet fixed; but their case will be closed in two or three days. As to the 19th, nothing could be more orderly, respectful, and submissive than their demeanor up to the last.† The only exception to this was in the case of some of the men from Oudh. Mr. Ward, the Deputy Commissioner, whom I had occasion to put upon the traces of some of the disbanded men, after they had left Chinsurah, told me that the Oudh men were inclined to be sulky and uncommunicative, sometimes insolent, whilst all the rest were quite the reverse.

As yet I have not succeeded in tracing the disaffection of any of the regiments, 2nd, 19th or 34th, to any political causes or instigations; indeed, the evidence is all in another direction and tends to show that with the mass of the men the cartridges and the alarm for caste and religion were at the bottom of it. But I am also satisfied that this is not the case with all, and that politics do not go for nothing in the matter. I shall be glad if you can learn whether amongst the men of either of the suspected regiments in Oudh, or amongst the disbanded men of the 19th who may return to Oudh, any difference of tone or behaviour is observable as between Hindus and Mussulmans. In the 34th there has been a marked distinction in the conduct of the two creeds. In the 19th none whatever.

As to Irregulars, I look to the time when Oudh shall be held entirely, or very nearly so, by its own local troops; and if you are disposed to recommend that the force should be increased, I shall receive the proposal very favorably. But I should like to reinforce it from outside, as as well as from within. How would Sikhs or Gurkhas do?

I entirely agree in all you say as to the error of stationing regulars and irregulars together. Pray act upon your views on that point. I dare say you are right too in the matter of the magazine, but I do not understand the matter quite clearly.

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* "Prince Rookun-ood-Dowlah, the son of Saad-ut-Ally, ruler of Oudh, an old nobleman held in much esteem here."—Siege of Lucknow by L. E. Rees, page 42.

† The 19th Regiment Native Infantry was disbanded on the 31st March 1857, and the 34th Regiment Native Infantry on the 6th of May 1857.—Selections from State papers preserved in the Military Department, Vol. I (Delhi), pages 99 and 226.

I know how thoroughly I may rely upon your considerate treatment of all Native interests. From what Mr. Jackson has told me* I was not surprised to see in your letter that some of the talookdars have been hardly dealt with—many—if Mr. Jackson's account was correct; and he did not acquit Mr. Gubbins of the blame, but, in some details which he gave me, fixed it on the Financial Commissioner. I am sure that it will be necessary for you to keep a close watch and a tight hand upon that officer. He has had, as against his late master, a triumph, which it would have been unjust and mischievous to withhold from him; but I have good reason to know that he is overmuch elevated by it.

I am not able to give you much hope of a revenue survey establishment at present. The province which beyond all other cries out for help in this way and has been refused it for a length of time, which is a heavy reproach to us, is Nagpore. Besides which, will not your officers in Oudh have their hands too full to take the part which they must take in a survey? There surely will be little gained by turning the survey establishment into the country until the local officers can co-operate with it. Your estimate of the value of a survey, as equal to two regiments, is very tempting, but you must convince me that you will be in a condition to make the most of it before the claim will appear a very strong one, and even then Nagpore stands in the way for preference.

I am very glad to hear that you are so well pleased with those whom you have about you; send me a really good case in support of assistance to Major Banks and it shall be given temporarily.

I see by your letter to Talbot that you have nine newspapers in Lucknow; are any of them agitating the cartridge question or any other matter that comes home to the sepoys, and in what sense, religious or political?

* "Mr. Coverley Jackson, a civilian from the North-West Provinces, an expert revenue officer, held in high esteem as a man of ability, but more than suspected of some infirmity of temper."—History of the Sepoy War by John William Kaye, vol. I, page 398. On the departure of General Outram on furlough, he was appointed to act as Chief Commissioner of Oudh. But the "sharp contentions" between him and Mr. Martin Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, led to the recall of Outram. Sir James Outram having volunteered his services for Persia, Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed to the Chief Commissionership. Regarding Mr. Gubbins, Sir Henry Lawrence wrote: "He has strong views about breaking up estates and destroying the aristocracy. To a certain extent I agree with him, where it can be done fairly. He also *professes* to advocate low assessments, but in some quarters he has enforced high ones. We have, however, sympathies in common, and he, Mr. Gubbins, was so tremendously mauled by Mr. Jackson, that he, even more than others, has hailed my coming."—Life of Sir Henry Lawrence by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale.

Telegram from the Private Secretary to the Governor-General, to the Quartermaster-General, Simla,—dated Calcutta, 2nd May 1857.

It may be necessary to move one of the Native Infantry regiments away from Oudh immediately. The Governor-General has authorised the Chief Commissioner to send it to Meerut. Let Sir Henry Lawrence be informed if any other station is preferred by the Commander-in-Chief.

From Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *Chief Commissioner for the Affairs of Oudh, to the Governor-General,—dated Lucknow, 2nd May 1857.*

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Lordship's letter of April 27th just received, and am glad to find that what I wrote of the 48th Regiment yesterday* quite meets your views. I fear to increase alarm and suspicion, and therefore do nothing not absolutely necessary. The officers of Her Majesty's 32nd now sleep near their lines as they ought always to have done. Two guns of a Native battery and thirty horsemen are also in their lines, so that they are a little army in themselves, and have the means of communicating with their neighbours.

I have no reason to doubt the fidelity of the artillery, though much has been done to disgust many of the Native officers, because they don't understand our mounted drill. All the European officers are very young men, and therefore look to mere smartness. Lieutenant Ashe, a mere boy, wants to invalid two jemadars, both of them fine soldierly-looking fellows who know their duty as gunners and are good riders, but don't understand English words of command. One of them is only a trifle above forty years of age, and neither of them wish to be invalided. I returned the roll and after a few days afterwards, being struck by the appearance of the men at mounted exercise, I told Mr. Ashe we should be lucky to have such men as Native officers in our regular batteries. His reply was, "I protest Sir Henry against being compared with a regular one," or words to that effect. Another day I saw the reserve company of artillery, a splendid set of fellows in appearance, at extension motions, that is, poking about their arms and feet as recruits have to do, though the majority are old soldiers and many were in our own ranks. Thus it is that pipe-clay and over-drill tends to disgust them. Two hours ago, Captain Carnegie came to tell me that there has been a strong demonstration against cartridges in the 7th

* A search has been made for the letter, but it cannot be discovered.

Oudh Irregulars this morning. I hope and expect the report he hears is exaggerated, but I tell it for his commentary. He also told of an intended meeting of traitors to-morrow night and asked whether he might put prisoners taken at such a meeting into jail, as the kotwali is not safe. He gave me, however, to understand that he considered the military police more unsafe than the Irregulars; the former are under their own old officers (single one to a regiment), while the Irregulars are under new and young men now. Captain Carnegie is an old interpreter and quartermaster of a Native corps and had no hint from me of my opinion; yet I am not sure that he is not right. The police have had more duty, but less pipe-clay and bother. The pay is the same.

I have had Rooknoodowla at my house and rather like his appearance, but his sons are not pleasant-looking fellows. These *people, however, can only by possibility* be dangerous in connection with our own troops. I have struck up a friendship with two of the best and wealthiest of the Chiefs and am on good terms with all. We ought therefore to have information of what occurs.

I hope that the 34th Native Infantry will be disbanded, and that Your Lordship will raise a mixed Gurkha and Hill Rajput Corps and Sikh one in lieu of the 34th and 19th; Gurkhas are not easily obtained, but seven years ago I got a thousand volunteers at Khatmandu in a week to supply one company of the Guides. I did it through the Resident, or rather by his permission, through the medical officer whom I asked to speak to Jung Bahadoor and remind him of our old acquaintance.

As far as I have yet ascertained, the bad feeling as yet is chiefly among the Hindu sepoys. Doubtless, it is their fear for caste that has been worked on. Major Banks tells me that three years ago when the education stir prevailed in Behar, a subadar of the Body-guard seriously consulted him as to the truth of the report that all servants of the State were to be Christians. Thus the oldest and best Hindus are easily moved, but if bad feeling extended to open mutiny, the Mahomedans would soon become the most energetic and virulent mutineers. I will, as Your Lordship directs, watch for difference of feeling between the two creeds. Whatever may be the danger from the Native press, I look on it that the papers published in our language are much the most dangerous. Disaffected Native editors need only translate as they do, with or without note or words of admiration or reclamation editorials from the *Friend of India* (on the

duty of annexing every Native State, on the imbecility, if not wickedness, of allowing a single jaghir, and of preaching the Gospel even by commanding officers) to raise alarm and hatred in the minds of all religionists and all connected with Native principalities and jaghirs; and, among the above, will be found the large majority of the dangerous classes. We measure too much by English rules, and expect, contrary to all experience, that the energetic and aspiring among immense military masses should like our dead level and our arrogation to ourselves (even where we are notorious imbeciles) of all authority and all emolument. These sentiments of mine freely expressed during the last fifteen years have done me injury, but I am not the less convinced of their soundness, and that until we treat Natives, and especially Native soldiers, as having much the same feelings, the same ambition, the same perception of ability and imbecility as ourselves, we shall never be safe. I do not advocate altogether disregarding seniority; but I do not wonder that Generals, Colonels, and Subadars should only, as a rule, be men past work who have never in their youth and energy been entrusted with power or responsibility. Also that we should expect the subadar and jemadar to be content with Rs. 67 and Rs. 24 a month, respectively, while in the Civil Department their fellows, ten and twenty years younger, enjoy Rs. 500, Rs. 600, and even Rs. 1,000; and while they themselves, if under a Native ruler, would be Generals, if not Rajahs or Nawabs. I have not seen original articles on the cartridge question; but almost every letter and article in the English papers regarding Barrackpore, Umballa, Meerut, Berhampore, and Dinapore have been translated. The original articles chiefly refer to local grievances and personalities. The politics of the editor are to be chiefly gathered from pithy exclamations, &c., heading an article, as "how good, wonderful, mutiny, &c.," "more fines," with plentiful supply of the word "mutiny," "disobedience," "disturbances." I would not trouble any of them, but, with Your Lordship's permission, I think we might squash half the number by helping one or two of the cleverest with information and even with editorials and illustrations. Dr. Ogilvie tells me that more than one of the English illustrated papers would, for a good purpose, sell cheap their half-worn plates; an illustrated vernacular paper cleverly edited would tell well and do good politically and morally. I will be glad of Your Lordship's sanction to a trial, not involving above Rs. 5,000, £500. Of course I would not appear, and I would use the present editors, at any rate try to do so,

I shall be quite willing to hold Oudh entirely with Irregulars aided by one or half regiment of Europeans and a couple of batteries of European artillery, but I should ask, as Your Lordship contemplates, that the corps be of three classes, one-third mixed as at present, one-third with the Pathan and other Mahomedan tribes prevailing, and a third of Sikhs; indeed, I should like to add a fourth of the Parsiah or local outcaste tribe, who are fine hardy fellows and get service in the Bombay Army. I should like to have a corps of regular cavalry, but I would not stand upon that, specially if Your Lordship will give a Corps of Guides for Oudh. The infantry of the Guide Corps, though only six companies, do, and have always done, the work of a full corps, and the three troops of cavalry have similarly done the duty of double their number; no one cognizant of the Punjab for the last eleven years will controvert my assertion. It was I who suggested raising the Guides in 1846, and induced Lord Dalhousie to treble them in 1849, and I am convinced that if Your Lordship will allow 50 or 100 men to be transferred as a nucleus from the old corps, that another, second to none in India, may be raised here by procuring recruits from all quarters. The one rupee increased pay, which after all is almost nominal as no marching batta is given, entices the hardiest soldiers into the ranks. Similarly, the Rs. 4 extra to sowars and proportionately to Native officers provides better horses and obtains the best class of sowars.

I hope the Oudh and Rajputana and Gwalior Irregulars will be put exactly on a footing with those of the Punjab. Your Lordship will then be able to move and mix all. The increased expenses will be more than covered by reducing the regular Native infantry from 1,000 to 800 sepoys, which in the opinion of their best officers will render them more efficient and safe.

Brigadier Gray expects, and seems to wish, to get a regular brigade by the end of the year. I hear of many men in the field to succeed him. The efficiency of the force will much depend on its brigadier. I beg to recommend to Your Lordship Major Coke of the Punjab Irregulars and Major (Lieutenant-Colonel I believe now) Anderson of the Jodhpore Legion. Both are excellent officers, and either would do credit to Your Lordship's selection.

P.S.—I need not say that if not otherwise provided for I would prefer Colonel Nicholson to either, but I hope he will get Bhurtpore.

I am sure Your Lordship will excuse the freedom with which I recommend these excellent officers.

From Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., *to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General,—dated Lucknow, 3rd May 1857 (4 P.M.)*

I am sorry that the report I mentioned in my letter of yesterday is too true. The 7th Oudh Infantry positively refuse to use the cartridge. I enclose a note of yesterday evening from the Brigadier, and I have now been for several hours investigating the circumstances of a letter sent from the 7th to the 48th saying they had acted for the faith and awaited the 48th's orders. It was taken to an old Subadar (by mistake I think) and the old gentleman with the Havildar-Major took it to the Commanding Officer. The messenger affected perfect ignorance at first, but I have extracted from him that he has known the 7th for years. He has given up the names of two of the men who gave the letter to him. I have sent to have them seized. I may probably feel obliged to take on myself the responsibility of disbanding the 7th; whatever is done shall be with caution.

It is so far well that the 48th have given up the letter, which is addressed to them all. Several of them have also to-day borne evidence against a Hindoo plate-cleaner of the hospital, who has been telling them lies. Colonel Palmer has great confidence in the 48th.

From Brigadier Gray, *to Sir* Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.

After Hayes* left me this evening with Lieutenant Watson's cursory report I set off to the lines of the 7th and saw the regiment paraded, and notwithstanding all that was said to the regiment I found them as obstinate as possible in regard to the cartridge which has been in use with the regiment for some time past. I hope on Monday next to send you Lieutenant Watson's report; and I think myself that this affair has been brewing for some time past.

I have only just returned or would have written sooner.

From George Couper, Esq., *Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Lucknow, 4th May 1857.*

I am directed to report, for the information of the Governor-General in Council, that on the 2nd instant the 7th Oudh Regiment,

* Captain F. F. C. Hayes, 62nd Native Infantry, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner and Assistant to the Agent, Governor-General, Oudh.

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stationed seven miles from the Lucknow Cantonments, refused to bite the cartridge when ordered by its own officers, and again by the Brigadier. It was ordered to parade on the 4th. On the 3rd several symptoms of disaffection appeared. At 4 P.M. the Brigadier reported it in a very mutinous state. Instantly a field battery, a wing of Her Majesty's 32nd, one of the 48th and 71st Native Infantry and of the 7th Cavalry, the 2nd Oudh Cavalry and 4th Oudh Infantry, marched against it. The regiment was found perfectly quiet; formed line from column at the order, and expressed contrition. But when the men saw guns drawn up against them, half their body broke and fled, throwing down their arms. The cavalry pursued and brought up some of them. The arms were collected and brought away, and the Regulars were withdrawn. The disarmed 7th were directed to return to their lines, and *recall the runaways.* They were informed by Sir Henry Lawrence that Government would be asked to disband the corps; but that those found guiltless might be re-enlisted. The corps had, before the arrival of the troops, given up two prisoners to Captain Boileau and Lieutenant Hardinge, and had offered to give up forty more. During the day a treasonable letter had been brought by a subadar of the 48th Native Infantry to the authorities from these two prisoners and others of the 7th, instigating the 48th to mutiny. All the corps displayed the best spirit, and in three hours the troops from three quarters were concentrated opposite the mutineers. During the night everything was perfectly quiet in the city, through part of which the troops marched. They returned at 1 A.M. on the 4th.

From Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India,—dated Lucknow, 4th May 1857.*

Referring to what has occurred with the 7th Oudh Irregulars and to the feeling that still prevails against the 48th, I will be glad if it can be managed that one of the Sikh regiments can be sent up here at once, or even a wing. It might be on the plea of taking the place of the 7th. The camp is stated to have had great effect in the city, but people go so far as to tell me that the 48th last night abused the 7th for running away, and said if they had stood, the 48th would not have fired. I don't believe one-quarter of these reports, but they are not pleasant. The intercepted letter of yesterday evidently fell into the wrong hands. It ended with "it is a question of religion."

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Telegram from Major Bouverie, *to Sir* Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.,—*dated Lucknow, 8th May 1857.*

Your letters of the 2nd and 3rd of May have been received.

Do not disband without referring to Calcutta.

Telegram from the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, to Major Bouverie,* *dated Lucknow, 12th May 1857.*

Fifty-seven men of the 7th Regiment, including two subadars and one jemadar, are prisoners. The Court of Inquiry is over; not much elicited. I will not disband.

MINUTE by the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 10th May 1857.

This despatch from the Chief Commissioner in Oudh reports the outbreak of a mutinous spirit in the 7th Regiment of the Oudh Irregular Infantry, and their refusal to use the cartridges furnished to them.

The regiment has been disarmed, and has been told that the authority of Government will be asked for its disbandment; but that those found guiltless should be re-enlisted.

Sir Henry Lawrence has acted with promptitude, and should be supported in the course which he has taken. His report of the first part of the transaction is meagre; but I have no doubt whatever that his measures of precaution and coercion, taken in concert with Brigadier Gray, were fully necessary; and I see no reason in the tardy contrition of the regiment for hesitating to confirm the punishment of all who are guilty. I would, therefore, support the Chief Commissioner at once. I think it better, however, that the disbandment, to whatever length it may be carried, should be real; and that the men whose innocence can be shown, and whose general character is irreproachable, or those by whom offenders have been denounced and mutinous designs disclosed, should be retained in the ranks, the others being dismissed absolutely and finally. There is a fiction in discharging soldiers one day to take them back the next, whatever may be their claims to mercy, which will greatly weaken the general effect of the measure as an example.

* Major P. A. P. Bouverie, 35th Native Infantry, Aid-de-Camp to the Governor-General.

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I propose that Sir Henry Lawrence should be instructed to this effect.

It appears that the revised instructions for the platoon exercise, by which the biting of the cartridge is dispensed with, had not come into operation at Lucknow when the event took place. Explanation of this should be asked.

(Sd.) CANNING.

MINUTE by Mr. Dorin, *dated 10th May 1857.*

I do not think disbandment is a sufficient punishment for a case of this sort. The regiment not only mutinied itself, but tried to induce others to mutiny.

The sooner this epidemic of mutiny is put a stop to the better. Mild measures won't do it. A severe example is wanted.

It is little or no punishment to a local on Rs. 5 monthly pay to be disbanded in his own country. In many instances it might rather be a convenience to him than otherwise.

I would try the whole of the men concerned for mutiny, and punish them with the utmost rigour of military law. I am convinced that timely severity will be leniency in the long run.

I do not understand how it happens that the names of Captain Boileau and Lieutenant Hardinge appear in this affair. They are not officers of the 7th. Is it to be inferred from this that the officers of the 7th have no influence on their own corps?

My theory is that no corps mutinies that is well commanded. If it should turn out that the officers of the 7th have been negligent in their duty, I would remand every one of them to their own regiments.

The biting of the cartridge can only have been an excuse for mutiny, since I presume it is certain that no new rifles or greased cartridges have been served out to this local corps.

(Sd.) J. DORIN.

MINUTE by Major-General Low, *dated 10th May 1857.*

The report from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Oudh, dated the 4th instant, does not describe, so distinctly as one could wish, all that actually occurred previous to the 3rd instant, and since. I can-

not say with much precision all that ought, in my opinion, to be done by orders of the Government, especially as it appears to me, that probably the main body of this regiment in refusing to bite the cartridges, did so refuse, not from any feeling of disloyalty or disaffection towards the Government or their officers, but from an unfeigned and sincere dread, owing to their belief in the late rumours about the construction of those cartridges, that the act of biting them would involve a serious injury to their caste and to their future respectability of character. In short, that if they were to bite these cartridges they would be guilty of a heinous sin in a religious point of view.

I have no hesitation, however, in stating, that I concur generally in the plan of proceeding laid down in the Governor-General's Minute of yesterday on this subject, and I have only to add, that I would select a few of the most guilty, especially those who originally instigated their comrades to refuse to obey orders, to be tried by Courts-Martial for Mutiny, and I would disband the main body of the regiment, on the plan of not re-admitting into the service any man who had once been disbanded.

(Sd.) J. LOW.

P. S.—I beg to add my opinion, that if it should come to light that want of zeal, or want of good judgment, or shortcomings of any kind have been evinced by European officers on this occasion, they ought to be promptly punished to the fullest extent that is admissible in such cases by the rules or by the usages of the service.

MINUTE by Mr. GRANT, *dated 11th May 1857.*

I agree in all the general views expressed in the Minutes above recorded; but I confess that the information contained in Mr. Couper's letter of the 4th instant, which contains all I know with certainty of the affair reported, is not, in my judgment, sufficiently full, or sufficiently precise and specific, to enable Government to come to a satisfactory decision as to the measures which ought to be taken in this case.

2. In particular, I so far agree with my honourable colleague Mr. Dorin that I think it very probable, that for some of the men concerned, only some few I hope, disbandment is not a sufficient punishment for a case of this sort, and I apprehend that any men whom it is desirable to try by military law, in order to the infliction upon them of some positive and severe punishment, ought not to be disbanded meanwhile.

But the information before us does not warrant any final order to this effect, for excepting the two prisoners who carried what is called a treasonable, but what I presume to have been at most a mutinous, letter to the 48th Regiment, it does not enable us to indicate any men as fit subjects for especial example.

3. Also I agree with my honourable colleague General Low in thinking it probable, that the main body of these men may have refused to bite cartridges, not from any feeling of disaffection, but from an unfeigned dread of losing caste, engendered by the stories regarding cartridges, which have been running like wildfire through the country lately. Sepoys are, in many respects, very much like children, and acts, which on the part of European soldiers would be proof of the blackest disloyalty, may have a very different significance, when done by these *credulous and inconsiderate*, but generally not ill-disposed beings. These men, taken from the late Oudh Army, can have learned as yet little of the vigour of British discipline; and although there can be no doubt that the cartridges which they refused to bite were not the new cartridges for the Enfield musket which, by reason of the very culpable conduct of the Ordnance Department, have caused all this excitement; yet it may be presumed, that they were the first cartridges that these men were ever required to bite in their lives. Also there is no saying what extreme mismanagement there may have been on the part of the Commandant and Officers in the origin of the affair; the mere fact of making cartridge-biting a point, after it had been purposely dropped from the authorized system of drill, merely for rifle practice, is a presumption for any imaginable degree of perverse management.

4. But amidst these opposite considerations, I find, in the single report before me, nothing to guide our judgment, towards a just and politic leniency on the one hand, or a just and necessary severity on the other.

5. I can hardly think that Sir Henry Lawrence does not intend to send up a full report of the affair, with the usual reports of the Commandant and Brigadier, on a matter so distinctly in their own province, as mutiny in the regiment of the one, and in the brigade of the other officer. The professional reports, we may fairly expect, will contain full information, or at least very much fuller explanation, than is conveyed in the few lines submitted through Mr. Couper. I can hardly think that Sir Henry Lawrence intended the Governor-General in Council to pass a final order on so serious a question as the disbandment of a

regiment, on the mere heads of intelligence before us. And I observe that he does not make any actual recommendation in this letter; he only states that he told the men what recommendation he intended to make.

6. We are told that on the 2nd instant the regiment refused to bite the cartridge, when ordered by its own officers, and again by the Brigadier. But we do not know how this refusal was manifested. Was it that every man when on drill individually refused? or was it that the whole regiment, when on parade, refused to obey the word of command? or was it, that, notwithstanding the orders of the Commandant and Brigadier, the determination of the whole regiment to refuse was declared through Native officers or others? or in what one of an infinite number of conceivable ways was the refusal manifested? What had passed previously on the subject, and what were the attendant circumstances of the refusal?

7. We are told that on the 3rd several symptoms of disaffection appeared. What were these symptoms? Did they appear in such a manner as to implicate the whole regiment, or a portion only, or certain individual men only? and if they did not implicate the whole, what portion, or how many individual men did they implicate? This is an all-important point; for it may make the whole difference between actual dread arising from credulous folly (such as General Low alludes to) which ought to have been, but was not, corrected by sensible and kindly explanations), and real heartfelt disloyalty.

8. Lastly, we are told that the regiment was reported by the Brigadier to be in a very mutinous state on the 4th instant; neither this, nor any other report on the subject is sent up. What was it exactly that the report thus alluded to was founded upon? The next thing we learn is that on that same day, at 4 o'clock in the evening, the regiment was found perfectly quiet, formed line from column at the order, and expressed contrition.

9. I do not understand whether the fact of half the regiment breaking and throwing down their arms afterwards in a panic caused by seeing the artillery forms a part of the Chief Commissioner's grounds for disarming the regiment or not, for the letter of his Secretary is a mere summary of facts, and gives no reason for anything. It is desirable to know whether weight is attached to this fact or not, and whether the panic was attributable to any movement accidental or otherwise, threatening, or seeming to threaten, the immediate opening of fire.

10. In this unsatisfactory state of our information, the question in my mind arises, is there any important object to gain passing on the instant an order to disband the regiment, which, as I understand it, will preclude Government from doing anything more or anything less, even should the receipt of complete information hereafter prove that more or less was required; under all the circumstances, I doubt that there is any such object.

In each of the cases of 19th and 34th Native Infantry, in which the Governor-General himself initiated directly the measures taken, a Court of Inquiry sat and reported, and all the facts were carefully ascertained and considered, before any decisive step was taken. This calm, just, considerate, and dignified course, neither too hasty nor too dilatory, appears to me to have had the best effects and to have been *generally* approved by sensible men. It is a question, and a fair question, whether in the case of the 34th, the Jemadar should have been the only man selected for condign punishment by Court-Martial, and it is indeed my own opinion, that if the regiment had not been commanded by an incapable man, other chief criminals in that bad corps would not have escaped positive punishment. But the time occupied in inquiry facilitated any selection of the greatest criminals, whose guilt was proveable that it might have been desired to make. I am strongly inclined to recommend that the same course, as far as possible, be taken in the case of the 7th Oudh Regiment.

11. The only distinction in this case is that the Chief Commissioner took the initiative, and has summarily disarmed the regiment. It was, I doubt not, quite right to do so, but that this has been done, seems to me to make it all the less necessary for Government to pass any final order such as that of disbanding the regiment before it is in possession of complete information. The prompt stroke of the Chief Commissioner seems to me to have done all the good that immediate action can do, and to have left ample time for full investigation. I think the dismissal of the bad men, with the trial by Court-Martial of a few of the worst men a month hence, likely to have a better effect than a more general disbanding now.

12. I express an opinion on this subject with diffidence; but my inclination is to support Sir H. Lawrence by full approval of what he has done, to tell him that Government awaits his recommendation regarding the regiment, and the reports of the military authorities upon the affair; and to instruct him, if he has not anticipated the

order, to appoint a Military Court of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the whole subject, including the conduct of the European officers of the regiment before and during the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of May.

(Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

MINUTE by Mr. PEACOCK, *dated 11th May 1857.*

I have no doubt that eventually it will be necessary to dismiss from the service the greater portion of the Native officers and soldiers of this regiment. I can scarcely think it possible that under any circumstances a regiment, which has been marched against by other troops and disarmed for mutinous conduct, can be retained in the service of Government. I agree in thinking that such of the Native officers and soldiers as are dismissed should be dismissed finally, and that none should be dismissed upon condition, that if found guiltless, they shall be re-enlisted. The ringleaders, and some of those who have taken the most active part in the mutiny, should be tried and punished. I do not understand that it is proposed to dismiss the ringleaders without punishment. I am inclined to think that it will be better to obtain a further and more complete report before passing final orders. Indeed, as Sir H. Lawrence does not ask for the sanction of Government to the disbandment of the regiment, I expect he intends to send a further report.

Mr. Couper's letter was written on the 4th, the day on which the troops returned to Lucknow, after the disarming of the 7th Regiment on the evening of the 3rd. It seems to have been written merely for information, and not for orders. Perhaps it may be advisable to ask Sir H. Lawrence, by electric telegraph, whether he intends to send a further report and whether any inquiry has been ordered.

(Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

MINUTE by the Governor-General concurred in by the Members of Council, dated 12th May 1857.

I am averse to multiplying Minutes; but having read those which have been recorded on the subject by my honourable colleagues, I desire to say that it was not the intention of my Minute of the 9th instant that the answer to be given to Sir H. Lawrence should be a final order, or even a sanction of immediate disbandment.

Sir H. Lawrence had told the men that he would ask Government to disband them. I think that he was right; but I think that having thus announced his reference to Government, the sooner that it could be made known to himself, and to the regiment, and to the troops in general, that he had the support of Government, the better. And although his report was meagre, it was not so incomplete as to make it necessary to delay the assurance of that support.

But Sir H. Lawrence had also proposed, before the regiment, to take a course which, if carried out, would have diminished the effect of disbandment generally as a warning, making it in some instances a mere form, and would have worn the appearance of haste and inconsiderateness on the part of the Government. This single error of Sir H. Lawrence I proposed to correct at once.

I did not conceive that inquiry according to daily usage would be omitted, or that all graver punishments would be swallowed up in disbandment, or that we should not have fuller reports from Sir H. Lawrence.

I also wish to say that it is my conviction that the measures which have been taken in dealing with the mutineers have not been too mild. I have no doubt that many rank offenders have not had their deserts; but I know no instance in which the punishment of any individual could, with unquestionable justice, have been made more severe: and I am not disposed to distrust the efficacy of the measures, because the present ferment in running its course over the land after being checked in the Presidency, has shown itself in Oudh and in the North-West.

I would meet it everywhere with the same deliberately measured punishments, picking out the leaders and prominent offenders, wherever this is possible, for the severest penalties of military law; visiting the common herd with disbandment, but carefully exempting those whose fidelity, innocence, or perhaps timely repentance is proved.

This has been the course hitherto pursued, and I earnestly recommend that it be adhered to steadily.

(Sd.) CANNING.

My only wish is to punish prominent offenders with severity, and there would seem to be more in the present case than has yet transpired. It is to be hoped that the news from Meerut (in the telegraph message from Agra, in this box) is not true.

12th May 1857. (Sd.) J. DORIN.

I concur in the views recorded by the Governor-General in the above Minute of this date.

12th May 1857. (Sd.) J. LOW.

Any hesitation I felt is entirely removed by finding that it is not intended that the order now to issue is to be in the nature of a final order. I am sorry that I misapprehended the question: but Sir H. Lawrence's omission to promise a further report, and to mention that inquiry was in progress—unusual omission on such occasions—helped to mislead me. I most entirely agree as to the necessity of correcting the impression that the disbanding or dismissal, when it takes place, will be fictitious in the case of any man to whom it applies.

13th May 1857. (Sd.) J. P. GRANT.

I concur.

13th May 1857. (Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh,—dated Fort William, 13th May 1857.*

With reference to your Secretary's letter of the 4th instant, to the address of the Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, I am desired to inform you that the Governor-General in Council approves of the prompt measures you adopted in regard to the 7th Regiment of Oudh Infantry.

2. The Governor-General in Council is of opinion, however, that the disbandment, to whatever length it may be carried, should be real, and that the men whose innocence can be shown, and whose general character is irreproachable, or those by whom offenders have been denounced, and mutinous designs disclosed, should be retained in the ranks, the others being dismissed absolutely and finally; as, in the opinion of his Lordship in Council, there is a fiction in discharging soldiers one day to take them back the next, whatever may be their claims to mercy, which would greatly weaken the general effect of the measure of disbandment as an example.

3. The length to which it may be found expedient to carry such a measure, together with the nature of any further punishment in individual cases proved necessary, can be taken into consideration only when Government is in possession of the full inquiry, which it is presumed has been instituted into the circumstances attendant upon the occurrences of the 4th instant.

4. The Governor-General in Council feels it necessary that he should fully understand how the refusal on the 2nd instant to bite the

cartridges was manifested; what had passed previously on the subject, and what were the circumstances which led to the refusal; how the symptoms of disaffection, said to have been shown on the 3rd instant, appeared; whether in such a manner as to implicate the whole regiment or a portion only; and if the latter, how many individuals.

5. Again, it is stated that on the 4th* instant the regiment was reported to the Brigadier to be in a state of mutiny. It does not appear upon what circumstances this report was founded, for on the same evening the regiment was found perfectly quiet, obeyed the orders given to form line, and expressed contrition; explanation on this point is required.

6. The Governor-General in Council desires also to be informed whether subsequently the circumstance of the regiment breaking and throwing down its arms formed a part of your grounds for disarming it, and whether the panic was attributable to any movement accidental or otherwise, threatening, or seeming to threaten, the opening of fire.

7. Should the inquiry which your telegram to Major Bouverie of the 12th instant states to have been already made not fully embrace all these points, I am desired to request that a further investigation may be made into the subject, including the conduct of the European officers of the regiment prior to and during the occurrences in question.

8. A book containing the practice with rifles, recently printed by order of Government, is understood to have been despatched to the regiments of Oudh Local Infantry, on or about the 14th ultimo. In that book it is directed that the cartridge shall be torn open, and no allusion is made to the old practice of biting it. The Governor-General in Council wishes to know when that book was received by the corps at Lucknow.

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence, k.c.b., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 16th May 1857.*

All is quiet here, but affairs are critical; get every European you can from China, Ceylon, and elsewhere; also all the Gurkhas from the hills; time is everything.

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence, k.c.b., *to* G. F. Edmonstone,† Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 16th May 1857.*

All is well here. Give me plenary military power in Oudh; I will not use it unnecessarily. I am sending two troops of cavalry to

* 3rd instant.

† G. F. Edmondstone, Esq., c.s., Secretary, Foreign Department.

Allahabad. Send a company of Europeans into the fort there: it will be good to raise regiments of irregular horse under good officers.

Telegram from G. F. Edmonstone, Esq., *to Sir* Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 16th May 1857.*

You have full military powers. The Governor-General will support you in everything you think necessary.

It is impossible to send an European company to Allahabad. Dinapore must not be weakened by a single man.

If you can raise any irregulars that you can trust, do so at once. Have you any good officers to spare for the duty?

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 17th May 1857.*

You are quite right to keep Allahabad quite safe. We shall do without Sikhs or Gurkhas; all well. We have concentrated the troops as much as possible so as to protect the treasury and magazine, and keep up a communication. Generally a good spirit. A false alarm last night.

Telegram from Sir H. Lawrence, *to Major* Bouverie,—*dated Lucknow, 17th May 1857.*

The case being emergent, I have disposed of the 7th Regiment by dismissing about fifteen sepoys, and the Native officers with one or two exceptions, and promoting half-a-dozen men; all others are forgiven. Their Commanding Officer has returned from the Hills, and says he implicitly trusts them. Two hundred only will be armed until orders are received. All quiet here; but we are preparing. If Sikhs are wanted at Allahabad, keep two companies or the wing there. The Fort ought to be made quite safe. Could not two companies of the 10th Foot be pushed up to the Fort? Even three companies of Sikhs will be useful here. Keep Benares safe.

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Lucknow, 18th May 1857.*

As there is difficulty, do not send the Sikhs to Lucknow.

Telegram from Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., *to* G. F. Edmonstone, Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 19th May 1857.*

All very well in city, cantonments, and country.

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GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 19th May 1857.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to make the following appointment:—

Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., of the Regiment of Artillery, Honorary Aid-de-Camp to the Queen, Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in Oudh, to be a Brigadier-General with effect from the 16th instant.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 19th May 1857.*

You are gazetted a Brigadier-General. This will give you the fullest military powers. An order just issued will give you large powers of rewarding merit.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to* G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 20th May* 1857 (8-40 A.M.)

All very well at Lucknow and in the districts; our position now is very strong. In case of necessity no fears are entertained.

From Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to Major-General Sir* HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Lucknow, 20th May 1857.*

I have been so much engaged that I have been unable sooner to answer your kind and interesting letter. I entirely agree in your sentiments. You are a tower of strength to us at this juncture. We are all right now. We had eight posts; as Sir C. Napier would say, we were like chips in porridge. We have given up four posts and greatly strengthened three. In the centre of the three we have a post of 400 men with about twenty guns, including 18-pounders. The post is in three platoons. In the upper are 100 Europeans and as many sepoys. In No. 2 is the mass of our powder, quite under No. 1 command. The 18-pounders command both bridges leading to cantonments. One hundred and thirty Europeans and six guns and 200 sepoys are at the treasury; the sepoys, as usual, guard the treasury tent; the guns are in and about the Residency above but not threatening them. The old magazine, which was guarded by thirty men, had in it all the train, spare wagons, and ammunition, six field guns and numberless old Oudh guns and mountain guns, bomb-works, &c. The latter were yesterday spiked and

the trunnions knocked off, and all the former have been removed or destroyed. It is now guarded by 300 men of several regiments, and 48 hours hence the old magazine will have little in it to invite attack. Six guns and two squadrons of the 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry are at the dâk bungalow, half-way to cantonments, and in cantonments we have about 340, Her Majesty's 32nd, close to twelve guns, six of European battery and six of the Oudh Light Field Battery. Yesterday a false alarm of the 71st Native Infantry arming, quite false. In the evening I rode through the Native infantry lines and was everywhere very well received, especially by the 48th, with many of whom I have struck up a dostee. Kindly send copy of this letter to the Governor-General, and the Lieutenant-Governor and my brother, John.

Copy forwarded to the Right Hon'ble Viscount Canning, Governor-General of India, with Major-General Wheeler's respectful compliments. Dated Cawnpore, 22nd May 1857.

Telegram from G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq., *to Sir* HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 21st May 1857.*

Keep your eye steadily on Rajah Maun Singh. Particulars by post to-day.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to* G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 21st May 1857.*

I have assumed military command. All quiet, but several reports of intended attack on us. Fifty Europeans sent this morning in dâk carriages and two squadrons of Irregular Cavalry to Cawnpore; will arrive to-night.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Financial Secretary,**—*dated Lucknow, 22nd May 1857* (*8* A.M.)

All perfectly quiet here. A fire in cantonment last night; speedily extinguished.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 23rd May 1857* (*2* P.M.)

Our magazine stores are nearly all moved into the Machee Bawun, where ten days' supplies for 500 men are stored. Thirty guns and 100 Europeans are in position there. I am with 290 Europeans and the European battery in cantonments. We are safe, except external influences.

* C. H. Lushington, Esq., C.S.

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Cawnpore to be reinforced with all speed. Delhi ought similarly to be recovered. When may Her Majesty's 84th be expected at Cawnpore?

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.,*—dated Calcutta, 24th May 1857* (*3* P.M.)

It is impossible to place a wing of Europeans at Cawnpore in less time than 25 days.

The Government dâk and the dâk companies are fully engaged in carrying a company of the 84th to Benares at the rate of eighteen men a day.

A wing of the Madras Fusiliers arrived yesterday and starts to-day; part by bullock train, part by steamer. The bullock train can take 100 men a day, at the rate of thirty miles a day.

The entire regiment of the Fusiliers, about 900 strong, cannot be collected at Benares in less than nineteen or twenty days. One hundred and fifty men, who go by steam, will scarcely be there so soon.

I expect that from this time forward troops will be pushed upwards at the rate of 100 men a day from Calcutta, each batch taking ten days to reach Benares. From Benares they will be distributed as most required. The regiments from Pegu, Bombay, and Ceylon will be sent up in this way. Every bullock and horse that is to be had, except just enough to carry the post, is retained; and no troops will be sent by steam which can be sent more quickly by other means.

This is the best I can do for you. I look anxiously for the recovery of Delhi. I fear the Commander-in-Chief's force cannot be there before Tuesday.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 24th May 1857* (*10* A.M.)

All here perfectly quiet and well.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 24th May 1857* (*2* P.M.)

All is quiet throughout this province, and defensive arrangements are completed at Lucknow.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 25th May 1857* (*7-3* A.M.)

All are yet perfectly quiet here, but all depends on the troops at Cawnpore. Send up there all the European troops you can.

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Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 25th May 1857 (3-2* P.M.)

The Eed prayers are concluded, and everything is perfectly quiet here.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 26th May 1857.*

You are requested to send to my address, by dâk, as early as practicable, official reports of the proceedings that have taken place at the several stations since the commencement of the outbreak.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 26th May 1857 (4-20* P.M.)

The Eed has passed quietly. Everything tranquil here.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 26th May 1857 (8* P.M.)

I strongly advise that as many ekka dâks be laid as possible, from Raneegunge to Cawnpore, to bring up European troops. Spare no expense.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 27th May 1857 (12 noon.)*

All well at Lucknow.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 28th May 1857 (3* P. M.)

All's well.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to* G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 29th May 1857 (3-4* P.M.)

All quiet, but great uneasiness at Lucknow; disturbances threatened outside. A tahsildar killed in settling a quarrel. Tranquillity cannot be much longer maintained, unless Delhi be speedily captured.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 31st May 1857.*

An *emeute* at 9 P.M. Several bungalows burnt, and two or three officers killed and as many wounded; Brigadier Handscomb among the former. No other loss incurred. Quiet in the city. I am in cantonments. It is difficult to say who are loyal, but it is believed the majority are. Only 25 of the 7th Cavalry proved false. The effects of this *emeute* may be bad.

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Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 31st May 1857* (2 P.M.)

Most of the houses in the cantonments have been burnt at the outbreak. The mutineers, consisting of half of the 48th Native Infantry, about half of the 71st, some few of the 13th, and two troops of the 7th Cavalry have fled towards Sitapur. We followed them seven miles with four guns and two companies of Her Majesty's 32nd and 300 horse. The latter evinced no zeal, and we could only get within round-shot distance of the mutineers. We took thirty prisoners. I write in great haste after return.

All quiet. My anxieties are for Cawnpore and the districts.*

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 1st June 1857* (3 P.M.)

Much excitement all day in the city. Yesterday an insurrection threatened. In the evening some skirmishes with police, which under Captain Carnegie behaved admirably and beat off the rioters. The city guards were strengthened with 100 Europeans and four guns. Colonel Inglis and I slept in the town. Night quiet at all points. The faithful remnants of three infantry regiments, and 7th Cavalry, about 700 men, encamped yesterday afternoon close to the detachment of 200 of Her Majesty's 32nd and four European guns. We are in much better position at Lucknow, but I fear the effects of the *emeute* in the districts. A treasure party came in safe this morning. It was in danger, but 100 horse sent out yesterday evening saved it. It is now 12 A.M. All just returned from visiting post. All here looks brighter.†

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 2nd June 1857* (5-10 P.M.)

Do not send up the 70th Regiment, Native Infantry; their promises are scarcely to be trusted. With European troops they may be made useful in Calcutta. Up the country they will be led into the vortex.

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* The copy of the telegram found among Sir Henry Lawrence's papers has the following:—"All quiet. My anxieties are for Cawnpore and the districts. Mr. Gubbins went out with a few sowars and (headed?) the rebels, 9-30 A.M."—*See* "The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 103.

† The copy of the telegram found among Sir Henry Lawrence's papers has the following:—"I have no doubt we can hold for a month at Lucknow, but I much fear the outposts."

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to* G. F. EDMONSTONE, Esq.,—*dated Lucknow, 2nd June 1857 (12-45* P.M.)

I have anticipated the order to increase Hardinge's Cavalry; thanks for the sanction. We gave timely notice to Mr. Chester that the first flight was towards Sitapur, on which Colonel Birch very judiciously moved out with four companies to meet them; but they have turned towards the Ganges, and do not appear to have rallied. The districts are still quiet, except at one point, Multeabad, twenty miles north-west of Lucknow; but it is expected that they will quiet when they hear that eight men have been hanged, and that more are about to suffer.

Telegram from Sir HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 4th June 1857 (4-40* P.M.)

All quiet here, but a rising has taken place at Sitapur,* and the Europeans are flying into Lucknow. An escort and carriages have been sent to meet them. Fifty of the 84th arrived this morning. All the mutineers seem bound for Delhi; and unless guns are brought against us, we can hold our own against all comers for a month, after which we may be in want of supplies. Dâk communication from Agra cut off, and we are hourly expecting that the telegraph wire will be cut at Cawnpore.†

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 20th June 1857.*

A note, as follows, has just been brought to the chief military and civil authorities:—

Lucknow, 15th June 1857.—Yesterday intelligence received that the regiments from Seetapore and Shahjehanpore were marching on Lucknow from the north, and were at Beree, 35 miles off, on that day.

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* *At Sitapur.*—"At that station were quartered the 41st Regiment of Native Infantry, the 9th and 10th Regiments of Oudh Irregular Infantry, and the 2nd Regiment of Military Police. The troops rose on the 3rd of June."—"The Mutinies in Oudh," by Martin Richard Gubbins, page 121.

† A copy of the telegram among Sir Henry Lawrence's papers gives the following conclusion which Lord Canning for obvious reasons did not at the time care to disclose:—

"Dated Lucknow, 4th June 1857,—If anything happens to me, during present disturbances, I earnestly recommend that Major Banks succeed me as Chief Commissioner and Colonel Inglis in command of the troops, until better times arrive. This is no time for punctilio —as regards seniority. They are the right men, in fact the only men for the places. My Secretary entirely concurs with me in the above points. Reply at once."

On the east the regiments from Sarora and Baraitch, with cavalry and guns, were at Ramnaghur, 38 miles distant, yesterday; while from the south the regiments from Fyzabad, Benares and Jaunpore, with guns and cavalry, were at Hyderghur, 32 miles distant. Each force will be a march nearer to capital to-day, and as the rebels appear to be acting in concert, an attack may be expected on the 18th or 19th June. We also hear that the regiments at Cawnpore are being reinforced, and that in the event of their overcoming General Wheeler's little band, they will also march on Lucknow. We are daily strengthening our position, and are anxiously waiting for news. All communication has been cut off since the 6th instant. All the outposts are fallen. You are requested to send a copy of this letter to Calcutta.

(Sd.) A. COOPER,
Secretary.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Major-General LLOYD, *Dinapore* (viâ *Patna*),—*dated Calcutta, 21st June 1857*, (*11-30* P.M.)

Send a message to Major Ramsay immediately, and desire him to procure from the Nepaul Durbar the services of a Gurkha force for the relief of Lucknow, and to hasten its march to Lucknow. Two or three thousand men should be sent. A European column is being formed at Allahabad.

Telegram from H. TUCKER, Esq., *Benares, to Lord* CANNING, *Calcutta,—dated Benares, 24th June 1857*, (*5* P.M.)

I have just received the following note from Sir Henry Lawrence, dated June 16th:—To-day we received a letter from General Wheeler, who bravely holds out. He asks us for two hundred Europeans. I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force, could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour him, but no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpore, for no help can we afford; our own positions are daily strengthening, and our supplies increasing, but all the outposts are gone, and the rebels and mutineers are said to be closing in on us, though as yet all is quiet at Lucknow; elsewhere throughout the province all is anarchy. The talookdars re-occupied the villages of which the summary settlement dispossessed them and all now assert their own rights.

P. S.—I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill at Allahabad, to urge him to relieve Cawnpore if any way possible.

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Six regiments and a battery from the Fyzabad side, and two regiments and a battery from beyond the Gogra also threaten us. I have no fear if we are true to ourselves and go at the first force which approaches. We have plenty of elephants to carry the Europeans, and the fellows fear us immensely; but if, as I fear, we may be hemmed in, though I do not fear the result, yet we must needs undergo the misery and sorrow of a siege.

MARTIN GUBBINS."

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 30th June 1857,* (*4-20* P.M.)

Letter from Sir Henry Lawrence of 24th. All well in cantonment and city, but he is threatened from several sides by the mutineers. Had no news for twenty days from any quarter, and anxiously looking for some. Had sent six or eight letters here previously. Asks for full details of all relating to the army in this and other places, also the number of troops here, and what movements in Cawnpore, where five or six hundred men are urgently required. Have sent him back every information by the same messenger. The Cawnpore column is now starting; it was delayed on account of want of lascars and bearers. Have received now the former, and will do without the latter. Here Havelock has arrived. Will have equipment for two European regiments by the 4th, if the lascars don't again fail, but Commissariat is sanguine. All well, and work progressing.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Wednesday, 1st July 1857,* (*2-40* P.M.)

Letter received from Lawrence, 30th June, dated 27th June. News from Raikes up to the 22nd June. He was entrenched and safe at Mynpoorie. Had heard from Lieutenant-Governor that the city of Delhi fell on the 13th. Rebels took refuge in the palace, which was expected to fall into our hands on the 18th. More troops had joined our army in the interval. Etawah and Futtehghur safe in our hands. Telegraph open from Mynpoorie *viâ* Agra to Bombay. Wheeler wrote on the 24th that he could hold out for eight or ten days. The attack on him confined to a cannonade from the mortars, two heavy guns and some field pieces. Rebel force muster 3,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. Wheeler in good heart, though hard pressed. He has sent off five separate communications to Allahabad; one received. Lawrence holds the Residency, Muchee Bhowan and cantonments. Is strong in the two first positions.

The rebels holding all the boats on the Cawnpore side of the river, preventing him succouring Wheeler, as he dare not absent himself and detachment more than 24 hours, being threatened on all sides by the mutineers. Lucknow is the only place where British authority is paramount. An additional force of one European regiment and 100 artillerymen would enable him to re-establish British supremacy in Oudh. Until aid arrives he can hold his own. Health good. Cholera greatly decreased. Supplies for two-and-half months. Survivors in Oudh—Sir M. Jackson, two sisters, Mrs. Dorin, Captains Hearsey and Orr, Lieutenant Burn. Most of the Seetapore people killed; ditto Colonel Birch, the Christians, Gowans and Snells. Casualties at Cawnpore—Messrs. Halliday, Reynolds, Poole, Smith, Redman, Supple, Eckford, Dempster, Jervis, Chalwin, Hallisden, Jack, and many others. Brigadier Jack, Colonel Williams, *Major Prout, Sir G. Parker,* Lieutenant Quin senior, Major Lindsay, and *Lieutenant Cox* killed; many [illegible]dies died from heat, fatigue, &c.

From Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Friday, 10th July 1857,* (1-30 [illegible])

This just come in to Officer Commandi[illegible] there. Lucknow, 30th June, from Sir H. Lawrence. Went out this [illegible] eight miles to meet the enemy, and were defeated through misconduct, chiefly of artillery and cavalry, many of whom deserted. Enemy followed us up, and we have been besieged for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. Looks upon his position now as ten times as bad as it was yesterday. It is very critical. We shall be obliged to concentrate, if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies and blow up much powder. Unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground. We lost three officers killed this morning and several wounded—Colonel Case, Captain Stephen, Mr. Brackenbury. I have sent on the original letter by express to General Havelock, who is getting on well.* We are getting in no end of supplies and carriage. The artillerymen† must be hurried on from Benares.

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* General Havelock has been urged on since this.

(Sd.) CANNING.

† Remarks by the Governor-General—

Half the Benares battery will move on to Allahabad as soon as the battery now on its way arrives at Benares, and the other half will follow as soon as the latter battery (which has no draughts) is supplied with bullocks. There is no use in pushing on the Benares artillerymen sooner than this, because not a single European can be spared from the infantry at Allahabad to march forward with the guns.

(Sd.) CANNING, 11-7-57.

Telegram from H. Tucker, Esq., *to Lord* Canning, *Calcutta,—dated Benares, Saturday, 11th July 1857,* (*6-15* p.m.)

A man belonging to the Commissariat Office in Lucknow deposed that on the 29th June it was rumoured that seven thousand or eight thousand insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Kookral Canal. Sir Henry went out to meet them with two companies of Her Majesty's 32nd, eleven guns, and sixty sowars. After a severe contest of two hours and a loss of sixty men, he was forced to retreat. The sowars were panic-struck and fled. At Allygunge, about two miles from the Kookral Canal, the enemy attacked and captured six guns. Sir Henry is said to have been wounded there. The British fought their way to the entrenchments, the enemy following closely. The insurgents entered the city and began plundering. On July 2nd the rebels, headed by the city fanatics, attacked the Muchee Bhowan, but a mine was sprung, which blew them up. The one hundred and fifty Europeans in the Muchee Bhowan then quitted and collected in the Residency. Witness left Lucknow on the 3rd July and on the road met a great many sepoys and zemindars going against Lucknow. I hear a Moulvie going up from Fyzabad commanding the insurgents. Almost all the ammunition had been brought into the Residency, where there was food for one thousand men for six months. Rajah Maun Singh was said to be quiet. There is every reason to believe the truth of this deposition taken by Mr. F. Gubbins.

Telegram from Brigadier-General Neill, *to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Monday, 13th July 1857,* (*9-50* p.m.)

Letter just received from Lucknow from Banks, Chief Commissioner, dated the 8th instant. They had been besieged daily since the 30th ultimo, and are losing ten and eleven killed daily. They had food for a month, but look for relief anxiously. States that not less than two or three thousand, with twelve guns, should be sent, and should be there by the 3rd proximo. Troops not to be sent into the city by the Cawnpore road, but leave it four miles off and skirt round the Beehasue direction, crossing the Goomtee river. Had tried to send a copy of this to Agra, and strongly urge that the Gurkhas should not be sent alone. Letter from the same place to Edmonstone from Gubbins will be sent by to-morrow's dâk. Information about Gurkhas will be sent to Benares; also copy of this to General Havelock. Letter for Edmonstone from

Gubbins, which I opened, remonstrates wholly and entirely against his supersession by Major Banks on the death, as he reports, of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was wounded on the 2nd and died on the 4th. I still beg to urge General Havelock's advance. Gurkhas ordered by me through the Benares authorities to march on, leading detachment and advance slowly until orders from Government are received. I have good cossids here; sent off one to-day and one day before yesterday to Lucknow. Will send off another to-morrow morning early, all giving latest news.

Telegram from H. TUCKER, Esq., *to Lord* CANNING, *Calcutta,—dated Benares, Tuesday, 14th July 1857,* (*7-20* A.M.)

A cossid from this returned yesterday afternoon from Lucknow, which he left on Sunday the 5th; a P.M. [illegible] cannonade on both sides was then going on. Major Erskine writes on the 11th from Jubbulpore: all the Indore officers are safe at Sehore; Holkar did attack and take the Residency, but all the officers and ladies got away. I have letters from Shakespeare and Richards. Holkar moved towards Mhow, but the Native report is, that the Native troops instead of joining beat him. The Damoh officers have turned up at Nusseerabad.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Tuesday, 14th July 1857,* (*11-35* A.M.)

Letters dated the 3rd and 4th instant just received from Banks at Lucknow. In the former states that fire of enemy not so heavy but falling; thirteen men killed and wounded. On 2nd fever; on 3rd relief anxiously expected. Advises not less than two or three thousand English with twelve guns to be sent. Suggests their concentrating at Cawnpore from Delhi and Allahabad. Gurkhas not to come alone, as they would be hard pressed by enemy, and might prove death-warrant of garrison. In letter of 4th states that enemy had made no impression. Stores for one month. Men hearty and confident. Had spiked one of the enemy's guns on that day. Relief is anxiously looked for. Again urges Gurkhas not to be sent alone. Mutineers do not appear to be supported by magnates of provinces; part of the city had been plundered by them, and it was reported that many were going homewards.

Telegram from COURT,* *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Friday, 17th July 1857,* (6-18 P.M.)

The following letter has been received from Lucknow, dated 10th July, 9 P.M., from Banks:—We have now been besieged for eleven days. The enemy has not done much harm to our defences, though many men have been killed and wounded. We find that we have food for fully six weeks, nevertheless we look for relief when possible. To day we hear that Cawnpore is in the hands of our troops. I am writing thither. The enemy's fire is slackening, and his attacks are diminishing in number; why, we cannot tell. We have no reports from outside reliable. I cannot get a messenger for Agra.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel O'BRIEN, *to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 9th September 1857,* 5-10 P.M.

Lucknow, 25th August, from Colonel Inglis, Commanding at Lucknow, to General Havelock, commanding Relieving Force:—

"Lest my letter of the 16th of August should have miscarried, I send herewith a duplicate of its contents, *viz.,* a note from Colonel Tytler to Mr. Gubbins, reached last night, dated Mungulwar, the 4th instant, the latter paragraph of which is as follows: 'You must aid us in every way, even to cutting our way out, if we cannot force our way in. We have only a small force.'

"This has caused me much uneasiness, as it is quite impossible, with my weak and shattered force, that I can leave my defences. You must bear in mind how I am hampered; that I have upwards of 120 sick and wounded, and at the least 220 women and 130 children, and no carriage of any kind; and, besides, sacrificing twenty-three lakhs of treasure and about thirty guns of sorts. In consequence of the news, I shall soon put the force on half rations. Our provisions will last us till the 10th September. If you hope to save this force, no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy, who are within a few yards of our defences; their mines have already weakened our post, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others; their 18-pounders are within 150 yards off. Some of their batteries are in position, and from our inability to form working parties, we cannot reply to them. The damage done hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350 and about 300 natives, and the

* M. H. Court, C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad.

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men dreadfully harassed; and owing to part of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. Our native force, having been assured on Colonel Tytler's authority, of your near approach some twenty days ago, are naturally losing confidence; and if they leave us, I do not see how the defences are to be manned. Since the above was written, the enemy have sprung another mine, which has given us a great deal of trouble, and has caused us some loss.

"I trust that you will lose no time in coming to our assistance. Regardless of the statements contained in any letters from Mr. Gubbins, military men are unanimous regarding our case. We have had no letter from you of a later date than the 4th; and since the 18th the enemy have placed more guns in position and annoy us in all directions. We have most alarming reports, too, of the disaffection and plots of our troops inside, who are wavering in their fidelity owing to your return across the Ganges."

The kossid reported to Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien that he was detained in Lucknow nine days after he left the Baillee Guard on suspicion; that the garrison was fighting well up to the 4th September, the day he left Lucknow; that Raja Maun Singh, who had gone to Lucknow, returned back to his place, Shahgunge, near Fyzabad; that the Raja had not acted against the garrison; that a man from camp was making the percussion caps for the rebels; but this does not seem possible. If any caps were attempted to be made, they must be a wretched imitation.

Copy of letter from Brigadier INGLIS, *Commanding at Lucknow, to be telegraphed to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 8th September; Lucknow, 1st September, via Allahabad, 10th September, Thursday* 8 A.M.

Your letter of the 22nd has duly reached me in reply to mine of the 16th ultimo. I regret your inability to advance at present to our relief, but in consequence of your letters I have reduced the rations, and with this arrangement and our great diminution in numbers from casualties I hope to be able to hold on from the 20th to the 21st instant. Some stores we have been out of for the last fifteen days and many others will be expended before the above date. I must be frank and tell you that my force is daily diminishing from enemies' musket fire, and our defences grow daily weaker. Should the enemy make any very determined efforts to storm this place I shall find it difficult to repulse

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them owing to my paucity in numbers and the weak and harassed state of the force. Our loss, since the commencement of hostilities there, has been in Europeans alone upwards of 300. We are continually harassed in countermining the enemy, who have above twenty guns in position, many of them heavy ones. Any advance of you towards this place will act beneficially in our favour and greatly inspirit the native part of my garrison, who hitherto have behaved like faithful and good soldiers. If you can possibly give me any intimation of your intended advance pray do so by letter. Give the bearer the password "Agra" and ask him to give it me in person, and oblige me by forwarding a copy of this to the Governor-General. I have prohibited the civil authorities from corresponding with your camp.

Copy sent to General Havelock from Commanding Officer, Allahabad, for information and guidance, with the further remark that Maun Singh who was promised a jaghir of two lakhs conditionally on his affording us assistance is reported to be still holding on; therefore it is by no means improbable that if the following line is entirely wanting, the paper being torn, that Sir Henry Lawrence's promise shall be confirmed by Government, he may be induced to afford us active help. His followers are intimated to be six thousand in number.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM,—*dated Calcutta, 12th September 1857.*

I have received this morning Brigadier Inglis' letter of the 1st of September.

Maun Singh may be assured that if he continues to give to the Governor-General effective proof of his fidelity and goodwill, his position in Oudh will be at least as good as it was before the British Government assumed the administration of the country; whilst the proprietors in Oudh, who have deserted the Government, will lose their possessions.

The same assurance may be given to any other chiefs, who will be rewarded in proportion to the support which they may afford.

Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Singh or to others by Sir Henry Lawrence are confirmed, and shall be fully redeemed. None, however, have been reported to me.

I send the above message to Mr. Grant as well as to yourself. He will endeavour to convey the assurance to Maun Singh by a sure route, in case your communication with Oudh should be interrupted.

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I hope you will be able to send a reply to Brigadier Inglis, and to inform him of the exertions which have been made for the relief of his brave little band, and of the anxious sympathy which is felt for them.

From Brigadier J. E. W. INGLIS, *Her Majesty's 32nd, Commanding Garrison at Lucknow, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta,—No. 1, dated Lucknow, 26th September 1857.*

In consequence of the very deeply-to-be-lamented death of Brigadier-General Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., late in Command of the Oudh Field Force, the duty of narrating the military events which have occurred at Lucknow since 29th June last, has devolved upon myself.

On the evening of that day several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhut (a small village about eight miles distant on the road to Fyzabad) on Lucknow on the following morning; and the late Brigadier-General therefore determined to make a strong reconnaissance in that direction, with the view, if possible, of meeting the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Gokral, which is a small stream intersecting the Fyzabad road, about half way between Lucknow and Chinhut.

The force destined for this service, and which was composed as follows, moved out at 6 A. M. on the morning of the 30th June:—

Artillery.—4 Guns of No.—Horse Light Field Battery.
4 Guns of No. 2 Oudh Field Battery.
2 Guns of No. 3 Oudh Field Battery.
An 8-inch howitzer.

Cavalry.—Troop of Volunteer Cavalry.
120 Troopers of detachments belonging to 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Oudh Irregular Cavalry.

Infantry.—300, Her Majesty's 32nd.
150, 13th Native Infantry.
60, 48th Native Infantry.
20, 71st Native Infantry (Sikhs).

The troops, misled by the reports of wayfarers—who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of

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trees in overwhelming numbers. The European force and the howitzer, with the Native infantry, held the foe in check for some time, and had the six guns of the Oudh Artillery been faithful and the Oudh Cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oudh Artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the Brigadier-General in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery, and completely outflanked on both sides by an overpowering body of Infantry and Cavalry, which actually got into our rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the rank treachery of the Oudh gunners, and with a very grievous list of killed and wounded. The heat was dreadful, the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat most disastrous.

All the officers behaved well and the exertions of the small body of volunteer cavalry— only forty in number— under Captain Radcliffe, 7th Light Cavalry, were most praiseworthy. Sir Henry Lawrence subsequently conveyed his thanks to myself, who had, at his request, accompanied him upon this occasion (Colonel Case being in command of Her Majesty's 32nd). He also expressed his approbation of the way in which his Staff—Captain Wilson, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutanant James, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General; Captain Edgell, Officiating Military Secretary; and Mr. Couper, C. S.—the last of whom had acted as Sir Henry Lawrence's A.-D.-C. from the commencement of the disturbances,—had conducted themselves throughout this arduous day. Sir Henry further particularly mentioned that he would bring the gallant conduct of Captain Radcliffe and of Lieutenant Bonham, of the Artillery, (who worked the howitzer sucessfully until incapacitated by a wound,) to the prominent notice of the Government of India. The manner in which Lieutenant Birch, 71st Native Infantry, cleared a village with a party of Sikh skirmishers, also elicited the admiration of the Brigadier-General. The conduct of Lieutenant Hardinge, who, with his handful of horse covered the retreat of the rear-guard was extolled by Sir Henry, who expressed his intention of

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mentioning the services of this gallant officer to his Lordship in Council. Lieutenant-Colonel Case who commanded Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment was mortally wounded whilst gallantly leading on his men. The service had not a more deserving officer. The command devolved on Captain Stevens, who also received a death-wound shortly afterwards. The command then fell to Captain Mansfield who has since died of cholera. A list* of the casualties on this occasion accompanies the despatch.

It remains to report the siege operations.

It will be in the recollection of His Lordship in Council that it was the original intention of Sir Henry Lawrence to occupy not only the Residency, but also the Fort called Muchhee Bhowun—an old dilapidated edifice, which had been hastily repaired for the occasion, though the defences were even at the last moment very far from complete, and were moreover commanded by many houses in the city. The situation of the Muchhee Bhowun with regard to the Residency has already been described to the Government of India.

The untoward event of the 30th June so far diminished the whole available force, that we had not a sufficient number of men remaining to occupy both positions. The Brigadier General, therefore, on the evening of the 1st July, signalled to the garrison of the Muchhee Bhowun to evacuate and blow up that fortress in the course of the night. The orders were ably carried out, and at 12 P.M the force marched into the Residency with their guns and treasure without the loss of a man; and shortly afterwards the explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, which were lying in the magazine, announced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers—who were anxiously waiting the report—the complete destruction of that post and all that it contained. If it had not been for this wise and strategic measure, no member of the Lucknow garrison, in all probability, would have survived to tell the tale; for, as has already been stated, the Muchhee Bhowun was commanded from other parts of the town, and was moreover indifferently provided with heavy artillery ammunition, while the difficulty, suffering, and loss which the Residency garrison, even with the reinforcement thus obtained from the Muchhee Bhowun, has undergone in holding the position, is sufficient to show that, if the original intention of holding both posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen.

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* See pages 61 and 62.

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It is now my very painful duty to relate the calamity which befel us at the commencement of the siege. On the 1st July an 8-inch shell burst in the room in the Residency in which Sir H. Lawrence was sitting. The missile burst between him and Mr. Couper, close to both; but without injury to either. The whole of his staff implored Sir Henry to take up other quarters, as the Residency had then become the special target for the round shot and shell of the enemy. This, however, he jestingly declined to do, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. But Providence had ordained otherwise, for on the very next day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of another shell which burst in the same room, exactly at the same spot. Captain Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, received a contusion at the same time.

The late lamented Sir H. Lawrence, knowing that his last hour was rapidly approaching, directed me to assume command of the troops, and appointed Major Banks to succeed him in the office of Chief Commissioner. He lingered in great agony till the morning of the 4th July, when he expired, and the Government was thereby deprived, if I may venture to say so, of the services of a distinguished statesman and a most gallant soldier. Few men have ever possessed, to the same extent, the power which he enjoyed of winning the hearts of all those with whom he came in contact, and thus ensuring the warmest and most zealous devotion for himself and for the Government which he served. The successful defence of the position has been, under Providence, solely attributable to the foresight which he evinced in the timely commencement of the necessary operations, and the great skill and untiring personal activity which he exhibited in carrying them into effect. All ranks possessed such confidence in his judgment and his fertility of resource, that the news of his fall was received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all by the loss of a Public Benefactor and a warm Personal Friend. Feeling as keenly and as gratefully as I do the obligations that the whole of us are under to this great and good man, I trust the Government of India will pardon me for having attempted, however imperfectly, to pourtray them. In him every good and deserving soldier lost a friend and a Chief capable of discriminating, and ever on the alert to reward merit, no matter how humble the sphere in which it was exhibited.

The garrison had scarcely recovered the shock which it had sustained in the loss of its revered and beloved General, when it had to mourn

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the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, the Officiating Chief Commissioner, who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st July, and died without a groan.

The description of our position, and the state of our defences when the siege began, are so fully set forth in the accompanying memorandum* furnished by the Garrison Engineer, that I shall content myself with bringing to the notice of His Lordship in Council the fact that when the blockade was commenced, only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the Native Nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the Staff of Engineers. But his invariable reply was:—"Spare the holy places and private property too as far as possible"; and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices and respect to the right of our rebellious citizens and soldiery. As soon as the enemy had thoroughly completed the investment of the Residency, they occupied these houses, some of which were within easy pistol shot of our barricades, in immense force, and rapidly made loopholes on those sides which bore on our post, from which they kept up a terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8,000 men, firing at one time into our position. Moreover, there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe, for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the Banquetting Hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building, and the widow of Lieutenant Dorin and other women and children were shot dead in rooms into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from 20 to 25 guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply to them, while the perseverance and ingenuity of the enemy in erecting barricades in front of and around their guns in a very short time, rendered all attempts to silence them by musketry entirely unavailing.

* See page 63.

Neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position, and because, moreover, the enemy had recourse to digging very narrow trenches, about eight feet in depth in rear of each gun, in which the men lay while our shells were flying, and which so effectually concealed them, even while working the gun, that our baffled sharpshooters could only see their hands while in the act of loading.

The enemy contented themselves with keeping up this incessant fire of cannon and musketry until the 20th July, on which day, at 10 A.M., they assembled in very great force all around our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the Water Gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes's post, and came on to within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th Native Infantry, who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, composed of gentlemen of the Uncovenanted Service, a few of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot and of the 13th Native Infantry, an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost, but were invariably defeated, and at 2 P.M., they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the Brigade Mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the Brigade Mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore Battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the

ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders which they planted against the wall; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up, for the rest of the day, an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th August, the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached), Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. But they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of Her Majesty's 32nd and 84th Foot. On the 5th September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun, in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the Brigade Mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in frent of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old Native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night they were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of cantonments. The above is a faint attempt at a description of the four

great struggles which have occurred during this protracted season of exertion, exposure, and suffering. His Lordship in Council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine, a species of offensive warfare, for the exercise of which our position was unfortunately peculiarly situated, and had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part, in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might, perhaps, have ended in the capture of the place. But by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eighty of them were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. The labour, however, which devolved upon us in making these counter-mines, in the absence of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council will feel that it would be impossible to crowd, within the limits of a despatch, even the principal events, much more the individual acts of gallantry which have marked this protracted struggle. But I can conscientiously declare my conviction that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never ceasing musketry fire and cannonade. They have also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and of intense heat, and that too with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having had to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance, and shouted for several hours together, though not a man could be seen, with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force, in which object they succeeded, for no part has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All therefore had to stand to their arms, and to remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. Tho whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day, during the eighty-seven days which the siege had lasted up to the arrival of Sir J. Outram, G.C.B. In addition to this incessant military duty, the force has

been nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns, in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel, however, that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labours have been—labours in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the mine, all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock, and all accoutred with musket and bayonet have relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no less than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier and man, to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and to fight for the lives which Providence had entrusted to his care with such dauntless determination, that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire could never succeed in gaining one single inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position, which was so feebly fortified, that had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

If further proof be wanting of the desperate nature of the struggle which we have, under God's blessing, so long and so successfully waged, I would point to the roofless and ruined houses, to the crumbled walls, to the exploded mines, to the open breaches, to the shattered and disabled guns and defences, and lastly, to the long and melancholy list of the brave and devoted officers and men who have fallen. These silent witnesses bear sad and solemn testimony to the way in which this feeble position has been defended. During the early part of these vicissitudes, we were left without any information whatever regarding the posture of affairs outside. An occasional spy did indeed come in with the object of inducing our sepoys and servants to desert; but the intelligence derived from such sources was, of course, entirely untrust-

worthy. We sent our messengers daily calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the 26th day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock's Camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately despatched, requesting that on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city, two rockets might be sent up in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them while forcing their way in. The sixth day however, expired, and they came not; but for many evenings after officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets with hopes such as make the heart sick. We knew not then, nor did we learn until the 29th August—or thirty-five days later—that the relieving force after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements, and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram on the 25th September.

Besides heavy visitations of cholera and smallpox, we have also had to contend against a sickness which has almost universally pervaded the garrison. Commencing with a very painful eruption it has merged into a low fever, combined with diarrhœa; and although few or no men have actually died from its effects, it leaves behind a weakness and lassitude which in the absence of all material sustenance, save coarse beef and still coarser flour, none have been able entirely to get over. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from these diseases and from other causes, has been perhaps the most painful characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants has also been a source of much privation. Owing to the suddenness with which we were besieged, many of these people who might perhaps have otherwise proved faithful to their employers, but who were outside the defences at the time, were altogether excluded. Very many more deserted, and several families were consequently left without the services of a single domestic. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes, as well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided. Combined with the absence of servants, the want of proper accommodation has probably been the cause of much of the disease with which we have been afflicted. I cannot refrain from bringing to the prominent notice of

His Lordship in Council the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of this garrison. They have animated us by their example. Many alas! have been made widows and their children fatherless in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence, and many, among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital.

It only remains for me to bring to the favourable notice of His Lordship in Council the names of those officers who have most distinguished themselves, and afforded me the most valuable assistance in these operations. Many of the best and bravest of these now rest from their labours. Among them are Lieutenant-Colonel Case and Captain Radcliffe, whose services have already been narrated; Captain Francis, 13th Native Infantry—who was killed by a round shot—had particularly attracted the attention of Sir H. Lawrence for his conduct while in command of the Muchhee Bhowun; Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, who also was struck by a round shot, had, up to the time of his early and lamented death, afforded me the most invaluable aid; he was indeed indefatigable; Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, though from the commencement of the siege, incapable of physical exertion from the effects of the disease under which he eventually sank, merited my warm acknowledgments for his able counsel; Captain Simons, Commandant of Artillery, distinguished himself at Chinhut, where he received the two wounds, which ended in his death; Lieutenants Shepherd and Arthur, 7th Light Cavalry, who were killed at their posts; Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry, who was mortally wounded at the capture of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts; Captain McCabe, of the 32nd Foot, who was killed at the head of his men while leading his fourth sortie, as well as Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who died of cholera—were all officers who had distinguished themselves highly. Mr. Lucas, too, a gentleman volunteer, and Mr. Boyson, of the Uncovenanted Service—who fell when on the look-out at one of the most perilous outposts—had earned themselves reputations for coolness and gallantry.

The officers who commanded outposts:—Lieutenant-Colonel Master, 7th Light Cavalry; Major Apthorp, 41st Native Infantry;

Captain G. Weston, 65th Native Infantry;* Captain Sanders, 41st Native Infantry; Captain Boileau, 7th Light Cavalry; Captain Germon, 13th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Aitken, and Lieutenant Loughnan of the same corps; Captain Anderson, 25th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Graydon, 44th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Langmore, 71st Native Infantry; and Mr. Schilling, Principal of the Martiniére College—have all conducted ably the duties of their onerous position. No further proof of this is necessary than the fact which I have before-mentioned that throughout the whole duration of the siege the enemy were not only unable to take, but they could not even succeed in gaining one inch of the posts commanded by these gallant gentlemen. Colonel Master commanded the critical and important post of the Brigade Mess, on either side of which was an open breach, only flanked by his handful of riflemen and musketeers. Lieutenant Aitken, with the whole of the 13th Native Infantry, which remained to us with the exception of their Sikhs, commanded the Baillee Guard—perhaps the most important position in the whole of the defences; and Lieutenant Langmore, with the remnant of his regiment (the 71st), held a very exposed position between the hospital and the Water Gate. This gallant and deserving young soldier and his men were entirely without shelter from the weather, both by night and by day.

My thanks are also due to Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson and Innes, of the Engineers, as well as to Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Hay, 48th Native Infantry, who were placed under them to aid in the arduous duties devolving upon that department. Lieutenant Thomas, Madras Artillery, who commanded that arm of the service for some weeks, and Lieutenants Macfarlane and Bonham rendered me the most effectual assistance. I was, however, deprived of the

* *GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 15th November 1858.*

No. 1546 of 1858; *Erratum.*—Major-General Sir J. E. W. Inglis, K.C.B., formerly Commanding Lucknow Garrison, having brought to notice that the name of Captain G. Weston, 65th Regiment Native Infantry, was inadvertently omitted in his despatch† of 26th September 1857, the Hon'ble the President of the Council of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, with the concurrence of His Lordship, desires to rectify that omission, and is pleased to direct that that officer's name be added to the paragraph commencing with the words "the officers who commanded outposts," and inserted after the name of Major Apthorp, 41st Native Infantry.

Order books to be corrected accordingly.

† Published in Government General Order No. 1543 of the 8th December 1857.

services of the two latter, who were wounded, Lieutenant Bonham no less than three times, early in the siege. Captain Evans, 17th Bengal Native Infantry, who owing to the scarcity of artillery officers was put in charge of some guns, was ever to be found at his post.

Major Lowe, Commanding Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment; Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Lawrence, Edmondstoune, Foster, Harmer, Cooke, Clery, Browne, and Charlton of that corps, have all nobly performed their duty. Every one of these officers, with the exception of Lieutenants Lawrence and Clery, have received one or more wounds of more or less severity. Quartermaster Stribling, of the same corps, also conducted himself to my satisfaction.

Captain O'Brien, Her Majesty's 84th Foot; Captain Kemble, 41st Native Infantry; Captain Edgell, 53rd Native Infantry; Captain Dinning, Lieutenant Sewell and Lieutenant Worsley, of the 71st Native Infantry; Lieutenant Warner, 7th Light Cavalry; Ensign Ward, 48th Native Infantry (who, when most of our artillery officers were killed or disabled, worked the mortars with excellent effect); Lieutenant Graham, 11th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Mecham, 4th Oudh Locals; and Lieutenant Keir, 41st Native Infantry, have all done good and willing service throughout the siege, and I trust that they will receive the favourable notice of His Lordship in Council.

I beg particularly to call the attention of the Government of India to the untiring industry, the extreme devotion and the great skill which have been evinced by Surgeon Scott (Superintending Surgeon), and Assistant Surgeon Boyd, of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot; Assistant Surgeon Bird, of the Artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th Light Cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st Native Infantry; Surgeon Ogilvie, Sanitary Commissioner; Assistant Surgeon Fayrer, Civil Surgeon; Assistant Surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry; Assistant Surgeon Greenhow; Assistant Surgeon Darby; and by Mr. Apothecary Thompson, in the discharge of their onerous and most important duties.

Messrs. Thornhill and Capper, of the Civil Service, have been both wounded, and the way in which they, as well as Mr. Martin, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, conducted themselves, entitles them to a place in this despatch. Captain Carnegie, the Special Assistant Commissioner, whose invaluable services previous to the commencement of the siege I have frequently heard warmly dilated upon, both by Sir H. Lawrence and by Major Banks, and whose exertions will

probably be more amply brought to notice by the civil authorities on some future occasion, has conducted the office of Provost Marshal to my satisfaction. The Reverend Mr. Harris and the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, Assistant Chaplains, vied with each other in their untiring care and attention to the suffering men. The latter gentleman was wounded in the hospital, and subsequently unhappily died of cholera. Mr. McCrae, of the Civil Engineers, did excellent service at the guns, until he was severely wounded. Mr. Cameron, also, a gentleman who had come to Oudh to enquire into the resources of the country, acquired the whole mystery of mortar practice, and was of the most signal service until incapacitated by sickness. Mr. Marshall of the Road Department, and other members of the Uncovenanted Service, whose names will, on a subsequent occasion, be laid before the Government of India, conducted themselves bravely and steadily. Indeed, the entire body of these gentlemen have borne themselves well, and have evinced great coolness under fire.

I have now only to bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the conduct of the several officers who composed my staff:—Lieutenant James, Sub-Assistant Commissary-General, was severely wounded by a shot through the knee at Chinhut, notwithstanding which he refused to go upon the sick list, and carried on his most trying duties throughout the entire siege. It is not too much to say that the garrison owe their lives to the exertions and firmness of this officer. Before the struggle commenced, he was ever in the saddle, getting in supplies, and his untiring vigilance in their distribution after our difficulties had begun, prevented a waste which otherwise, long before the expiration of the eighty-seven days, might have annihilated the force by the slow process of starvation.

Captain Wilson, 13th Native Infantry, Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, was ever to be found where shot was flying thickest, and I am at a loss to decide whether his services were most invaluable owing to the untiring physical endurance and bravery which he displayed, or to his ever-ready and pertinent counsel and advice in moments of difficulty and danger.

Lieutenant Hardinge—an officer whose achievements and antecedents are well-known to the Government of India—has earned fresh laurels by his conduct throughout the siege. He was officiating as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General and also commanded the Sikh portion of the cavalry of the garrison. In both capacities his

services have been invaluable, especially in the latter, for it was owing alone to his tact, vigilance, and bravery, that the Sikh horsemen were induced to persevere in holding a very unprotected post under a heavy fire.

Lieutenant Barwell, 71st Native Infantry, the Fort Adjutant and Officiating Major of Brigade, has proved himself to be an efficient officer.

Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st Native Infantry, has been my Aide-de-Camp throughout the siege. I firmly believe there never was a better Aide-de-Camp. He has been indefatigable, and ever ready to lead a sortie, or to convey an order to a threatened outpost under the heaviest fire. On one of these occasions he received a slight wound on the head. I beg to bring the services of this most promising and intelligent young officer to the favorable consideration of His Lordship *in Council*.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Couper, C. S., for the assistance he has on many occasions afforded me by his judicious advice. I have moreover ever found him most ready and willing in the performance of the military duties assigned to him, however exposed the post or arduous the undertaking. He commenced his career in Her Majesty's Service, and consequently had had some previous experience of military matters. If the road to Cawnpore had been made clear by the advent of our troops, it was my intention to have deputed this officer to Calcutta to detail in person the occurrences which have taken place, for the information of the Government of India. I still hope that when our communications shall be once more unopposed, he may be summoned to Calcutta for this purpose.

Lastly, I have the pleasure of bringing the splendid behaviour of the soldiers, *viz.*, the men of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, the small detachment of Her Majesty's 84th Foot, the European and Native Artillery, the 13th, 48th and 71st Regiments Native Infantry, and the Sikhs of the respective corps, to the notice of the Government of India. The losses sustained by Her Majesty's 32nd, which is now barely 300 strong, by Her Majesty's 84th and by the European Artillery, show at least that they knew how to die in the cause of their countrymen. Their conduct under the fire, the exposure, and the privations which they have had to undergo, has been throughout most admirable and praiseworthy.

As another instance of the desperate character of our defence and the difficulties we have had to contend with, I may mention that the number of our artillerymen was so reduced that on the occasion of an

attack, the gunners—aided as they were by men of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot and by volunteers of all classes, had to run from one battery to another wherever the fire of the enemy was hottest, there not being nearly enough men to serve half the number of guns at the same time. In short, at last, the number of European gunners was only twenty-four, while we had, including mortars, no less than thirty guns in position.

With respect to the Native troops I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th Regiment—under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken, to a most galling fire of round shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them ; and every effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion. All the troops behaved nobly, and the names of those men of the Native force who have particularly distinguished themselves, have been laid before Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., who has promised to promote them. Those of the European force will be transmitted in due course for the orders of His Royal Highness the General-Commanding-in-Chief.

In conclusion, I beg leave to express, on the part of myself and the members of this garrison, our deep and grateful sense of the conduct of Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., and of the troops under those officers who so devotedly came to our relief at so heavy a sacrifice of life. We are also repaid for much suffering and privation by the sympathy which our brave deliverers say our perilous and unfortunate position has excited for us in the hearts of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of Her Majesty's dominions.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) J. E. W. INGLIS,
Col., H. M.'s 32nd,
Brigadier.

Division orders by Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B.,—*dated Head-Quarters, Lucknow, 5th October 1857.*

The incessant and arduous duties which have devolved on Brigadier Inglis and his staff since the arrival of the relieving force had hitherto prevented him from furnishing to the Major-General Commanding the usual official documents relative to the siege of the garrison.

In the absence of these, the Major-General could not with propriety have indulged in any public declaration of the admiration with which he regards the heroism displayed by Brigadier Inglis and the glorious garrison he has so ably commanded during the last three months, and he has been reluctantly obliged to defer therefore so long the expression of the sentiments he was desirous to offer.

But the Major-General, having at length received Brigadier Inglis' reports, is relieved from the necessity of further silence and he hastens to tender to the Brigadier, and to every individual member of the garrison, the assurance of his confidence that their services will be regarded by the Government under which they are immediately serving, by the British nation, and by Her Gracious Majesty, with equal admiration to that with which he is himself impressed.

The Major-General believes that the annals of warfare contain no brighter page than that which will record the bravery, fortitude, vigilance, and patient endurance of hardships, privation, and fatigue displayed by the garrison of Lucknow, and he is very conscious that his unskilled pen must needs fail adequately to convey to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the profound sense of the merits of that garrison, which has been forced on his mind by a careful consideration of the almost incredible difficulties with which they have had to contend.

The term "illustrious" was well and happily applied, by a former Governor-General of India, to the garrison of Jellalabad; but some far more laudatory epithet, if such the English language contains, is due, the Major-General considers, to the brave men whom Brigadier Inglis has commanded, with undeviating success and untarnished honour, through the late memorable siege; for while the devoted band of heroes who so nobly maintained the honour of their country's arms under Sir R. Sale were seldom exposed to actual attack, the Lucknow garrison, of inferior strength, have, in addition to a series of fierce assaults, gallantly and successfully repulsed, been for three months exposed to a nearly incessant fire from strong and commanding positions, held by an enemy of overwhelming force, possessing powerful artillery, having at their command the whole resources of what was but recently a kingdom, and animated by an insane and bloodthirsty fanaticism.

It is a source of heartfelt satisfaction to the Major-General to be able, to a certain extent, to confer on the Native portion of the garrison an instalment of those rewards which their gallant and grateful commander has sought for them, and which he is very certain the Governor-

General will bestow in full; and though the Major-General, as regards the European portion of the garrison, cannot do more than give his most earnest and hearty support to the recommendations of the Brigadier, he feels assured that the Governor-General of India will fully and publicly manifest his appreciation of their distinguished services, and that our beloved Sovereign will herself deign to convey to them some gracious expression of royal approbation of their conduct.

Brigadier Inglis has borne generous testimony to the bravery, vigilance, devotedness, and good conduct of all ranks; and to all ranks, as the local representative of the British Indian Government, the Major-General tenders his warmest acknowledgments. He would fain offer his special congratulations and thanks to the European and Eurasian portion of the garrison whom Brigadier Inglis has particularly noticed; but by doing so he would forestall the Governor-General in the exercise of what the Major-General is assured will be one of the most pleasing acts of his official life.

(True Copy.)
(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Offg. Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.
(True Copies.)
(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily Dept.

GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 8th December 1857.

No. 1543 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received from Brigadier Inglis, of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, lately commanding the garrison in Lucknow, the subjoined* report of the defence of the Residency in that city, from the first threatened attack upon it on the 29th of June, to the arrival of the force under Major-General Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., and the lamented Major-General Sir H. Havelock, K. C. B., on the 25th of September.

The Divisional Order of Major-General Sir James Outram upon the report accompanies it.

The Governor-General in Council believes that never has a tale been told which will so stir the hearts of Englishmen and Englishwomen as the simple, earnest narrative of Brigadier Inglis.

It rightfully commences with a soldier's testimony, touchingly borne, to the chivalrous character and high deserts of Sir Henry Lawrence, the sad details of whose death are now made known.

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* Printed on pages 37-52.

There does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency at Lucknow described in the narrative which follows.

That defence has not only called forth all the energy and daring which belong to Englishmen in the hour of active conflict; but it has exhibited, continuously, and in the highest degree, that noble and sustained courage which against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred, and through unceasing toil and wear of body and mind, still holds on day after day and triumphs.

The heavy guns of the assailants, posted, almost in security, within fifty yards of the entrenchments,—so near indeed that the solicitations, and threats, and taunts which the rebels addressed to the Native defenders of the garrison were easily heard by those true-hearted men; the fire of the enemy's musketry, so searching that it penetrated the innermost retreat of the women and children, and of the wounded: their desperate attempts, repeatedly made, to force an entry after blowing in the defences; the perpetual mining of the works; the weary night watching for the expected signal of relief; and the steady waste of precious lives until the number of English gunners was reduced below that of the guns to be worked;—all these constitute features in a history which the fellow-countrymen of the heroes of Lucknow will read with swelling hearts, and which will endure for ever as a lesson to those who shall hope, by treachery, numbers, or boldness in their treason, to overcome the indomitable spirit of Englishmen.

A complete list of the brave men who have fallen has not yet reached the Governor-General in Council; but the names mentioned in Brigadier Inglis's report are, in themselves, a long and sad one.

Amongst those who have nobly perished in this protracted struggle, Sir Henry Lawrence will occupy the first place in the thoughts of his fellow-countrymen. The Governor-General in Council has already given expression to the deep sorrow with which he mourns the loss of that distinguished man. But the name of Sir Henry Lawrence can never rise up without calling forth a tribute of honour and admiration from all who knew him.

The Governor-General in Council has also to deplore the loss of Major Banks, an officer high in the confidence of the Government of India, and who, with the full approval of the Governor-General in Council, had succeeded to the charge of Chief Commissioner upon Sir Henry Lawrence's death; of Lieutenant-Colonel Case, Her Majesty's

32nd Regiment, who was mortally wounded while leading on his men at Chinhut on the 29th of June; of Captain Radcliffe, whose conspicuous bravery attracted the attention of Sir Henry Lawrence on that occasion; of Captain Francis, who was also especially noticed by Sir Henry Lawrence for his gallant conduct while in command of the Muchhee Bhowun; of Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, whose indefatigable exertions are thankfully recorded by Brigadier Inglis; of Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, who, contending against deadly sickness, did not cease to give his valuable aid to his Commander; of Captain Simons, Artillery, mortally wounded at Chinhut; of Lieutenants Shepherd and Arthur, 7th Light Cavalry, killed at their posts; of Captain McCabe, Her Majesty's 32nd, who fell while leading his fourth sortie; of Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who fell a victim to cholera.

The Governor-General in Council laments also to find in this melancholy record the names of Mr. Lucas, a traveller in India, and of Mr. Boyson. These two gentlemen, acting as volunteers, received charge of one of the most dangerous outposts, and held it at the cost of their lives.

The good services of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment throughout this struggle have been remarkable.

To the watchful courage and sound judgment of its commander, Brigadier Inglis, the British Government owes a heavy debt of gratitude; and Major Lowe, Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Edmondstoune, Foster, Harmer, Lawrence, Clery, Cooke, Browne, and Charlton, and Quartermaster Stribling of this corps, and Captain O'Brien, of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, are praised by their superior as having severally distinguished themselves. Of the 7th Light Cavalry Colonel Master, to whom was entrusted the command of a most exposed post, Captain Boileau, and Lieutenant Warner, are entitled to the thanks of the Governor-General in Council.

The Governor-General in Council recognizes, with pleasure, the distinction accorded to Major Apthorp, Captains Kemble and Sanders, Lieutenants Barwell and Keir, of the 41st Native Infantry, as well as to Captain Germon and Lieutenant Aitken, of the 13th Native Infantry, the latter of whom commanded an important position in the defences with signal courage and success; to Captain Anderson, of the 25th, and to Lieutenant Graydon, of the 44th Native Infantry.

His Lordship in Council desires to acknowledge the excellent service of Captain Dinning and Lieutenant Sewell, of the 71st Native Infantry; and of Lieutenant Langmore, of the same Regiment, who

held continuously a post open to attack, and entirely without shelter for himself or for his men by night or by day; as well as of Lieutenant Worsley, of the same corps; of Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th Native Infantry; of Lieutenant Hay, 48th Native Infantry, who was placed under the Engineers to assist in the arduous duties of that Department; and of Ensign Ward, of the same regiment, who, when the officers of artillery were mostly disabled, worked the mortars with good effect; also of Lieutenant Graham, of the 11th Native Infantry, and of Lieutenant Mecham, of the 4th Oudh Irregulars.

Of the Native officers and men of the 13th, 48th and 71st Regiments of Native Infantry who have been amongst the defenders of the Residency, it is difficult to speak too highly. Their courageous constancy under the severest trials is worthy of all honour.

The medical officers of the garrison are well entitled to the cordial thanks of the Government of India. The attention, skill and energy evinced by Superintending Surgeon Scott; Assistant Surgeon Boyd, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot; Assistant Surgeon Bird, of the Artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th Light Cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st Native Infantry; Surgeon Ogilvie, Sanitary Commissioner; Assistant Surgeon Fayrer; Assistant Surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oudh Irregulars; Assistant Surgeons Greenhow and Darby, and of Mr. Apothecary Thompson, are spoken of in high terms by Brigadier Inglis.

To Dr. Brydon especially the Governor-General in Council would address his hearty congratulations. This officer, after passing through the Kabul Campaign of 1841-42 was included in the illustrious garrison who maintained their position in Jellalabad. He may now, as one of the heroes of Lucknow, claim to have witnessed and taken part in an achievement even more conspicuous as an example of the invincible energy and enduring courage of British soldiers.

The labours of the officers of Engineers—Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson, and Innes; and of the Artillery—Lieutenant Thomas (Madras), and Lieutenants Macfarlane and Bonham, receive, as they deserve, honourable mention, which the Governor-General in Council is glad to confirm by his cordial approval.

The services rendered by Mr. McRae, Civil Engineer; Mr. Schilling, Principal of the Martinière; and by Mr. Cameron, a gentleman who had visited Oudh for commercial purposes, merit the especial thanks of the Government of India.

The Governor-General in Council has read with great satisfaction the testimony borne by Brigadier Inglis to the sedulous attention

given to the spiritual comforts of his comrades by the Reverend Mr. Polehampton and the Reverend Mr. Harris. The first, unhappily, has not survived his labours.

The officers of the Staff have rendered excellent service. That of Lieutenant James, Sub-Assistant-Commissary-General, calls for the especial thanks of the Government of India. This officer, although severely wounded at Chinhut, resolutely continued to give valuable aid to the Brigadier; and it is mainly owing to his forethought and care that the supplies of the garrison have sufficed through the hardships of the siege.

Captain Wilson, 13th Native Infantry, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, has evinced courage, activity, and sound judgment in a very high degree.

Lieutenant Hardinge, Officiating as Deputy Quartermaster-General, as well as Commanding the Sikh Cavalry of the garrison, has proved himself worthy to bear his soldier's name.

Lieutenant Barwell, 71st Native Infantry, Fort Adjutant, is honourably mentioned; and Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st Native Infantry, who acted as A.-D.-C. to Brigadier Inglis throughout the siege, has discharged his duties in a manner which has called forth emphatic praise from his commander.

The officers of the Civil Service have not been behind their military brethren in courage and zeal. The assistance rendered by Mr. Couper to Brigadier Inglis, as previously to Sir Henry Lawrence, has been most valuable.

Messrs. Thornhill and Capper were wounded during the siege; and Mr. Martin, Deputy Commissioner, and Captain Carnegie, Assistant Commissioner, have earned the special thanks of Brigadier Inglis.

To all these brave men, and to their brother officers and comrades of every rank and degree, European and Native, who have shared the same dangers and toils with the same heroic spirit, the Governor-General in Council tenders his warmest thanks.

The officers and men of Her Majesty's regiments must receive their full measure of acknowledgment from a Higher Authority than that of the Governor-General in Council; but it will be the pleasing duty of His Lordship in Council to express to Her Majesty's Government, and to the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company, in the strongest terms, the recommendation of them to that favour for which Major-General Sir James Outram so justly pleads.

Meanwhile it is a gratification to the Governor-General in Council to direct, in a General Order of this day, that the rewards and honours

therein specified shall be at once awarded to the officers and men of the two services and to the civilians respectively.

This notice must not be closed without mention of those noble women who, little fitted to take part in such scenes, have assumed so cheerfully and discharged so earnestly their task of charity in ministering to sickness and pain. It is likely that to themselves the notoriety of praise publicly given may be distasteful; yet the Governor-General in Council cannot forego the pleasure of doing justice to the names of Birch, Polehampton, Barbor, and Gall, and of offering to those whose acts have so adorned them, his tribute of respectful admiration and gratitude.

The history of the defence of the Residency of Lucknow does not end with the narrative of Brigadier Inglis. But no full reports of the course of events at Lucknow subsequently to the junction of Sir Henry Havelock's force with the defenders, or of the final and effectual relief by the advance of the Commander-in-Chief, have yet been received. It is known, however, that the success which has carried joy to so many aching hearts has been clouded by the death within the last few days of one of the first soldiers of India, Major-General Sir Henry Havelock.

The Governor-General in Council deeply deplores the loss of this able leader and truly brave man, who has been taken from the service of his country at a time when he can least be spared, though not before he had won for himself lasting renown, and had received at the hands of his Sovereign the gracious and prompt recognition of his merits.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

No. 1544 of 1857.

With reference to the preceding G. O. by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, No. 1543, of this day's date, and in recognition of the heroism of the defenders of the Residency at Lucknow, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council hereby orders that—

1. Every officer and soldier, European and Native, who has formed part of the garrison of the Residency, between the 29th of June and the 25th of September last, shall receive six months' batta.

2. Every civilian in the Covenanted Service of the East India Company who has taken part in the defence of the Residency, within the above-named dates, shall receive six months' batta, at a rate calculated according to the military rank with which his standing corresponds.

3. Every uncovenanted civil officer or volunteer who has taken a like part, shall receive six months' batta, at a rate to be fixed according to the functions and positions which may have been assigned to him.

4. Every Native commissioned and non-commissioned officer and soldier who has formed part of the garrison, shall receive the Order of Merit, with the increase of pay attached thereto, and shall be permitted to count three years of additional service.

5. The soldiers of the 13th, 48th, and 71st Regiments, Native Infantry, who have been part of the garrison, shall be formed into a regiment of the line, to be called the Regiment of Lucknow, the further constitution of which, as regards officers and men, will be notified hereafter.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

(Signed) W. MAYHEW, *Maj.*,
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 12th December 1857.

No. 1564, 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council having received last evening the list of casualties in the affair at Chinhut on the 30th of June 1857, and the memorandum of the defences of the Residency at Lucknow furnished by the Garrison Engineer, which are alluded to in the despatch from Brigadier Inglis of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, dated the 26th September 1857, published in the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of the 9th instant, as well as the list of casualties during the siege of Lucknow, is pleased to direct the publication of these documents.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

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Nominal Roll of officers killed and wounded at Chinhut on the 30th June 1857.

GENERAL STAFF.

Wounded.—Sub-Assistant-Commissary-General Lieutenant T. James, dangerously.

ARTILLERY.

Wounded.—Captain A. P. Simons, twice, severely; Lieutenant J. Bonham, slightly.

HER MAJESTY'S 32ND FOOT.

Killed.—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Case; Captain C. Stevens; Lieutenant J. D. Thomson (Adjutant); Lieutenant J. Brackenbury.

Wounded.—Captain A. Bassano, severely.

13TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY,

Wounded.—Major C. F. Bruere, slightly.

VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Killed.—Captain W. G. M. Maclean, 71st Regiment Native Infantry.

Wounded.—Lieutenant J. H. T. Farquhar, 7th Light Cavalry, severely; Ensign C. W. Campbell, 71st Regiment Native Infantry, severely.

OUDH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

Wounded.—Lieutenant F. W. Graham, sligthtly.

Abstract.

Officers killed	5
" wounded	8
Total ...	13

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Offg. Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

RETURN of killed and wounded in the Action at Chinhut on the morning of 30th of June 1857.

Details.	Strength.	EUROPEANS.																NATIVES.											
		KILLED AND MISSING.								WOUNDED.								KLILED AND MISSING.						WOUNDED.					
		Officers.	Surgeons.	Veterinary Surgeons.	Staff-Sergeants.	Non-commissioned officers.	Drummers.	Privates and Gunners.	Total.	Officers.	Surgeons.	Veterinary Surgeons.	Staff-Sergeants.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Drummers.	Privates and Gunners.	Total.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Sowars.	Total.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Sowars.	Total.
General and Brigade Staff ...		...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Artillery, Regular and Irregular	10 light guns and an 8-inch howitzer.	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	2	...	...	6	10	1	8	...	43	...	52	...	...	...	1	...	1
Detachment, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot.	300 Bayonets ...	4	...	...	...	20	2	89	115	1	...	...	...	5	...	33	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13th Regiment, Native Infantry	150 Do. ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	9	1	25	...	35	3	5	...	5	...	13
48th ,, ,, ,, ...	60 Do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	1	8	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oudh Irregular Cavalry ...	120 Do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	8	1	...	57	68	...	2	...	...	6	8
Volunteer Cavalry	40 Do. ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sikhs, 71st Native Infantry ...	20 Do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	4	...	...	...	2	...	2
Grand Total ...		5	...	...	...	20	2	90	117	8	...	...	2	5	...	39	54	5	31	3	79	57	175	3	7	...	8	6	24

N.B.—One member of the Uncovenanted Service, serving with the Volunteer Cavalry, killed, not included in the above.

(Examined).

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Ajdt.-Genl.

(Signed) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

Report of Defences of Residency.

THE outbreak at Meerut, and Delhi, and reports of general disaffection among the sepoys caused Sir Henry Lawrence to take immediate measures for the defence of the place. Some time previously he had selected the Muchee Bhowun as a site for our magazine and stores, and judging it, from its very commanding position and the moral effect that the occupation of it would exercise over the city, he in the first instance proceeded to strengthen it. The works were commenced on the 17th May, and carried forward with unremitting energy by Lieutenant Innes, under the general direction of Major Anderson, Chief Engineer, until the commencement of the siege.

The defence of the Residency was also commenced, though at first it received a secondary share of attention. It was not till after the mutiny in cantonments, (30th May), and the subsequent mutinies of corps in the districts, that it became apparent that we should have probably to defend ourselves against a combined attack of mutineers and rebels from the country and city. The more clear this became, the more clearly the inadequacy of the Muchee Bhowun as a fortified position became apparent. It was also seen that, if the mutineers came on in great force, we had not sufficient hands to man both it and the Residency; and having ascertained, after full consideration, the defects of the Muchee Bhowun, both as regards defensive measures, and shelter of troops and the large European community, Sir Henry Lawrence made up his mind to abandon it, on the investment of the city by the enemy.

On this being decided (11th June), the defences of the Residency were proceeded with, with vigour. Prior to this, the Chief Engineer was doubtful as to the extent of the force he had to shelter within the line of defences, or to man the works; but now he could form a definite plan, and he lost no time in forming a connected line of defensive works round the buildings he thought it necessary to occupy.

The Residency compound was first protected by a line of parapet and ditch across it; a strong battery, since named the "Redan," was constructed in a corner of the garden, which furnished a command over the iron bridge.

A battery (called the "Cawnpore,") was constructed at the opposite point of our position, enfilading the Cawnpore road, and was then designed chiefly as a barrier to the approach of mutineers from Cawnpore.

Two other batteries were partially constructed, one between Gubbins' and Ommanney's compounds, the other between the slaughter-house and sheep-pen; but neither were ready at the commencement of the siege, and want of labour prevented their being completed afterwards.

Heavy and light guns and mortars, more or less protected by parapets, were placed in various positions intermediate to the above-mentioned principal batteries. Those positions are marked in the annexed sketch, though of course various changes occurred during the siege; a gun or mortar having been frequently required to silence an enemy's battery, and withdrawn when the object was accomplished.

Mr. Gubbins, by means of labourers procured by his subordinates, carried on the defences of his own compound; and the general line round our position was continued from battery to battery, and house to house, by abattis (in lanes), and by parapets and ditches or stockades.

Outside our line of works also a great amount of labour was required. Masses of buildings extended to within a few feet of us, in nearly every direction, and though some of them would act as traverses to us from the enemy's batteries, the majority were most undoubted source of annoyance to us, and it was necessary to proceed with their removal as vigorously as our means permitted. Several mosques, which occupied positions commanding us, were left alone, much to our future injury; but I believe the reason that prevented their removal was a good one, namely, the danger of precipitating an outbreak before we were prepared for it. But apart from this, the demolition of private buildings was far from complete. The affair of Chinhut brought the enemy upon us earlier, I believe, than was anticipated by any individual of our force, and our command of labour having been limited, we had to close our gates with nothing in many places separating us from the besiegers but the width of the streets. The houses that remained became nests of rebels, and besides forming secure starting points for their mines, enabled them from under shelter to keep a deadly fire of musketry upon us day and night; and it is to it, and not to round shot, that we have to attribute the greater part of our casualties. The latter was mainly injurious in destroying the buildings occupied by our troops and camp-followers; and, though the loss of life, considering the amount of battering they sustained, was much less than was to be expected, it was a constant source of danger and annoyance to the

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garrison, and the repair of damage entailed heavy labour on men who were weakened by exposure and want of rest.

The enemy proceeded to invest the place immediately on the return of our force from Chinhut on the 30th June. The Muchee Bhowun was still garrisoned by our troops, though the treasure and greater portions of the munitions and stores had been previously removed to the Residency; and it now became an object of primary importance to withdraw the garrison without loss. A telegraphic message was communicated to Lieutenant Innes, the engineer officer, to the effect that the powder in the magazine, about 200 barrels, was to be used in blowing up the fort, and that the garrison was to leave at midnight on the 1st July. This order was carried out with prefect success, and the garrison marched into our gates without the loss of a man.

The garden battery was one of the first established by the enemy. It played on the guard-house at the Cawnpore battery, the battery itself, Brigade Mess, Anderson's, and Judicial Commissioner's. The combined fire of heavy guns and musketry on the Cawnpore battery became so deadly, that our guns could not be served, and eventually it was thought necessary to withdraw them and to leave the position to be defended by musketry, and to repair the parapets as fast as they were damaged by the enemy's round shot.

At the beginning of the siege, the 8-inch howitzer which fell into the enemy's hands at Chinhut was placed out of sight of our guns, on the opposite bank of the river, near the bridge-of-boats, and kept up a destructive fire on the Residency. It was by one of the shells from it that Sir Henry Lawrence was killed.

Batteries were also established by the enemy on the road leading from the iron bridge in front of Gubbins' house, the Brigade Mess, and Post office, and at the Clock Tower, and all the buildings were more or less damaged by them. A portion of the Residency was battered down, and six men were buried in the ruins. Many of the buildings were reduced to such a state as to appear to be quite untenable, but the garrison continued to occupy nearly all; and though the defences of the posts have been very much weakened by the continued and heavy fire, not a single one has been abandoned; on the contrary, several buildings (Financial Commissioner's, Sago's, and Innes') have been occupied and strengthened *since* the commencement of the siege.

When the enemy found that neither by repeated attacks, nor by the destruction of our buildings, he could force us from our posts, he had recourse to mining.* This had been anticipated; but the chief engineer, acting under the suggestion of the late Lieutenant Fulton, would not take the initiative, as he apprehended that our enemies would at once follow our example, and that the unlimited command of labour they possessed would give us a poor chance of competing with them.

20th July.

The first mine exploded by the enemy was at the Redan. It preceded a general attack, and both as regards direction and distance was a complete failure. This was followed by one at the angle of the Sikh square, and is the only one from which any loss of life on our side has been sustained. The sound of the mining had not been heard, owing to the proximity of the cavalry horses, and the guard were completely surprised. Seven drummers were killed on this occasion.

27th July.

10th August.

Two other mines at the building occupied by the Martiniére boys and at Sago's were also exploded, but beyond breaking the outer line of walls, did no damage. The enemy in no case showed any great alacrity in assaulting the breaches, and we soon formed retrenchments in rear of them.

We had meanwhile commenced countermining, and on the 5th August foiled a mine of the enemy's against the guard-house at the Cawnpore battery, and since then, up to the arrival of the relieving force, we have been incessantly employed in mining and countermining. We have generally worked into their galleries, and after having frightened the miners away, have destroyed them, or, in some cases, we have blown in their galleries by charging and firing our own. I need hardly add that this was a service of danger.

Two of our mines, for directly offensive objects, require separate notice, the one at Sago's to the enemy's guard-room, which we blew down with a loss to them of—it is supposed—between twenty and thirty men. The second, to Johannes' house, in which we destroyed above

* A more complete account of the mining is to be found in "Lucknow and Oudh in the mutiny," by Lieutenant-General MacLeod Innes. General Innes' account was originally written as a report and sent in officially, but it was unfortunately lost.

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eighty of the enemy. The explosion was followed by a sortie to cover the demolition of the remainder of the house and one adjoining, which object was effectually accomplished, and relieved us from the destructive fire of many of the enemy's best marksmen. I may mention that several sorties were made on other occasions, and with equal success.

We had, on the arrival of the relieving force, fifteen galleries ready for countermining further operations of the enemy. Several of the enemy's galleries have since been discovered and destroyed.

I believe I have now noted every measure of importance, with reference to the defence and attack of the place, on an engineering point of view, and it remains for me to add the means at our disposal for carrying on work.

During the early part of the siege we had working parties of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. On one work during the night I have had forty-two men. The soldiers, however, had their other duties to perform, they were exposed to rain, and were very often under arms, which prevented their having a proper amount of rest. They could therefore have little physical strength left to work in the trenches, and as the siege progressed, their numerical strength became so much reduced, that it was necessary to give up European working parties almost entirely, and to depend on the sepoys. The latter came forward most willingly and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which they worked. They have also been of material assistance in our mining operations; and a party of the 13th Native Infantry—thanks to the good management of Lieutenant Aitken—have constructed a battery for an 18-pounder, worked the gun, and dug a shaft and gallery at their own post.

There has been but one squad of European miners, eight men under Sergeant Day, all of whom have worked with the most unremitting zeal throughout.

As regards general superintendence, the late Major Anderson, Chief Engineer, designed the defences of the Muchee Bhowun and Residency, and until shortly before his death directed the construction of the various works and repairs.

Lieutenant Fulton became the Senior Engineer officer on the demise of Major Anderson, on the 11th August. He had constructed the greater portion of the defences, powder magazines, &c., and up to the day of his death displayed the most unremitting energy, in spite of bad

health, in advancing our work. In particular he took a most active part in foiling the enemy's attempts to destroy our advanced posts by mines, and the manner in which he conducted the blasting operations during our sorties invariably excited the admiration of all who were present, officers and men.

In the performance of the abovementioned, and engineering operations generally, he received the most able and untiring support from Lieutenants Hutchinson, Innes, and Tulloch, and the late Lieutenant Birch ; and latterly, since Lieutenant Fulton's death, I have received much assistance from Lieutenant Hay, Assistant Field Engineer. The active part I myself have taken in the superintendence of works has been small, owing to my having suffered from continued ill-health.

Finally, I beg to bring to the notice of the Brigadier the excellent service performed by the late Mr. Casey, head Accountant to the Chief Engineer, who had been Sergeant-Major of sappers, and who was recommended by Major Anderson for the rank of Assistant Field Engineer ; of the late Mr. Supervisor Barrett, Mr. Beale, Overseer ; and Sergeant Ryder, Assistant Overseer—all of whom have left families behind them.

LUCKNOW,
The 5th October 1857.

(Signed) J. C. ANDERSON, *Lieut.*,
Garrison Engineer.

(Signed) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

(True copy).

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

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Return showing the strength of the Lucknow garrison on the 1st of July 1857.

Details.	Effective, fit for duty. Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Sick and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Remarks.
General and Brigade Staff ...	3	1	2	2	...	...	...	......	...	......	8	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
Artillery, regular and irregular	...	...	...	8	...	...	5	18	6	142	179	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5	
Engineers	...	1	...	3	..	...	...	5	...	......	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
7th Regiment, Light Cavalry ...	1	...	2	2	..	2	2	2	...	3	14	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	1	4	
Her Majesty's 32nd Foot ...	...	..	3	9	1	3	...	32	15	418	482	...	...	1	..	...	1	...	4	...	47	53	
Detachment, Her Majesty's 84th Foot	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	5	1	42	50	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	
13th Regiment, Native Infantry	...	1	3	2	3	3	12	28	13	136	201	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	
Detachment, 41st Regiment, Native Infantry	...	1	2	2	3	3	...	......	16	....	27	..	...	...	...	...	...	...		..	...	...	
48th Regiment, Native Infantry	1	1	1	3	3	3	5	17	24	25	83	...	..	...	1	...	..	...	1	..	1	3	
71st Regiment, Native Infantry	...	...	2	...	4	2	12	14	11	71	116	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Oudh Irregular Force ...	1	...	3	11	...	6	6	15	...	63	105	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	2	...	9	14	
Native pensioners	...	...	...	...	..	..	6	......	3	109	118	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	
New Native levies	...	...	...	...	..	..	3	1	...	44	48	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	
Lucknow Magazine	...	...	...	1	..	..	...	4	...	10	15	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	
Officers not attached to the Oudh Brigade	..	1	2	4	1	..	...	......	...	....	8	...	..	..	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	
Civil and Uncovenanted Services	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	......	...	151	153	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Officers, unattached	...	...	2	...	..	...	...	......	...	....	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Grand Total ...	6	6	22	48	17	24	51	141	89	1,214	1,618	...	...	2	5	...	1	3	7	...	62	80	

N. B.—Five Assistant Surgeons are included under the head of Staff in Oudh Irregular Force.

LUCKNOW GARRISON,
The 6th November 1857.

(Signed) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

(Examined.)

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

Nominal Roll of officers killed and wounded during the Siege of Lucknow.

GENERAL STAFF.

Wounded.—Brigadier-General Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., commanding the force, mortally (since dead); officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General Captain T. F. Wilson, slightly; officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General Lieutenant G. N. Hardinge, slightly.

BRIGADE STAFF.

Wounded.—Aide-de-camp to Brigadier J. Inglis, Lieutenant F. M. Birch, slightly.

ARTILLERY.

Killed.—Second-Lieutenant E. P. Lewin.

Wounded.—Captain A. P. Simons, slightly (since dead); Lieutenant D. C. Alexander, (severely); 2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, severely (since dead of cholera); 2nd-Lieutenant J. Bonham, once slightly, once severely; 2nd-Lieutenant J. Alexander, severely; 2nd-Lieutenant D. MacFarlan, severely; 2nd-Lieutenant F. J. Cunliffe, slightly (since dead of fever).

ENGINEERS.

Killed.—Captain G. W. W. Fulton.

Wounded.—Assistant Field Engineer Lieutenant F. W. Birch, 59th Native Infantry, mortally (since dead).

7TH REGIMENT LIGHT CAVALRY.

Killed.—Lieutenant L. A. Arthur.

Wounded.—Captain C. W. Radcliffe, dangerously (since dead); Captain T. T. Boileau, slightly; Veterinary-Surgeon F. A. Hely, dangerously (since dead).

HER MAJESTY'S 32ND REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Killed.—Lieutenant P. C. Webb.

Wounded.—Major E. W. D. Lowe, slightly; Captain W. Power, dangerously (since dead); Lieutenant J. Edmondstoune, severely; Lieutenant C. M. Foster, slightly; Lieutenant E. Harmer, severely; Lieutenant H. Cooke, slightly; Lieutenant J. W. Charlton, dangerously; Ensign W. H. Studdy, mortally (since dead).

DETACHMENT, HER MAJESTY'S 84TH REGIMENT OF FOOT.

Wounded.—Lieutenant D. O'Brien, severely.

13TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Killed.—Major C. F. Bruere.

Wounded.—Captain T. P. Waterman, slightly; Captain R. B. Francis, mortally (since dead).

41ST REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.—Captain M. F. Kemble, severely; Lieutenant H. Inglis, severely; Ensign G. L. K. Hewett, slightly.

48TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.—Lieutenant and Adjutant O. L. Smith, severely (accidentally); Lieutenant C. W. Fletcher, severely: Lieutenant A. J. Dashwood, slightly (since dead of cholera); Lieutenant D. Hay, slightly; Ensign H. C. O'Dowda, slightly; Surgeon W. W. Wells, slightly.

71ST REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.—Captain G. Strangways, slightly; Surgeon W. Brydon, severely.

OFFICERS NOT BELONGING TO THE OUDH BRIGADE.

Killed.—Major J. S. Banks, 33rd Regiment Native Infantry.

Wounded.—Lieutenant H. S. Lester, 32nd Regiment, Native Infantry, mortally (since dead); Ensign R. L. Inglis, 63rd Regiment, Native Infantry, slightly.

OUDH IRREGULAR FORCE.

Wounded.—Major of Brigade Captain G. R. P. Barlow, slightly (since dead).

1ST OUDH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

Wounded.—Captain H. Forbes, slightly.

2ND OUDH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

Killed.—Lieutenant J. S. Shepherd.

3RD OUDH IRREGULAR CAVALRY.

Wounded.—Lieutenant F. W. Graham, twice slightly.

5TH REGIMENT, OUDH INFANTRY.

Wounded.—Captain W. H. Hawes, severely; Lieutenant G. Grant, dangerously (since dead).

9TH REGIMENT, OUDH INFANTRY.

Wounded.—Lieutenant J. A. Vanrenen, slightly.

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ASSISTANT CHAPLAIN.

Wounded.—Reverend H. S. Polehampton, severely (since dead of cholera).

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Wounded.—Permanent Conductor P. Baxter, severely (since dead).

GENTLEMEN OF THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Killed.—M. C. Ommanney, Esq., Judicial Commissioner.

Wounded.—Deputy Commissioner of Mullaon, W. C. Capper, Esq., slightly; Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Gondah, G. H. Lawrence, Esq., severely; Assistant Commissioner of Lucknow, J. B. Thornhill, Esq., slightly.

CIVIL ENGINEERS.

Wounded.—J. McRae, Esq., severely; J. Casey, severely (since dead of cholera).

Abstract.

KILLED AND DIED OF THEIR WOUNDS.

Officers	17	
Gentlemen of the Civil Service	1	
Warrant officers	1	
	—	19

WOUNDED.

Officers	35	
Gentlemen of the Civil Service	3	
Civil Engineers	2	
Assistant Chaplain	1	
	—	41
Total ...		60

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Offg. Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

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RETURN of killed and wounded of the garrison of Lucknow from the 30th of June to the 26th of September 1857.

DETAILS.	EUROPEANS. Killed and died of their wounds. Officers.	Surgeons.	Veterinary Surgeons.	Warrant officers and Staff-Sergeants.	Non-commissioned officers.	Buglers or drummers.	Privates and gunners.	Total.	EUROPEANS. Wounded. Officers.	Surgeons.	Veterinary-Surgeons.	Warrant officers and Staff-Sergeants.	Non-commissioned officers.	Buglers or drummers.	Privates and gunners.	Total.	NATIVES. Killed and died of their wounds. Commissioned officers.	Non-commissioned officers.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Sowars.	Total.	NATIVES. Wounded. Commissioned officers.	Non-commissioned officers.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Sowars.	Total.
General and Brigade Staff ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Artillery, regular and irregular ...	2	...	...	2	6	1	13	24	6	...	...	2	6	1	10	25	...	3	...	8	...	11	1	2	1	6	...	10
Engineers ...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7th Regiment, Light Cavalry (officers) ...	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 32nd Foot	3	...	...	...	9	2	70	84	6	...	...	...	15	4	114	139	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Detachment, Her Majesty's 84th Foot ...	...	...	...	...	2	...	10	12	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13th Regiment, Native Infantry ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	5	3	18	...	28	7	9	2	34	...	52
Detachment, 41st Native Infantry (officers and drummers) ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	5	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
48th Regiment, Native Infantry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	2	...	1	...	3	1	2	1	3	...	7
71st Regiment, Native Infantry ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	2	...	6	...	9	1	6	...	5	...	12
Oudh Irregular Force	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	1	...	1	3	...	3	...	...	10	13
Pensioners (Native) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	7	...	9	...	15	...	16	...	31
New Native levies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	4	...	4
Lucknow magazine ...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	2
Officers not attached to the Oudh Brigade ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grand Total ...	16	...	1	10	17	3	93	140	33	2	...	3	21	5	126	190	4	15	9	43	1	72	10	37	4	70	10	131

N.B.—One member of the Civil Service killed and three wounded; one military chaplain wounded; two Civil Engineers wounded, also fifteen gentlemen of the Uncovenanted Service and others killed, and nine wounded are not included in the above.

(Examined.)

(Signed) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

(Signed) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

(True copies.)

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

GENERAL ORDERS by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated Head-Quarters, Shah Nujeef, Lucknow, 21st November 1857.

Although the Commander-in-Chief has not yet had time to peruse the detailed report of Brigadier Inglis respecting the defence made by the slender garrison under his command, His Excellency desires to lose no time in recording his opinion of the magnificent defence made by the remnant of a British regiment, Her Majesty's 32nd, a company of British artillery, and a few hundred sepoys, whose very presence was a subject of distrust, against all the force of Oudh, until the arrival of the reinforcement under Major-Generals Sir James Outram, G.C.B., and Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.

2. The persevering constancy of this small garrison, under the watchful command of the brigadier, has, under Providence, been the means of adding to the prestige of the British Army and of preserving the honour and lives of our country-women.

There can be no greater reward than such a reflection; and the Commander-in-Chief heartily congratulates Brigadier Inglis and his devoted garrison on that reflection belonging to them.

3. The position occupied by the garrison was an open entrenchment, the numbers were not sufficient to man the defences, and the supply of artillerymen for the guns was most inadequate. In spite of these difficult circumstances, the brigadier and his garrison held on; and it will be a great pleasure to the Commander-in-Chief to bring to the notice of the Government of India the names of all the officers and soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the great trial to which they have been exposed.

4. The Commander-in-Chief congratulates Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock on having been the first to aid Brigadier Inglis.

The Governor-General in Council has already expressed his opinion on the splendid feat of arms by which that aid was accomplished.

Head-Quarters, Shah Nujeef, 22nd November 1857.

When the Commander-in-Chief issued his order of yesterday with regard to the old garrison of Lucknow, His Excellency was unaware of the important part taken in aid of the soldiers by the civil functionaries who happened to be at the Residency when it was shut in by the enemy.

2. His Excellency congratulates them very heartily on the honour they have won in conjunction with their military comrades. This is only another instance that in danger and difficulty all Englishmen behave alike, whatever their profession.

CHAPTER II

HAVELOCK'S CAMPAIGN—CAPTURE OF CAWNPORE

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad, to Colonel* BIRCH, *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Allahabad, 20th June 1857* (*12-10* P.M.)

The insurgents have been completely driven away from this. Communication with Benares open. The moulvie gone towards Lucknow. Fusiliers severely attacked with cholera, early on morning of the 18th instant, one hundred cases; forty deaths from cholera, ten from sun-stroke. Health now improving; moved position; and established hospital outside the fort. No rain; heat terrible; four hundred and ninety Fusiliers of all ranks now here; remainder on their way up by steamer. One hundred of 84th arrived this morning; more coming on. Road to Cawnpore closed up-country; arranging to push on troops towards Cawnpore and open up communication, but impeded by Allahabad; supplies on the road; will persevere to the utmost.

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Lieutenant-Colonel* GORDON, *Commanding at Benares,—dated 20th June 1857.*

I am directed, by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, to request that you will have the goodness to use every exertion to collect carriage for the moveable force which is to be sent on from Allahabad as soon as practicable. Three European regiments will be collected there shortly, and probably a field battery now on its way up. This force must move up the Doab to Cawnpore as soon as practicable.

2. About one hundred and fifty Ordnance bullocks will be required for the battery. These must be taken off the road, where they are at present employed in assisting the bullock train, but this is not to be done, except in communication with Mr. Riddell, who is now on his way to Benares.

3. A telegram to the above effect was this day transmitted to you.

Telegram (Express) from Colonel NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad, to Colonel* BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Allahabad, 23rd June 1857 (1-30* P.M.)

Have sent on Governor-General's message to Lucknow and Cawnpore, and lightly equipping four hundred Europeans, and two 9-pounders with veteran European soldiers. Three hundred Sikhs with all the cavalry here taking twenty days' rations to move by marches on Cawnpore; it will be four days, at least before I can start, carriage and provisions difficult as yet to get; things improving. This will be followed up by detachments bringing on more rations as carriage can be got. Collecting and storing grain and supplies, and expect a sufficient supply. Will continue every exertion· There are tents for two European regiments and for one at Benares. Two hundred and eighteen are on way up from Calcutta, and in about ten days one hundred tents will be ready made there. Cholera decreasing, confined to Fusiliers, and all hurrying off the steamers. No coal for them at station on river reported. No rain yet.

Telegram from Major-General LLOYD, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Dinapore (via Patna), 25th June 1857 (3-45* P.M.)

Jemadar Salamat Allie, 53rd Native Infantry, escaped from Cawnpore on 12th instant, reports that the whole Native force there joined with the Bithoor Rajah's troops on 4th instant, seized the treasure and magazine, and besieged General Wheeler's entrenched camp from that date to 12th. When the deponent left, guns were then still firing upon it. Reports that General Wheeler was killed on the 19th. More by post.

Telegram from Major-General LLOYD, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Dinapore (via Sheghotty), 26th June 1857 (2-10* P.M.)

Sheik Salamat Allie, 53rd Native Infantry descape from Cawnpore, reported that the Native troops rose on the 4th and 5th June, and joined

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the Bithoor Rajah's troops, plundered the treasure, seized the magazine, released the prisoners, and besieged General Wheeler's entrenched camp from 6th to 12th. When deponent left, the General is said to have been killed, and many others. The guns still playing on them at twelve.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General LLOYD, *Dinapore,—dated Calcutta, 27th June 1857* (1-15 P.M.)

Your message of yesterday about Cawnpore received. Sheik Salamat Allie has given you bad information. We know that up to the 17th instant Sir H. Wheeler was holding his entrenched camp, and had repulsed with great slaughter two attacks of the insurgents.

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad, to Colonel* BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, and Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Allahabad, 28th June 1857.*

All well. No intelligence from Cawnpore, except a Native from there on the 23rd, states Wheeler holds out and moves out of his entrenchments frequently to attack. People coming in, confidence being much restored. Collecting abundance of supplies and carriages from different quarters; cholera gone entirely. The column will certainly march from this on the 30th towards Cawnpore; Major Renaud, Madras Fusiliers, will command. I will have the utmost confidence in him. They are well Europeaned, and must get on well; the weather is cool.

From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *to Sir* PATRICK GRANT, K.C.B., *Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 1st July 1857 (1-3 P.M.)*

I and my staff have arrived here safe. A column marched towards Cawnpore yesterday under Major Renaud, consisting of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs, 120 Irregular Cavalry, and two 9-pounders. I trust it will relieve Sir Hugh Wheeler. A supporting column of the strength of two full British regiments with six guns and the handful of Volunteer Cavalry will follow in six or eight days. Sir H. Lawrence's letters of the 27th just despatched to-day by me will show you the state of Lucknow and the whole proceedings in Oudh. It is too clear that Birch's poor brother has fallen in the smash of his station,

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From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 2nd July 1857 (3-33* P.M.)

A report of the fall of Cawnpore received from Lawrence, but is not believed by the authorities at Allahabad. A steamer with one hundred Europeans armed with Minie rifle and two 6-pounders start to-morrow to endeavour to relieve Wheeler, or co-operate with the column under Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers. General Havelock marches on Saturday to assist Major Renaud with one thousand Europeans and three guns. Sir H. Lawrence writes as follows: On the 28th June, at 10 P.M. Every reason to believe that the Cawnpore force has been entirely destroyed by treachery: you must not now move with less than one thousand Europeans. The Nana will probably join the rebels at Lucknow, but we can stand them all for months. Delhi said not to have fallen up to the 16th; this comes from Agra. Three Gurkha regiments said to be coming to our help. Write to Gorakhpore and desire one regiment to be left to keep the peace where required as in the Benares Division at or about Gorakhpore, Azimghur, and Banda, the other two to move up and join you. Civil or other officers of tact and temper ought to join each regiment. All well here; one thousand Europeans, one thousand Gurkhas, and one thousand Sikhs, with eight or ten guns, will thrash anything.

REPLY.

From the Commander-in-Chief, to Officer Commanding at Allahabad,—dated Calcutta, 3rd July 1857.

Received your No. 21 of yesterday. A portion of the Gurkha force has been directed to move on Gorakhpore. The remainder on Lucknow. This was done days ago. Officers have been appointed.

From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 3rd July 1857 (6-50* A.M.)

The news of the entire destruction of the Cawnpore force confirmed by Cossid, who, carrying letters from Lucknow to Allahabad, witnessed it. They state that the Nana swore to send the garrison in boats to Calcutta, but that as soon as the Europeans got into the boats the guns opened on them; the fugitives made for the opposite bank, and were entirely destroyed by a large body of cavalry.

REPLY.

From Commander-in-Chief, to Officer Commanding at Allahabad,—dated Calcutta, 3rd July 1857.

Your message No. 25 of this date received. If you are satisfied of the truth of the account given by the Cossid, you should halt Renaud's force until Havelock's column can support him.

From Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, —dated Allahabad, 3rd July 1857 (4 P.M.)

The steamer started this morning with provisions for Sir H. Wheeler and one hundred Fusiliers, with two guns on board, to proceed with all despatch towards Cawnpore; and if it still be ours, communicate with Sir Hugh; and if it has fallen, to keep out of range of their guns after removing as near as possible to Cawnpore, and await General Havelock's orders, or drop in the river at once abreast of his force and advance with it. I do not credit the report by the Cossid yesterday that Cawnpore had fallen. I feel confident Wheeler still holds out. General Havelock has halted Renaud's force. I would not, as it is strong enough for anything that could be brought against it, and if the report is true, should move on steadily to Futtehpore, to be there to be overtaken by the General. The steamer, besides the great effect it will produce on the Ganges, will co-operate with the advance by land. If the river is open, we can transport troops and stores and have much land carriage. My opinion is we ought never, if possible, to stand, but always be advancing, if only three or four miles a day. Accounts from Renaud's party good; have ordered a light siege train to be prepared here, and have instructed Lieutenant Brown, a most excellent officer, to take charge of and prepare it, subject to approval.

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, 4th July 1857 (11 A.M.)*

A letter from Renaud's camp, dated yesterday, getting on well; making examples of some of the rebels and sepoys of the 6th. A Native had come into his camp, and swore that seven days before the Nana had moved his force from before Cawnpore. Sir H. Wheeler had planted his sentries in the bazaar; this I think much more probable than the bad news which has been too readily believed, and which has had the effect desired by the enemy of retarding the advance of our

troops. I earnestly beg that no further delay in moving on Renaud's force may be permitted, and that the force from this, intended to have moved to-day, can be properly manned (*Sic in original*). Fifty Royal Artillery are here; these with thirty men of the 64th, who know the gun drill a little, will be ample for six guns for the General's and Renaud's force. The veteran gunners of the latter might then return to this: they will impede the march having to be carried too. I beg to suggest that half a battery, instead of a whole one, is quite sufficient with 300 men for Benares, and that one half battery should be sent on here.

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 5th July 1857,* (*3-5* P.M.)

A letter from Renaud yesterday at Kutonghun had a note from Sir H. Lawrence of 28th ultimo. All well there, but he says he has reason to believe General Wheeler and his force had been destroyed by treachery, and directing Renaud to stand fast on the ground his note reaches him, or, according to the number of the enemy fall back on this. I still do not believe that Cawnpore has fallen. Renaud has, I regret to say, not only halted but sent in reinforcements, and has written to Captain Spurgin to join him. I only hope Spurgin will not obey him. Immediately I heard this, I expressed my extreme disapproval to General Havelock. He promised to send out an order that Captain Spurgin should not leave the steamer. I wrote at the same time to Renaud by express, and trust it will reach in time. Mr. Court has just received intelligence that all the insurgents have bolted for Futtehpore. If true, Renaud has therefore lost the opportunity of striking a blow from their over caution, which, if continued on, will lead to most serious injury to the service. At this crisis Renaud's party is equal to anything, and, backed by the General, who marches to-morrow, there need be no anxiety to any one.

Telegram from H. TUCKER, *Esq., to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Benares, 5th July 1857* (*12-40* P.M.)

The following is from Havelock's message to the Officer Commanding at Benares:—"News has been received both from Lawrence at Lucknow and from Cossid, who state that they witnessed it, that the force at Cawnpore has been destroyed to a man. It therefore becomes necessary to send off all the ladies from Benares by the first steamer, or any other safe method. Continue entrenching your position as quickly as possible; lay in supplies, and take every possible precaution to ensure

your safety in case you are attacked, as the fall of Cawnpore will exercise a great influence on the country in general. A column starts to-morrow to re-take Cawnpore. Press on your reinforcements, especially artillery. Don't keep back a single soldier."

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, 5th July 1857 (10-25* P.M.)

Note from Renaud, dated last night, the 4th instant; had the day before sent men on into Cawnpore, who returned on the 4th, and report that on Sir H. Wheeler's being shot through the leg, and afterwards mortally, the force had lost heart, and sued for peace; the Nana allowed them to get into boats with all they had, and three-and-a-half lakhs of rupees; that after getting them in boats, fire was opened on them from the bank, and all destroyed. One boat got away ten miles down the river, was pursued, brought back, and all in her taken back into barracks and shot. One old lady was alive on the 3rd at Futtehpore, from Cawnpore. No troops had arrived there, but two regiments and two guns were expected there. I much regret Renaud having halted, and that he had been induced to send for Captain Spurgin, but he states that four sowars he sent with note to Spurgin could not reach him, and I hope he will get my note, pointing out his mistake; he is acting with energy, and punishing with much discretion some villagers in his neighbourhood. I hope he will be ordered on; he is quite equal to anything. The Sikhs and irregular cavalry behaved splendidly; the latter in particular, under Palliser, doing good service. An advance, however slow, will have a splendid effect. Also Spurgin making his way up the river; both ought to keep moving; falling back on this would be ruinous. The people between this and Futtehpore quite in great dread, beyond that all are plundering; an advance there will quiet them completely. We must keep moving on. A note from Renaud of to-day's date, still halted at Kutonghun, doing well; sends in a few lines from Agra, of 21st June: all well there.

Telegram from Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—(No. 94, dated Allahabad, 8th July 1857 (11-15 P.M.)

General Havelock left yesterday afternoon; fine weather; he will get on well; took six guns, Renaud's two will make eight there; he will not return Renaud's veteran gunners, they with the two 6-pounders will be of little use to him, and to replace them here I will have to

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keep back effectual gunners, two 9-pounders, and break up a battery. Lieutenant Harward, my only artillery officer, is with Renaud, leaving here only two veteran gunners fit to work a gun, this included nine non-commissioned officers. The Engineer-officer, Lieutenant Russell, has been taken on by General Havelock. Think this place ought not to be without one. A Native merchant's letter from Cawnpore corroborates the last account—all lost heart on Wheeler's death, and made terms; fourteen ladies in all wounded by the miscreants in the entrenchment. On re-landing three-and-a-half lakhs taken by our people to the boats. The sepoys and the Nana quarrelled about his division and the latter fled for life.

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, —dated Allahabad, 9th July 1857 (3-10* P.M.*)*

News very contradictory. Brazier, who has good intelligence, writes from Renaud's camp, dated yesterday, that they heard the other day the Nana was marching on them with twenty-four guns, two regiments cavalry, and four regiments infantry. Since heard that he had sent off camp colors to Futtehpore, which was confirmed; but they had dispersed, finding no one followed them; that Cawnpore was broken up into small parties. No control; scarcely one hundred holding together. The guns still there, but no bullocks to draw them away. Mr. Court just writes to me, from two Native letters received by him, the Nana has not gone away; that his plan of operations is not fixed, he wishing to move on Lucknow, the Moulvie and Mussalman wishing to move here; that the latter prevailed; that five troops of cavalry, one regiment of infantry, and two guns are at Futtehpore to collect supplies and form an advance. Renaud ought to smash them. The whole force with Nana is computed at seven infantry and one cavalry regiment and fourteen guns. The writers are respectable, and one a very careful man, a pleader in the Judge's Court. The Benares guns ought to be sent up sharp, and no more delay. If they do come down here we ought to give a good account of them.

Telegram from General HAVELOCK, *to the Governor-General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 10th July 1857 (7-45* A.M.*)*

Sent by Colonel Neill, and just received at 7-30 A. M., 10th July 1857:—My column of 1,000 British troops and six guns arrived here this morning. We should be joined by Major Renaud on the 12th, one

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march from Futtehpore. I shall then have 1,400 British, 550 Native, and eight guns. The steamer *Berhampooter* accompanied us with two guns and 100 riflemen, so I hope soon to announce the recapture of Cawnpore.

Telegram from H. TUCKER, Esq., *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Benares, 12th July 1857 (10* A.M.)

Would it be allowed to cancel the late village settlement of Oudh, and obtain the aid of the large talukdars to the relief of Lucknow by engaging that the settlement should be made with them on favorable terms. This might afford a chance of help to Sir Henry.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Officer Commanding at Allahabad,—dated Calcutta, 12th July 1857 (11-30 A.M.)

A steamer of sixty horse-power, drawing four-and-a-half feet, mounting four 12-pounder howitzers (or some 9-pounder guns, if possible), manned by forty seamen, and towing two pinnaces, will start for Allahabad in three days. Each pinnace will mount a gun of its own, and will be capable of being detached with its own crew.

Orders have been given to provision Allahabad largely. I beg you to see that this is attended to.

You are appointed Brigadier-General, and will thereby stand next to General Havelock. Sir Henry Lawrence is made Major-General, and will take chief command as soon as he is set free to do so. Send him word of this, and endeavour to keep him informed of the advance of the column. It may be easier to do this from Allahabad than from the head-quarters of the force.*

Tell General Havelock that Engineer officers are sent to assist him in crossing the river at Cawnpore in case of difficulty. They will overtake his force, but he is not to delay for them.

You will receive all help in artillerymen that can be spared to you.

Telegram from Colonel NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—No. 141-A, dated Allahabad, 12th July 1857* (4-8 P.M.)

Received your message of 11 A.M. to-day, and sent out express to the Government. The steamer moved abreast of the force now in

* A copy of this telegram among Sir Henry Lawrence's papers gives here the following important paragraph :—"Tell General Havelock that I reckon upon hearing of no pause in his advance."

advance, and with caution. Heard from the General's camp last night: he overtook Renaud. Both to-day at Futtehpore, all well, expects to be at Cawnpore on the 16th instant; he will immediately attack and dispose of the Nana. Calculates the 16th and 17th will be spent in crossing river and will be before Lucknow on the 20th. I anticipate no difficulty about crossing with the steamer and boats. Suggest that our stud stations of Ghazipore, Buxar, and Koruntadee be looked after and made safe; if looted, we will be hard up for horses. All well here, laying in grain, &c.

From Major W. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Calcutta, 17th July 1857.*

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward, for submission to the Governor-General in Council, copy of a telegram, dated the 12th July 1857, received from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, C.B., Commanding the Moveable Column, announcing the total defeat at Futtehpore of a body of the insurgents, and the capture of all their guns, with copy of his order to the troops, commending their excellent conduct on the occasion.

Telegram from General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857.*

I have to acquaint Your Excellency that I have this morning attacked and totally defeated the insurgents, capturing eleven guns, and scattering their forces in utter confusion in the direction of Cawnpore. By two harassing marches I joined Major Renaud's advanced column three hours before daylight, and encamped about 8 o'clock, four miles from Futtehpore, where pitching our tents the enemy advanced out of Futtehpore and opened fire upon a reconnaissance under Colonel Tytler. I had wished to defer the fight until to-morrow, but thus assailed, was compelled to accept the challenge.

I marched eight guns in the centre, under Captain Maude, forming the whole of the infantry in quarter distance columns in support. Captain Maude's fire electrified the enemy, who abandoned gun after gun, and were then driven by our skirmishers and column through garden enclosures and the streets of Futtehpore in complete confusion. My loss is merely nominal; not a single European touched My column had marched twenty-four miles up to the ground I write from, and Major Renaud's nineteen miles. The conduct of the troops in sustaining the

fatigue of so long a march, and enduring the heat of a frightful sun is beyond all praise. The enemy's strength is said to have been two regiments of Cavalry and three of Infantry, and eleven guns.

From Brigadier W. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 672, dated Calcutta, 18th July 1857.*

Forwards despatch of Brigadier-General Havelock, giving an account of the action fought between his force and the rebels at Futtehpore on the 12th instant.

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit, in original, a despatch, under date the 12th instant, from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, C.B., Commanding the Moveable Column from Allahabad, giving a detailed account of the operations of the troops under his command and of those under Major Renaud, of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and of the very decisive action fought by the combined force at Futtehpore on the above date, which has ended in the complete discomfiture of the enemy.

2. In submitting these documents to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, I am instructed to say that His Excellency feels assured that His Lordship will agree with him that the Brigadier-General and the officers and men of every arm under his command have well earned the cordial thanks and acknowledgments of the Government of India for the excellent service they have rendered, and the cheerful alacrity with which they have borne their fatigues and exposure.

3. The return of the documents, when done with, is requested.

From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, —dated Futtehpore, 12th July 1857.*

By telegrams and reports in various shapes, the Commander-in-Chief has been kept informed of the operations of Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers, on the Grand Trunk Road, between the 1st and 11th instant, at the head of a force of four hundred British and four hundred and twenty Native troops, with two pieces of cannon. He has everywhere pacificated the country by punishing the ringleaders in mutiny and rebellion wherever they have fallen into his hands, and earned, as I venture to think, the best thanks of His Excellency.

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2. But on the 10th instant his position became critical: Cawnpore had suddenly fallen by an act of treachery unequalled in our annals, save by one fatal event beyond the Indus, and the rebel force thus freed from occupation had rapidly pushed down a force to the vicinity of this place, within five miles of which the Major would arrive on the morning of the 12th. He would thus be exposed to the attack of 3,500 rebels with twelve guns.

3. No time was to be lost, so on the 10th my column marched, under a frightful sun, fifteen miles to Synee, and resuming their course at eleven at night, joined Major Renaud on the road by moonlight, and with him marched to Khaga, five miles from Futtehpore, soon after dawn, and took up a position.

4. The heat was excessive, but there were now on a point 1,400 British bayonets, and eight guns united to a small Native force. The whole is detailed below:—

3rd Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery ...	76	
1st Madras Fusiliers	376	
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	435	* British. Total British ... 1,403
" " 78th Highlanders	284	
" " 84th Regiment	190*	
Regiment of Ferozepore	448†	
Volunteer Cavalry	20*	† Native. Total Native ... 561
13th Irregular and 3rd Oudh, Irregular Cavalry	95†	
Detachment, Bengal Artillery	22*	
Golundauze	18†	
Total ...	1,964	Total ... 1,964

5. Our information had been better than that of the enemy, for when Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler pushed a reconnaisance up to the town, they evidently supposed they had only Major Renaud's gallant but small force in their front, for after firing on the Lieutenant-Colonel and his escort they insolently pushed forward two guns, and a force of infantry and cavalry cannonaded our front, and threatened our flanks.

6. I wished earnestly to give our harassed soldiers rest, and so turning out my line waited until this ebullition should expend itself, making no counter-disposition beyond posting 300 Enfield riflemen (64th) in an advanced copse. But the enemy maintained his attack with the audacity which his first supposition had inspired and my inertness fostered. It would have injured the *morale* of my troops to permit them thus to be bearded, so I determined at once to bring on an action.

7. Futtehpore constitutes a position of no small strength. The hard, dry Grand Trunk Road subdivides it, and is the only means of

convenient access, for the plains on both side are covered at the season by heavy lodgments of water, to the depth of two, three, and four feet. It is surrounded by garden enclosures of great strength, with high walls, and has within it many houses of good masonry. In front of the swamps are hillocks, villages, and mango groves, which the enemy already occupied in force.

Mutineers, 2nd, 3rd* and 7th Light Cavalry and Irregulars		500
Native Infantry and Artillery	..	1,500
Armed Insurgents	..	1,500
Total	...	3,500
Iron and brass guns	..	12

8. I estimate his numbers as set forth in the margin.

9. I made my dispositions. The guns, now eight in number, were formed on, and close to the *Chaussee* in the centre, under Captain Maude, R.A., protected and aided by one hundred Enfield riflemen of the 64th. The detachments of infantry were at the same moment thrown into line of quarter distance columns at deploying distance, and thus advanced in support covered at discretion by Enfield skirmishers. The small force of volunteers and Irregular Cavalry moved forward on the flanks on harder ground.

10. I might say that in ten minutes the action was decided, for in that short space of time the spirit of the enemy was utterly subdued. The rifle fire reaching them at an unexpected distance filled them with dismay, and when Captain Maude was enabled to push his guns through flanking swamps to point blank range, his surprisingly accurate fire demolished their little remaining confidence. In a moment three guns were abandoned to us on the *Chaussee*, and the force advanced steadily driving the enemy before it on every point.

11. Major Renaud won a hillock on the right in good style and struggled on through the inundation. The 78th, not in extension, kept up his communication with the centre, the 64th gave strength to the centre and left. On the left the 84th and regiment of Ferozepore pressed back the enemy's right.

12. As we moved forward the enemy's guns continued to fall into our hands, and then in succession they were driven by skirmishers and columns from the garden enclosures, from a strong barricade on the road, from the town wall into all the rough, out of, and beyond the town. They endeavoured to make a stand a mile in advance of it; my troops were in such a state of exhaustion that I almost despaired of

* It is difficult to understand how the 3rd Cavalry could have been opposed to Havelock on the 12th of July. That regiment on mutinying at Meerut (Volume I—Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Military Department—Delhi, page 249) proceeded to Delhi, and remained there to the end. Of course stray men of any regiment might have been opposed to Havelock.

driving them further; at the same time the mutineers of the 2nd Light Cavalry made an effort to renew the combat by charging with some success our irregular horse, whose disposition throughout the fight was, I regret to say, worse than doubtful.

But again our guns and riflemen were with great labour pushed to the front. Their fire soon put the enemy to final and irretrievable flight, and my force took up its present position in triumph, and parked twelve captured guns.

13. I must endeavour in this hasty despatch to do justice to those who led the troops to this easy victory. First on the list I must place Major Renaud, whose exertions at the head of the advanced column I cannot sufficiently praise. His coolness and conduct in the action are equally entitled to my highest commendation.

I hope that it will be in the power of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to bring speedily to the notice of His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief the courage and skill of Captain Maude, R.A. I have seen some artillery fights in my time, but never beheld guns better served or practice more effective than that of my battery under this officer.

Colonel Hamilton led his Highlanders well, and they followed him full of spirit and devotion.

I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct in the combat of Major Stirling at the head of the 64th, of Lieutenant Ayton in command of the 84th detachment, of Captain Brazier, Regiment of Ferozepore, of Captain Barrow leading the Volunteer Cavalry, and Lieutenant Palliser at the head of the Irregular Horse.

I have next to speak of the Staff—Captain Beatson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, has given me entire satisfaction in the performance of his ordinary duties, and I was much gratified by his boldness and activity in the fight. Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler is indefatigable and most intelligent in a sphere of duty entirely new to him. Captain McBean's commissariat arrangements, chiefly with the advanced columns, have hitherto been in every way successful. My orders were conveyed in the field boldly, actively, and intelligently by my Aid-de-Camp Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot, and the following officers: Lieutenant Morland, 1st Fusiliers; Lieutenant Moorsom, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry; Captain Sheehy, Her Majesty's 81st Regiment; Captain Russell, Engineers, and Captain McBean.

14. I enclose the list of casualties, the lightest, I suppose, that ever accompanied the announcement of such a success. Twelve British soldiers were struck down by the sun and never rose again. But our

fight was fought neither with musket, nor bayonet and sabre, but with Enfield rifles and cannons, so we lost no men, the enemy's fire scarcely reached us; ours for four hours allowed him no repose.

15. A return of captured ordnance also accompanies this report.

A return of killed, wounded, and missing of the column under the command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *in the action of Futtehpore.*

Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Volunteer Cavalry ...	....	2 Horses ...	....
13th Irregular Cavalry ...	1 Jemadar 1 Sowar ...	1 Duffadar ... 1 Horse ...	2 Duffadars. 4 Horses.
3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry	1 Russeldar 1 Duffadar 2 Sowars	1 Duffadar ... 1 Sowar ...	2 Sowars. 7 Horses.
Regiment of Ferozepore ...	....	1 Private ...	....

(Signed) S. BEATSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

The 12th July 1857.

The other side of Futtehpore, 13th July 1857.

Return of guns and mortars captured on Sunday, the 12th of July 1857, at Futtehpore.

2 Light 6-pounder (Cossipore Foundry) Brass.
5 „ 9-pounder brass field guns.
1 Long 24-pounder iron garrison gun.
1 „ 12-pounder „ „ „
1 24-pounder brass howitzer.
1 10-inch iron mortar.
1 5½ „ brass „

Total 12 pieces of ordnance.

(Signed) H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *Brigr.-Genl.*,
Comdg. Column.

(Signed) P. C. MAUDE, H.A., *Capt.*,
Comdg. Artillery.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Futtehpore, 13th July 1857.*

Send copy of my order to the troops for submission to the Commander-in-Chief, dated 13th July:—

General Havelock thanks his soldiers for their arduous exertions of yesterday, which produced, in four hours, the strange result of a real

army being driven from a strong position, eleven guns captured, and their whole force scattered to the winds, without the loss of a British soldier. To what is this astonishing effect to be attributed? To the fire of British artillery, exceeding in rapidity and precision all that the Brigadier-General has ever witnessed in his not short career, or to the power of the Enfield rifle in British hands, and to British pluck, that good quality which has survived the revolution of the hour, and gained in intensity from the crisis, and to the blessing of Almighty God, and to the most righteous cause of humanity, truth, and good government in India.

Telegram from H. TUCKER, *Esq., to the Governor-General of India in Council, —dated Benares, 13th July 1857* (7-5 P.M.)

General Havelock has beaten the enemy, taken eleven guns and ammunition, and is now pushing on to reach Lucknow by the 21st. Sir H. Lawrence wrote on the 2nd that he had repulsed the enemy with heavy loss on that day. A Cossid sent from here has just returned; he left Lucknow on the 5th. There had been uninterrupted cannonade on both sides for four days. Neither party had very great advantage. Jubbulpore all right, and the 52nd quiet on the 10th. Saugor as before: the mutineers had killed and wounded some dozen of the faithful men. Nagode all right on the 7th, and the treasure and prisoners at Dumoh on the 8th. But no news of the Deputy Commissioner. Major Erskine hears that Colonel Durand has escaped to Sehore. This division much as usual. The Dobee Rajpoots have come to-day and made peace.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Lieutenant-Colonel NEILL,*—dated Allahabad, 14th July 1857.*

I beg you to convey to General Havelock my hearty congratulations and thanks for his success at Futtehpore. Nothing could be more complete. And the exertions made to reach the ground are most honourable to himself and his troops.

I am sure that the same exertions will be unremittingly and cheerfully continued to secure the safety of brave Sir Henry Lawrence and his gallant band. I fear that in abandoning the Muchee Bhowun at Lucknow a large amount of supplies have been sacrificed, and this makes time all important.

You will receive orders to join General Havelock's force immediately.

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Leave a memorandum of your wishes and suggestions as to the strengthening of Allahabad for the use of Captain Yule who is on his way to Allahabad.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Kallenpore, Allahabad, 14th July 1857* (*3-45* P.M.)

Here I have arrived and could be in Cawnpore on the 16th instant; but as it is rumoured that the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee is entrenched, and that four hundred have been sent for its defence, it is not probable that I can arrive so soon; if that stream is not defended I promise to march on the 16th to within five miles of Cawnpore and attack it the next day. We have taken every gun from the rebels at Futtehpore, twelve in number. This has enabled me to equip and take into the field nine excellent guns, instead of six lighter, and with the facility of also bringing into action two light 6-pounders. General Neill is urgent with me to send back a detachment of invalid artillery. I cannot do this without crippling my artillery force, which Captain Maude so ably commands. My official report of the affair at Futtehpore sent to Major Mayhew last night. I have with me eleven light guns and only seventy-two British artillerymen, including twenty-four invalids and thirty-one troops infantry. I shall not lose a moment in advancing on Lucknow if successful at Cawnpore.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Pandoo Nuddee, 15th July 1857.*

The 13th and 3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry are no longer to be trusted; in addition to their misbehaviour before the enemy on the 12th, they yesterday attempted to drive away my baggage. I dismounted and disarmed them last night, but kept them off duty, and have informed them that every deserter will be punished with death. I have appointed their horses for public purposes.

My troops were twice engaged this morning, and captured four more guns with trifling loss. A strong advanced guard under Colonel Tytler drove the enemy out of all entrenched positions in front of the village of Asung, after a resistance of two hours-and-a-half, during which the mutinous cavalry in considerable force made frequent attacks against my baggage, which compelled me to use every available detachment and gun against them. At noon we attacked their entrenchment at the bridge over the stream. The resistance here was short but

spirited, and the two guns taken were of large calibre. Major Renaud is severely wounded. The Madras Fusiliers particularly distinguished themselves.

From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp Pandoo Nuddee, 15th July 1857.*

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the troops under my command have been twice successfully engaged with the enemy to-day, and have captured four guns.

2. Whilst prosecuting my march towards Cawnpore, it became matter of deep interest to me to learn whether the fine bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee had been destroyed or not. The stream is not at this season fordable, and the delay in crossing by other means, or at any other point would have been most damaging to the object of the expedition.

3. Intelligence meanwhile came in to the effect that the village of "Aong" was strongly occupied by the enemy, that he was entrenched across the road, and had two horse artillery guns in position.

4. I therefore reinforced the advanced guard under Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler by attaching to him, in addition to the small body of Volunteer Cavalry, six guns of Captain Maude's battery and the detachment Her Majesty's 64th Regiment.

5. The enemy's entrenchments were not formidable, but the country being thickly wooded he was enabled to maintain himself for some time against our fire, during which interval large bodies of cavalry advanced on both flanks with the intention of capturing our baggage. These attacks were very persevering, and to defeat them, as I had only twenty Horse, I was compelled to protect the flanks with the infantry in second line and by artillery fire. It is gratifying to have to report that the enemy was unable to capture a single baggage animal, or follower. The last attempt was defeated by the baggage guards, whose fire was very effective.

6. Soon, however, the Lieutenant-Colonel overcame all resistance, drove the enemy before him, and captured his cannon. The road was strewed for miles with abandoned tents, ammunition, and other materials of war. He reports to me in high terms of commendation the conduct of the troops immediately under his command, of Captain Maude, commanding the battery, and of Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot, my Aide-de-Camp, and Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd Light Infantry, whom I had placed at his disposal.

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7. The troops were halted for refreshment and short repose, when authentic information was received that the bridge on the Pandoo stream was not destroyed but defended by entrenchments and two guns of garrison calibre.

8. Dispositions had to be made to force the passage of the stream; fortunately the bridge was at a salient bend of the river in our direction. Captain Maude at once suggested to me his desire to envelope it with his artillery fire by placing three guns on the road and three on either flank.

8. The whole of the Madras Fusiliers were extended as Enfield riflemen as being the most practised marksmen in the force; they lined the banks of the stream and kept up a biting fire.

9. The enemy opened an effective cannonade upon our column as they advanced along the road. They therefore deployed and advanced with great steadiness in parade order in support of the guns and riflemen. Captain Maude's bullets soon produced an evident effect, and then the right wing of the Fusiliers suddenly closing threw themselves with rare gallantry upon the bridge, carried it, and captured both guns. These two affairs cost me 25 killed and wounded as shown in the accompanying return. Amongst the latter I regret to have to particularize Major Renaud, 1st Madras Fusiliers, to whose gallantry and intelligence I have been under great obligations. His left thigh was broken by a musket ball in the skirmish at Aong, but I hope from the fortitude with which he endures all suffering a favourable result.

A return of killed, wounded and missing of the column under the command of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., *in the actions at Aong and the Pandoo Nuddee.*

Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Remarks.
Royal Artillery	....	1 Bombardier, severely, since dead.	....	
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment ...	....	1 Corporal. 10 Privates.	....	
Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders	1 Private	....	....	
1st Madras Fusiliers	....	2 Officers ... 1 Corporal ... 10 Privates ...	....	Brevet-Major Renaud, severely. Captain Fraser, slightly.
Total ...	1	25	....	

(Signed) S. BEATSON, *Capt., Depy. Asst. Adjt.-G nl.*

The 15th July 1857.

Telegram from General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 16th July 1857* (5-50 P.M.)

Received yesterday most pressing requisition for three hundred Europeans and guns from General Havelock to be sent to Cawnpore to occupy it with all despatch. I started two hundred and twenty-seven of 84th party in bullock vans; march twenty-five miles a night to reach in five days; had I not complied, the General, I fear, would have halted. I start this afternoon, dâks out, and overtake the 84th and move up with them; will go on before them if I can; shall lose no time; only one private note from a Commissariat Conductor from camp to-day; thirty-four miles from Cawnpore on the 14th, were to be at Cawnpore on 16th. They had found thirty hogsheads of porter; the mutineers are out of caps, and converted the detonator into matchlocks. Cossid from Lucknow declared that the mutineers there are in want of shot, firing stones from the guns; they were looting the city. I have now four hundred and twenty men, Europeans, here, including twenty-seven artillerymen. Hourly expect seventy of 84th by steamer and some by road escorting half battery from Benares. I have handed over command to Captain T R. Drummond-Hay, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, the senior in garrison; his orders are very strict, and I have no doubt all will act well until Colonel O'Brien arrives. I have given instructions which embrace everything. General Havelock had increased his six field guns by captures at Futtehpore to nine. I understand they are of heavy calibre.

From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 22nd July 1857.

Regarding the moving from Allahabad to Cawnpore of a detachment of European soldiers in support of Brigadier-General Havelock's column, proceeding to Lucknow.

I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward copy of a letter received from Brigadier-General J. G. Neill, Commanding at Allahabad, No. 21, of the 16th instant, and of its enclosure, from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, of Brigadier-General Havelock's force, calling upon the former to forward, without delay, at least three hundred European soldiers to enable the Brigadier-General to leave a force at Cawnpore, and to push on to Lucknow as quickly as possible with the column under his command; and to beg you will have the goodness to inform the Right Hon'ble the

Governor-General in Council that His Excellency quite approves of the requisition having been complied with.

From Brigadier-General J. G. NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Allahabad, 16th July 1857.*

I have the honour to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of India, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General of General Havelock's column.

What induced me to detach the head-quarters of Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, amounting to 227 non-commissioned rank and file, to join him at Cawnpore.*

I merely take upon myself the responsibility of complying with the General's request to ensure no possible delay in his advance.

From Captain S. BEATSON, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, to Colonel* J. G. NEILL, *Commanding at Allahabad,—dated Camp Futtehpore, 14th July 1857.*

I am directed by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., to desire that you will make every possible exertion to push up to Cawnpore, with as little delay as possible, three hundred Europeans; or if so many cannot be spared from the garrison of Allahabad in your opinion, although there cannot be the same necessity for keeping it up at full strength now that previously existed, that you will spare two hundred men at least.

It is the General's intention to push on to Lucknow as quickly as possible, but a small force must be left behind at Cawnpore, and he cannot spare a man from the column, which is scarcely strong enough, as it is, for the work before it.

If any delay occurs in despatching these men, his operations in advance will be seriously retarded; and he mentions his plans and intentions to you, in order that, seeing the paramount importance of this reinforcement, not an hour may be lost by you in getting them off from Allahabad.

They ought to proceed to Lohunda by rail if that will save time, and reach Cawnpore in six marches from that place, and the officer in command should be directed to report himself daily by dâk to me at Cawnpore that the General may be kept informed of his progress.

* *Sic* in original.

I am also directed by the Brigadier-General to request you will be good enough to forward him a daily present state of the strength of the garrison of Allahabad, as he does not know under present circumstances, sufficiently pressing, what troops are always available.

If guns are ready and artillerymen they may be sent on with the European detachment herein ordered, but they are not urgently required; the Europeans are.

The detachment should be men either from the 78th Highlanders or 84th Regiment.

From Brigadier-General NEILL, *to Colonel* R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Allahabad, 16th July 1857.*

I have the honour to report my departure from Allahabad this afternoon to join the force under Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., *en route* to Cawnpore and Lucknow, and that I will push on with as little delay as possible.

During my command here I have had much cause to be satisfied with all the officers of the staff in this fort. Lieutenants Davidson and Jenkins of the Commissariat are intelligent, energetic, and most attentive officers, and have been indefatigable in the performance of their duties, in laying in large quantities of provisions with abundance, more coming in. Captain Russell and Lieutenant Brown of the Ordnance Department are excellent officers; the latter has been of much service to me during the absence of an Engineer officer. Captain Haslewood, the Fort Adjutant, has also been most zealous and attentive, and with Captain Innes also of the Invalids has been of great service to me. I also beg particularly to bring to notice three gentlemen in uncovenanted civil employ here, whom I have observed whilst here, and I think them deserving of the greatest credit, loyal, hardworking, intelligent men, Messrs. Thomas Palmen, W. Glynn, and T. V. Sandys. I have obtained much valuable assistance and information from these gentlemen, and they have all been exerting themselves with much success in getting us supplies and sheep. There are also two Natives here who have been loyal to us from the first, and at the first offered assistance in grain and money; they have promised us much grain. Lallas Ram Reik and Ram Pershad, sons of the late Lalla Peeroomul, deserve to have their names brought to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General as men who have never swerved, but from the very first stood forward in our favour. May I request the favour of your doing so.

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I start this afternoon for Cawnpore, and have handed over the command of Allahabad to Captain T. R. Drummond-Hay, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders. I have given him orders and instructions he will no doubt duly attend to, and Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien will be here in a few hours.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 17th July 1857.*

By the blessing of God I recaptured this place yesterday, and totally defeated Nana Sahib in person, taking more than six guns, four of siege calibre.

The enemy were strongly posted behind a succession of villages, and obstinately disputed for 140 minutes every inch of the ground, but I was enabled by a flank movement to my right to turn his left, and this gave us the victory. The conduct of the troops was admirable.

Nana Sahib had barbarously murdered all the captive women and children before the engagement. He has retired to Bithoor, and blew up this morning, on his retreat, the Cawnpore magazine. He is said to be strongly fortified.

I have not been yet able to get in the return of killed and wounded, but estimate my loss at about seventy, chiefly from the fire of grape.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Nabobgunge, Cawnpore, 18th, and Allahabad, 19th July 1857* (*10* P.M.)

Nana Sahib is at Bithoor in force with 5,000 men and 45 guns. Agra is besieged by the mutineers from Neemuch and Nasirabad; Lucknow for the present safe. I have the steamer at the artillery ghât; the troops are in the highest spirits. I have mounted on the horse of the recreant Irregular 40 British Infantry. I trust they will do as good service as the Agra volunteers, who have just received the guns of the Cotah Contingent. I have ordered all the beer, wine, spirits, and every drinkable thing at Cawnpore to be purchased by the Commissariat; it will be then guarded by a few men; if it remained at Cawnpore, it would require half my force to keep it from being drunk up by the other half, and I should not have a soldier in camp. While I was winning a victory on the 16th, some of my men were pillaging the Commissariat on the line of march. I have appointed Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd Light Infantry, to assist Colonel Tytler in his arduous duties. I trust you will approve. My casualties on the 16th amounted to one hundred exactly, but many are at their duty again.

From Brigadier-General Havelock, c.b., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Nabobgunge, Cawnpore, 20th and Allahabad, 21st July 1857* (8-56 p.m.)

My single Engineer officer, Lieutenant Russell, is under present circumstances inadequate to the work in hand; I urgently beg for more. I regret to say that Captain Beatson has died of cholera. I have appointed my aide-de-camp to succeed him, subject to Your Excellency's confirmation: though only a Lieutenant, he is an officer of eleven years standing, and the talents evinced, both in Persia and here, especially in our last action, have convinced me that I am only doing justice in making this nomination. Nana Sahib's followers appear to be deserting him. He has fled from Bithoor, which was occupied yesterday without resistance. Thirteen guns were found in the place. His palace is in flames. Brigadier Neill joined me this morning with two hundred and twenty-seven men of the 84th.

List of Ordnance captured at Bithoor, 19th July 1857.

	1	24-pounder iron gun.
	1	12-pounder „ cannonade.
	1	9-pounder brass gun.
	7	6-pounder „ guns.
	2	6-pounder „ „ dismounted.
	1	$5\frac{1}{2}$-inch brass mortar.
	1	3-pounder brass gun.
	4	3-pounder „ „ different pattern.
	1	1-pounder „ „
	1	model gun.
Total ...	20	

(Sd.) T. N. HARWARD, *Lieut.*,
Comdg. Bengal Arty.

(Sd.) L. STEPHENSON, *Major*,
Comdg. Det. and Reconnaissance.

N.B.—Several of the above are of French and Native manufacture.

From Brigadier-General Havelock, c.b., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Artillery,—dated Cawnpore, 20th July 1857.*

I have the pleasure to announce that the triumph of the Maharatta Pretender, Nana Sahib, the adopted nephew of the late *ex*-Peshwa,

Bajee Rao, has been of short duration. The treacherous proceedings by which he compassed the destruction of the force under the gallant Sir Hugh Wheeler have already been reported to the Commander-in-Chief.

I have now to announce the complete discomfiture of his force under his personal command, and the capture of his cannon, followed by the re-occupation of this station, which since the 6th June he has been devastating and desecrating by every form of cruelty and oppression.

2. He filled up the measure of his iniquities on the 15th; for on hearing that the bridge at the Pandoo Nuddee was forced, he ordered the immediate massacre of the wives and children of our British soldiers still in his possession in this cantonment, which was carried out by his followers with every circumstance of barbarous malignity.

3. My information was in every respect good, and I ascertained that he has taken up a position at the village of Aherwa, where the Grand Trunk Road unites with that which leads direct to the Military Cantonment of Cawnpore.

4. His entrenchments cut and rendered impassable both roads, and his guns, seven in number, two light and five of siege calibre, were disposed along his position which consists of a series of villages. Behind those his infantry, consisting of mutinous troops and his own armed followers was disposed for defence. It was evident that an attack in front would expose the British to a murderous fire from his heavy guns sheltered in his entrenchment. I resolved therefore to manœuvre to turn his left. My camp and baggage were accordingly kept back, under proper escort at the village of Maharajpore, and I halted my troops there two or three hours in mango groves to cool and gain shelter from a burning sun.

5. My column then moved off right in front; the Fusiliers led followed by two guns; then came the Highlanders, in rear of whom was the central battery of six guns, under Captain Maude. The 64th and 84th had two guns more in their rear and the regiment of Ferozepore closed the column.

6. My troops defiling at a steady pace soon changed direction and began to circle round the enemy's left; they were shrouded for some time by clumps of mango, but as soon as the enemy comprehended the object of their march, an evident sensation was created in his line. He pushed forward on his left a large body of horse and opened a fire of shot and shell from the whole of his guns. But he was evidently disconcerted by our advance on his flank, and anxious for his communication with Cawnpore. My troops continued their progress

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until his left was wholly opened to our attack, and then formed line and advanced in direct echelon of regiments and batteries from the right, a wing of the Fusiliers again covered the advance extended as riflemen.

7. The opportunity had arrived for which I have long anxiously waited of developing the prowess of the 78th Highlanders. Three guns of the enemy were strongly posted behind a lofty hamlet well entrenched. I directed this regiment to advance, and never have I witnessed conduct more admirable. They were led by Colonel Hamilton, and followed him with surpassing steadiness and gallantry under a heavy fire; as they approached the village they cheered and charged with the bayonet, the pipes sounding the pibroch; need I add that the enemy fled, the village was taken, and the guns captured?

8. On the left Major Stirling with the 64th was equally successful against another village and took three guns.

9. The enemy's infantry appeared to be everywhere in full retreat, and I ordered the fire to cease, when a reserved 24-pounder was opened on the Cawnpore Road, which caused considerable loss to my force, and under cover of its fire two large bodies of cavalry at the same time riding insolently over the plain, the infantry once more rallied. The beating of their large drums and numerous mounted officers in front announced the definitive struggle of the "Nana" for his usurped dominion.

10. I had previously ordered my Volunteer Cavalry to adventure a charge on a more advanced party of the enemy's horse, and I have the satisfaction to report that they conducted themselves most creditably; one of their number, Mr. Carr, was killed in the charge.

11. But the final crisis approached. My artillery cattle wearied by the length of the march could not bring up the guns to my assistance, and the 1st Madras Fusiliers, 64th, 84th and 78th Detachments, formed in line, were exposed to a heavy fire from the 24-pounder on the road. I was resolved this state of things should not last, so calling upon my men, who were lying down in line, to leap on their feet, I directed another steady advance. It was irresistible. The enemy sent round shot into our ranks, until we were within three hundred yards, and then poured in grape with such precision and determination as I have seldom witnessed. But the 64th led by Major Stirling and by my Aide-de-Camp, who had placed himself in their front, were not to be denied. Their rear showed the ground strewed with wounded, but on they steadily and silently came, then with a cheer charged and captured the unwieldy trophy of their valour.

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12. The enemy lost all heart, and after a hurried fire of musketry gave way in total route. Four of my guns came up and completed their discomfiture by a heavy cannonade, and as it grew dark, the roofless barracks of our artillery were dimly descried in advance, and it was evident that Cawnpore was once more in our possession.

13. The fruits of this victory I shall have afterwards to describe. Our troops had been thirteen hours in their bivouac, when a tremendous explosion shook the earth. "Nana Sahib" in full retreat to Bithoor had blown up the Cawnpore magazine. The first movement of the Mahratta indicated a determination to defend himself desperately. Reports from the front assured us that he had assembled 5,000 men, and placed 45 guns in position for the defence of his stronghold. But his followers have since dispersed, and I have taken possession of Bithoor without a shot.

14. I was joined by the steamer *Burrumpooter* this morning, which is now in easy communication with me.

15. I must reiterate my obligations to the Officers Commanding my detachments and batteries: to Major Stevenson, Madras Fusiliers; Colonel Hamilton, the leader of my Highlanders, who had his horse shot; Major Stirling, 64th, who is slightly wounded; Captain Currie, 84th, severely—I fear dangerously—wounded (since dead); Captain Maude, Artillery; Captain Brazier, Commanding the Regiment of Ferozepore; and Captain Barrow, Commanding my small body of horse. Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler's zeal and gallantry have been beyond all praise.

It was my desire to have offered my thanks in like terms to Captain Beatson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. But I can now only record my opinion over his grave. He was attacked by cholera on the morning of this fight, and though he did his duty throughout it and bivouacked with the troops, he sunk in three days under the violence of his disorder. Lieutenant Moorsom, Her Majesty's 52nd Light Infantry, assisted in carrying my orders, and displayed great courage and much intelligence.

I have already mentioned the conduct of my Aide-de-Camp in front of the 64th throughout the fight; he was seen wherever danger was most pressing, and I beg specially to commend him to the protection and favour of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I enclose returns of killed, wounded, and missing, and ordnance captured.

A return showing the number of killed, wounded, and missing of the Column under the immediate Command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *at the action of Cawnpore on the 16th instant.*

Regiment.	Killed.					Wounded.					Missing.					Killed.					Wounded.					Missing.					Remarks.
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Horses.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Horses.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Horses.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naiks.	Sepoys.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naiks.	Sepoys.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naiks.	Sepoys.	
Her Majesty's 64th ...	...	...	...	...	...	3*	1	1	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	* Major Stirling, Lieutenants Dickens and Haldane, all slightly.
Ditto 84th ...	...	...	...	2	...	1†	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ditto 78th ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	14	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...		...	...	2	1	12	...	...	1	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	† Captain Currie (since dead.)
Rifles and Invalid Artillery.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
European Cavalry ...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Regiment of Ferozepore	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	
Bengal Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total ...	...	...	1	4	2	4	4	3	65	2	...	1	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	Total casualties, 108.

CAMP CAWNPORE;
The 22nd July 1857.

(Sd.) H. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Acting Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

Return of Ordnance captured in the two actions of the 15th July and the action of the 16th July 1857.

Brought into Camp.

15th July—	1	24-pounder	iron gun.
	1	24-pounder	„ carronade.
	2	6-pounder	brass guns.
16th July—	2	24-pounder	iron „
	1	24-pounder	„ carronade and limber.
	2	12-pounder	„ guns.
	1	9-pounder	brass gun.
	2	6-pounder	„ guns (found since the action).
Total ...	12		
Captured on the 12th	12		
Brought in from Bithoor	20		
Grand Total ...	44		

CAMP CAWNPORE;
The 21st July 1857.

(Sd.) T. C. MAUDE, *Capt., H.A.,*
Comdg. Artillery.

(Sd.) H. HAVELOCK, *Brigr.-Genl.,*
Comdg. Moveable Column.

From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Calcutta, 31st July 1857.

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, two despatches received from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, C.B., Commanding the Moveable Column, dated the 15th and 20th July, giving an account of his engagements with the rebels, under the Nana Sahib, at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and at the recapture of Cawnpore from the same enemy.

See pages 92-93 and 98-102.

2. His Excellency considers that the greatest credit is due to the Brigadier-General, and to the brave troops under his command. They have marched 130 miles in eight days, at the most trying season of the year; fought three obstinately-contested combats, in each of which the

insurgents have been signally beaten; destroyed the stronghold of that arch fiend and traitor, the Nana Sahib ; and captured 44 pieces of ordnance, many of which are of large calibre.

3. General Havelock has, on many occasions, handled his force with the ability which might have been expected from his well-won reputation as a brave, skilful, and experienced soldier, and Sir P. Grant begs to recommend him, and the several officers he has specified in his despatches, to the most favorable consideration of His Lordship in Council, and His Excellency desires further to draw special attention to the glowing terms in which General Havelock describes the excellent conduct and gallantry, under fire, of the troops of all arms serving with him in the field.

The return of the enclosures is requested.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 20th July 1857.*

Arrived here this morning with the head-quarters of the 84th ; all well. Found the force crossing river. General looks well, and in good spirits. Will get away, I hope, to-morrow. He informs me he will leave me in command here.

CHAPTER III

CAWNPORE

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 15th May 1857.*

You are requested to communicate to me by telegram, for the information of Government, what may be, in your opinion, the temper of the troops under your command at Cawnpore and at Allahabad.

You are requested to send on to me any news that may have reached you regarding the proceedings at Meerut and Delhi and to keep me informed of all that you may hear from those places. The Officer Commanding at Allyghur may be able to give you some information, if requested.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 16th May 1857.*

As far as I have means of judging, the troops here and at Allahabad are at present well disposed; however, there is much excitement in consequence of events elsewhere. Reports of the most unfavorable description of events at Delhi. The city in possession of insurgents; but not mentioned whether the troops are concerned. Mr. S. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and Miss Jennings said to have been murdered.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 17th May 1857.*

The following* just received from Agra, from the Lieutenant-Governor; you will be glad to hear that the telegraph communication with

Meerut has just been restored; there is the best proof that things are fast quieting.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 18th May 1857* (*4* P.M.)

All at Cawnpore quiet; but excitement continues amongst the people. Copy of message received this morning from Agra:—All goes on excellently here. Levies of light horse will soon clear the Doab of plunderers. Troops are hurrying from the hills and Punjab, and the final advance on Delhi will soon be made. The insurgents can only be about 3,000 in number, and are said to cling to the walls of Delhi, where they have put up a puppet king. I grudge the escape of one of them. Disorder has not now come below the Haupper,* and the country around Meerut will soon be quite restored to order. In our lower districts they are watched, and calm and expert policy will soon reassure the public mind; the plague is in truth stayed. Copy of message just received from Sir H. Lawrence. All's well.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 19th May 1857* (*8* P.M.)

All quiet here. The excitement somewhat less. Received the message regarding the Chunar invalids. From Lucknow, all very well in city, cantonments and country. An application made for the reserve company of artillery to be sent to Meerut if I have no objection. I have objected to part with the few Europeans which I have here; it could not be done without risk and danger.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 19th May 1857.

You are requested to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force and to let it be known that you are doing so.

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* Haupper (*sic* in original) for Hapur, a town in the Meerut district. Lies on the Meerut and Bulandshahr road, 18 miles south of Meerut city. During the mutiny Walidad Khan of Malagarh threatened Hapur but was obliged by the loyal Jats of Bhatona to retire.—Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume V. Second edition.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 20th May 1857* (*4-34* P.M.)

All well here and excitement less. Herewith I send copies of messages just received from Agra. Very few days will now see the end of it, unless the mutineers shut themselves up at Delhi and a siege be necessary, whence some little delay must occur, but a cordon or investment will be formed round Delhi by Patiala, Jhind, Ulwar, and Bhurtpore troops, who are acting most loyally: this must force them out; then it must all end. Copy of a message from Commissioner to Lieutenant-Governor:—Nothing known about George Campbell; Captain MacAndrew, Assistant Commissioner, is with Patiala troops. Meerut: General Anson intended to leave Umballa on 18th with 75th Fusiliers, 9th Lancers, 5th Native Infantry, 60th Native Infantry, 4th Light Cavalry, one-half troop of Horse Artillery, two squadrons, 6th Dragoons, one wing Rifles, half troop of Horse Artillery, one Field Battery, ordered to move on Bhagput on or after 22nd instant. Gurkhas right moving down to Boolundshur by canals; progress intercepted by damage done to locks; remain there or Secunderabad to check insurgents. Two lakhs of treasure to be brought from Boolundshur by Ressalar of Gwalior Contingent. Communication with Kurnaul by Kossid. Captain MacAndrew requested to occupy the road with posts of Patiala Horse.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 21st May 1857* (*8* P.M.)

A good deal of excitement and some alarm prevailed last evening regarding the 2nd Cavalry. That corps had sent emissaries into the camps of the three Native infantry corps, asking if they would support them in the event of an outrage. Their avowed cause of discontent was their horses, arms, &c., were to be taken from them and made over to the Europeans. I need not add how entirely without foundation. But reports of the most absurd kind are constantly circulated and are no sooner disposed of then another takes its place. The Europeans shall be cared for; no mention is made of the number or when they are expected; the sooner the better. Accounts just received of the electric telegraph with Meerut being interrupted. Reports just received that a crisis

is approaching here. A telegraph message from the Lieutenant-Governor, Agra:—a strong expedition has been raised for the recapture of Allyghur and starts forthwith.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 22nd May 1857* (7 P.M.)

Matters took a favorable turn about half-past 7 P.M. yesterday. Up to that time it appears that an outbreak was most imminent. I placed the guns in position and made every preparation to meet it. The danger gave way before a quiet address to the men by their commandant through some Native officers. At 11 P. M. fifty-five Europeans of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment and about 240 troopers, Oudh Irregular Cavalry, arrived sent by Sir Henry Lawrence to my aid. This morning two guns and about 300 men of all arms were brought in by the Maharajah of Bithoor. Their being Mahrattas they are not likely to coalesce with others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the Magistrate. At present things appear quiet, but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 23rd May 1857.*

A calm appearance more favorable, but not to be depended on.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 24th May 1857* (7-25 P.M.)

All is quiet here, but it is impossible to say how long it will continue so.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 25th May 1857* (6-53 P.M.)

Passed anxious night and day in consequence of a report on very good authority that there would be an outbreak during one or the other;

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all possible preparations made to meet it, but I rejoice to say that none occurred. Two men, tampering with the 6th Native Infantry at Allahabad, seized by two sepoys and taken to commanding officer.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 26th May 1857.*

You are requested to send to my address by dâk as early as practicable official reports of the proceedings that have taken place at the several stations since the commencement of the outbreak.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 26th May 1857.*

All tranquil here and I think likely to continue. The disaffected, disconcerted by the efficient measures coolly but determinately taken to meet any outbreak that might be attempted, are sobering down. I have had a most anxious and tried time of it, nor is it at an end. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor informs me that the 45th and 57th Regiments of Native Infantry mutinied at Ferozepore on the 13th or 14th instant, but were put down by other troops. 10th Cavalry, loyal; 57th laid down arms; 45th was pursued and scattered. The three regiments at Lahore have been disarmed, and are doing duty without arms: they were moving off to join the corps at Ferozepore, but were stopped and brought to obedience. Nothing heard yet of the Commander-in-Chief. The first party, forty-four men of Her Majesty's 84th, are expected this night or to-morrow morning, and similar parties will arrive until the whole are here. I have entrenched our position, and can hold it against large odds; but now I hope that I may preserve the peace of this very important station without bloodshed.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 27th May 1857* (7-15 P.M.)

All quiet, but I feel by no means confident it will continue so. The civil and military depending entirely upon me for advice and assistance just now. I regret I cannot find time at present to compile a detailed account of late occurrences in my Division.

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Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 29th May 1857* (8 P.M.)

My grateful thanks for the Governor-General's message. Oudh Irregular Cavalry sent through me to Goorsagunge and Mynpoorie, to keep the road clear and put down plunderers. Europeans arriving, but very slow here. The reports from our Native agents are more cheering and satisfactory to-day than heretofore. I wish the services of Commissariat Gomastah Lalla Buddreenath to be placed at my disposal, he is still performing his own duties. Telegraphed to Commissary-General about him yesterday, but have received no reply. Some uneasiness at Lucknow expressed. I will give any aid in my power if requested.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,*—dated Calcutta, 30th May 1857.*

Employ Lalla Buddreenath in any way you please, and relieve him from his commissariat duties.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 30th May 1857* (7 P.M.)

The message and proclamation received to-day, and sent by express, *via* Futtehghur, to the Commander-in-Chief, of whom no tidings have been received. The European 32nd Foot, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence, are preparing to return this evening in dâk carriages to Lucknow, where considerable uneasiness is felt; will be there to-morrow morning. Seventy-one men, 84th Foot, arrived up to this time. Lieutenant Jellicoe, 53rd Native Infantry, directed to relieve Captain Williamson of Commissariat charge. All quiet here; but the public mind very anxious with regard to Delhi.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 31st May 1857* (2-30 P.M.)

His Lordship's letter received, will be forwarded by post. I would recommend Europeans to be sent up to this place as rapidly as

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possible; not so much for our own protection, as, to use the exact words of the Major, this place is the trunk and the surrounding stations are the limbs; and that if Cawnpore remains right, the other places will do so also. We are all right as yet, and I hope may continue so. Electric telegraph message from Lucknow, 2-10 A.M., 31st May:—"All quiet since first message." Thanks about Lalla Buddreenath, but I wish him to do his commissariat duties as well to prevent his being suspected.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 31st May* 1857 (2-30 P.M.)

It is very necessary to provide for the safety of Allahabad, troops are being pushed up in detachments to Cawnpore. What do you suggest for Allahabad? Another point is this, Colonel Simpson cannot be allowed to retain command of Allahabad. If you think Brigadier Jack would command there well, send him to Allahabad at once to take the command. If not, it is proposed to send up Colonel Rowcroft from Dinapore to Allahabad.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*No. 289-B, dated Calcutta, the 31st May 1857 (5-20* P.M.)

It is understood that a quantity of Enfield rifle ammunition was despatched on the 7th instant from Allahabad for Delhi. Is anything known of it at Cawnpore? The 1st Madras Fusiliers are armed with Enfield rifles and have but little ammunition. If you have that which was despatched from Allahabad, it would be useful to the regiment; more is being sent from Fort William.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 31st May 1857* (8 P.M.)

Received message of 30th this day. Should consider two companies of Europeans sufficient for Allahabad, to be increased afterwards when other places are provided for. Brigadier Jack is perfectly competent for Allahabad, but he is very useful to me here and himself wishes to remain. Could recommend Colonel Halford, but Brigadier Handscomb having been killed I consider he is better at Lucknow. I know nothing

of Colonel Rowcroft, but from what I have heard should consider him competent. We are quiet here, and accounts from Delhi received from the Lieutenant-Governor are what might be expected. The mutineers purchasing gold even at enormous prices and deserting to their homes.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 1st June 1857* (*7-54* P.M.)

Message for the Commander-in-Chief received and forwarded by express. All quiet here, and hope it will continue so. In concert with Commissioner of Allahabad I have laid relays of twenty bullocks each at four stages, for bringing in Europeans.

Enfield rifle ammunition was detained in Cawnpore magazine, and will just do for Madras Fusiliers.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 1st June 1857.*

We reckon that one hundred men of Her Majesty's 84th will have reached you by this time. To-day, to-morrow, and next day eighteen men daily of Madras Fusiliers will reach Allahabad, on the 4th eight men, on the 7th six men, on the 8th one hundred men, on the 9th ninety men, and on the 10th ninety men by dâk and bullock train. About the 9th one hundred and thirty-eight men, about the 13th one hundred and five men, and about the 14th one hundred and ninety-eight men by steamers.

It is important to strengthen Allahabad by at least two hundred men. Make with reference to the above such arrangements as you think best, and report immediately.

Direct the Officer Commanding at Allahabad to detain in their progress such parties as may suffice to secure that fort.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 2nd June 1857.*—(*9* A.M.)

Message of last evening received. The Governor-General requests that you will immediately communicate by telegraph the purport of the Commander-in-Chief's message which you have sent by express if you are aware of it.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 2nd June 1857* (2 P.M.)

All quiet, and I hope will continue so. Up to last night 90 men, 84th Foot and 15th Madras Fusiliers, have arrived. I have telegraphed to Allahabad regarding the Irregular Horse, and will issue the necessary orders. Colonel Simpson has reported to me that the 6th Native Infantry volunteered to a man to serve against the mutineers at Delhi.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 3rd June 1857.*

Message, 2nd June, received. The orders were sent by express on receipt. They were telegraphed to the Adjutant-General of Army yesterday. They are now telegraphed to Sir H. Barnard. The proclamation will follow immediately. But I have just been informed by Superintendent of Electric Telegraph Office here that there is an obstruction in the communication between this and Agra. All well here, but subject to constant fits of excitement. Unfavorable reports of the state of the country between Lucknow and Cawnpore, but in the neighbourhood of the former.

Telegram from Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Cawnpore, 3rd June 1857* (8 A.M.)

The following message received from the Governor-General:—"Pray send the following message to the Commander-in-Chief by the quickest means. I have heard to-day that you do not expect to be before Delhi until the 9th. In the meantime Cawnpore and Lucknow are severely pressed, and the country between Delhi and Cawnpore is passing into the hands of the rebels. It is of the utmost importance to prevent this and to relieve Cawnpore, but nothing but rapid action will do it. Your force of artillery will enable you to dispose of Delhi with certainty. I therefore beg that you will detach one European infantry regiment, and a small force of European cavalry to the south of Delhi without keeping them for operations there, so that Allyghur may be recovered and Cawnpore relieved immediately. It is impossible to overrate the importance of showing European troops between Delhi and Cawnpore. Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Allahabad depend upon it.

Telegram from Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., *to the Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Cawnpore, 3rd June 1857* (*8* A.M.)

The following received from Calcutta:—"Urgent. Send another message to the Commander-in-Chief, with my message of yesterday add as follows. I am sure that you will not delay unnecessarily, but the urgency of disposing of Delhi increases with every hour. You cannot exaggerate to yourself the importance of this. I expect two more regiments this week, and another next week, but the capture of Delhi is of more value than these at present. Pray endeavour to keep up the communication with the south; this like everything else has been culpably neglected at Meerut. My last letter from you is of the 15th May."

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 3rd June 1857* (*1* P.M.)

The report of the volunteering of the 6th Regiment, Native Infantry, received: highly satisfactory. Government desire in consequence that their commanding officer shall remain with the regiment, and the removal of Colonel Simpson to the 8th Native Infantry is cancelled.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 3rd June 1857* (*3-30* P.M.)

It is reported that the telegraph is interrupted between Cawnpore and Agra; pray do everything in your power to help to re-establish it, and despatch duplicates of the messages to Sir H. Barnard and General Penny and General Reed.

Telegram from Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, K.C.B., *to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 3rd June 1857* (*9* P.M.)

All the orders and proclamations have been sent express as the telegraph communication between this and Agra is obstructed. Sir H. Lawrence having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him by dâk gharries out of my small force two officers and fifty men, Her Majesty's 84th Foot; conveyance for more not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust to holding my own until more Europeans arrive.

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Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B.,—*dated Calcutta, 4th June 1857.*

As long as the interruption of the telegraph between Cawnpore and Agra continues, send messengers daily to Sir Henry Barnard with copies of all the messages which you have received for the Commander-in-Chief, for Sir H. Barnard, and for General Reed. Tell Sir H. Barnard again that he is to proceed against Delhi immediately, that he has the command of the force, and that he is to wait for nobody. Send him a copy of the message to General Reed. Spare no exertion to reach him; use trustworthy means.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Major-General Sir HUGH WHEELER, K.C.B., *Commanding Cawnpore Division,—dated Fort William, 10th June 1857.*

With reference to the message by electric telegraph, dated the 6th instant, conveying instructions to Sir H. Barnard to continue in command, and to direct the operations of the force proceeding against Delhi in whatever direction circumstances might require that force to move, I am directed to acquaint you that, in the event of the force entering the limits of the Cawnpore Division and of any portion of the troops within that division joining the force, it is the desire of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that Major-General Sir H. M. Wheeler, K.C.B., Commanding that Division, should, as being senior to Sir H. Barnard, assume the direction of the force.

Translation of diary account of Nerput, opium gomashta, of Cawnpore.*

In beginning excitement caused by story of defiled cartridges; this turned all the sepoys' hearts to disobedience, and to desire to destroy all Christians. When officers saw them mutinous, the Collector borrowed elephants from Nana Dhoondoo Punt, the heir of Bajee Rao, and took them to treasury to remove the cash. The sepoys said they would not let it be removed. The Collector tried in vain and threatened to send Europeans to magazine and treasury. The sepoys, one and all, said they should not live. The Collector left and brought 300 or 400 troops, foot and horse, from the Nana's house at Bithoor, and placed them near the magazine. The Nana also promised the General

* Gomasta, gomashtah, s. Hind., from Persian *gumashta*, part. appointed, delegated. A native agent or factor.—"A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases," by Colonel Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell.

and other officers his personal assistance. The Nana had thought himself aggrieved by British Government refusing to continue to him the pension allotted to Bajee Rao, on the score of his being an adopted son only.

June 2nd.—The officers found rebellion increasing every day, and therefore entrenched themselves round hospital. All Europeans, with supplies and ammunition and one lakh of rupees, went into their entrenchment on Tuesday, June 2nd. Some Mududgar* told the 2nd Cavalry that the sahibs were undermining their barracks, and unless they (the 2nd Cavalry) left their lines, they would be blown up. The cavalry then broke out, and at midnight of June 4th, the 2nd Cavalry. The Gillis (1st Native Infantry) broke out, and went to burn the bungalows in the direction of the treasury and magazine. They plundered the treasury containing near thirteen lakhs, and took it away; Rs. 90,000 left behind for want of carriage; this plundered by people. The magazine was taken by Nana Dhoondoo Punt, who had two guns; the guns and ammunition were taken by the Nana, and the sepoys to fight the British. The Nana placed himself at their head saying, I came in appearance to help the British, but am at heart their mortal enemy.

June 5th.—The 5th June the Nana established himself in magazine, and released the prisoners, about 400 in number. He opened the armoury, and gave every prisoner any arms he wanted on condition of remaining with him. Crowds of men armed themselves from the armoury; very many sent arms, &c., to their homes.

The cavalry and regiment wished to go to Delhi to assist the King, saying they would present the treasure and ammunition to him. They went out to Kulleanpore with the Nana. But two regiments, the 56th and 53rd, had up to this time remained faithful, though grieved at the order of the cartridge. The mutinous regiments returned to cantonment; sent for the officers (Native) and sepoys of 56th and 53rd Native Infantry, and after some time, and after saying that they should be outcasts of religion, they persuaded them; the rebels told the 56th and 53rd they would destroy themselves on the parade, unless they joined, and the disgrace to their religion would be on their heads; the 56th and 53rd then joined. The officers fell on the ground before the sepoys, and most of them were allowed to go to the entrenched camp. The four regiments then went to Kulleanpore.

* Madad-gar.—Assister, helper, aider; protector; ally; auxiliary; an assistant, an accessory.—Hindustani Dictionary, Platts.

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When the Nana saw that all the regiments were anxious to leave for Delhi, he called the officers and sepoys and told them it was not proper to go to Delhi until all Europeans—men, women, and children—were destroyed; they agreed to return, and the whole rebel army returned on June 6th, and encamped near subadar's tank, and placed one 24-pounder at west, one 6-pounder at north, one 6-pounder at east, and began to fire at hospital, where Europeans were collected.

Supplies of ammunition were got by rebels from magazine. From that date all has been confusion; the shops of the city are plundered; Hindus cry out, "Ram, Ramchunder is King; Mussalmans claim their head."

Houses of Bahin Allee and the sons of Nawab Aga Meer were surrounded by rebels and looted, and have taken them under charge. The houses of cantonments have been burnt. The English keep up a perpetual fire, suspending it only during heat of day; rebels keep up a fire night and day.

June 7th.—On 7th June firing continued. Darogah Azim Ali Khan had come in from Lucknow; the cavalry found him, and extorted one lakh of rupees, shattered his house. The Darogah was taken prisoner before Nana, who threatened to tie him to a hot gun, but he was released on payment of money.

The rebels have murdered every Christian they could find.

June 8th.—On 8th June shooting as usual, and a number of women and children brought prisoners before the Nana, and murdered by his orders. Zemindars of neighbourhood fighting amongst themselves in payment of old quarrels. Sepoys, making for their homes with plundered treasure, have been deprived of their plunder, and, if any excuse made, immediately murdered.

June 9th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that General Wheeler had been slightly wounded. One person brought a paper to the Nana from the camp, in which the officers demanded of him the reason of his opposition; they offered to go to Calcutta if permitted; the officers protested against his conduct in butchering women and children; the Nana in reply recommenced cannonading.

June 10th.—Cannonading as usual. One man, one woman, and three children, and one miss, were travelling down. The head of the family had been murdered on the road, but these were let go. The cavalry got hold of them, and took them to Nana, who ordered them to be killed immediately; they were all taken on parade and shot.

June 11th.—Cannonading as usual; English returning but few shots. At night twenty Europeans came out and attacked the 6-pounder in position at the west; they spiked the gun, killed ten or twelve sepoys, and returned; two Europeans killed; the Nana at this was very angry. The sepoys plundered bazaar everywhere. Two women of family of Macintosh found disguised, taken before Nana and butchered.

June 12th.—Cannonading as usual. Report that Europeans were coming on boats to relieve. Cavalry and two companies sent westward to make inquiries. They found that 126 men, women, and children were in a boat sick; they had gone to Nynee Tal, and left in hopes of getting to Calcutta; these were apprehended, brought before the Nana, who ordered all to be killed, and they were murdered. One young lady, daughter of a General, told the Nana it was cowardly to butcher women and children, told him to remember that the day of retribution would come, and it would be severe; she was then murdered. Dâk chokies, &c., destroyed. Telegraph cut to pieces. Boats had been collected, all stopped lest Christians should escape. Import of grain stopped, and prices very high.

The above is not a literal translation, but a rough one of extract from a large Persian paper given by the author. The writer remained at Cawnpore, he says, until the 18th; that General Wheeler was then fighting; that he heard firing up to the evening of the 20th; that on 16th an infantry and two cavalry regiments had joined from Lucknow, but that only two or three companies' strength of the rebellious troops were remaining, the rest having deserted. That the Nana was angry with the sepoys, &c., and the latter had declared they would murder him when the English were destroyed. The English camp was intact up to date of his leaving, and kept up a small fire from cannon; they were very badly off for supplies, but had sugar, sugar-balls, and good supply of grain, a few goats, and sheep, and bullocks, but no means of cooking food. Country west of Futtehpore was quiet. Sowars of 2nd Cavalry on road east of Futtehpore. Bands of plunderers ravaging country, plundering travellers, &c.

(Sd.) M. H. COURT,

Magistrate.

I beg to forward this copy at once; it has just been made out in time for post, and I have not time to write a letter.

(True copy.)

ALLAHABAD, The 23rd June 1857. (Sd.) J. G. NEILL, *Lieut.-Col.*, *Commanding Allahabad.*

Copy of Proclamations issued by order of NANA SAHIB,—*dated 1st July 1857.*

As by the kindness of God and the *Ikbal* or Good Fortune of the Emperor, all the Christians who were at Delhi, Poona, Satara and other places, and even those 5,000 European soldiers who went in disguise into the former city and were discovered, are destroyed and sent to hell by the pious and sagacious troops who are firm to their religion, and as they have been all conquered by the present Government, and as no trace is left of them in these places, it is the duty of all the subjects and servants of the Government to rejoice at the delightful intelligence and to carry on their respective work with comfort and ease.

1st July 1857.

As by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God and the enemy destroying fortune of the Emperor, the yellow face and narrow-minded people have been sent to hell and Cawnpore has been conquered, it is necessary that all the subjects and landholders should be as obedient to the present Government as they have been to the former one; that all Government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of Government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots and landed proprietors of every district and pergunnah to rejoice on the thought that the Christians have been sent to hell, and both the Hindu and Mahomedan religions have been confirmed, and that they should as usual be obedient to the authorities of the pergunnahs, and never to suffer any complaint against themselves to reach the ears of higher authorities.

Order, dated 5th July 1857, to the City Kotwal, by NANA SAHIB.

It has come to our notice that some of the city peoples having heard the rumour of the arrival of the European soldiers at Allahabad are deserting their houses and going out into the districts. You are

therefore directed to proclaim in each lane and street of the city that regiments of cavalry, infantry, and batteries heve been despatched to check the Europeans either at Allahabad or Futtehpore, that the people should therefore remain in their houses without any apprehension, and engage their minds in carrying on their work.

A brief account, by Mr. SHEPHERD, *of the outbreak at Cawnpore, and the disasters which resulted therefrom to the Christian community of the station.*

August 29, 1857.

Previous to the outbreak at Cawnpore, reports of different kinds were afloat in the station, from all of which it was ascertained that the Native soldiery, whenever they should break out into open mutiny, would on no account molest or hurt the European community at Cawnpore; and the informers employed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler on all occasions confirmed the same. They reported that the three infantry regiments (1st, 53rd, and 56th) appeared well disposed towards our Government, with the exception of a few sepoys of really bad character; but that the 2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry (who were discontented), were endeavouring to persuade them to rebel, when all should join and proceed in a body together to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money lodged in the Collector's treasury, which they proposed taking on as a present to the newly-created king there, whom they acknowledged to be their true sovereign.

Under the above supposition, the European merchants and others of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, abandoned the idea of deserting this place; the only precaution that appeared to be necessary was to avoid the fury of the mutineers at the moment the outbreak might take place.

For this purpose almost the whole of the non-military residents were promised shelter in the entrenched camp then under preparation under the General's directions; this promise appears to have completely satisfied them, and all determined to stay at Cawnpore.

The General at the same time took the precaution to direct the Commissariat to lay in, in the entrenchment, a supply of atta, dall, ghee, salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum and malt-liquor, &c., calculated to last for

thirty days for about 1,000 persons; this was accordingly done, though not quite in full of indents, in consequence of some mismanagement on the part of the newly-created purchasing agent, Chunna Mull.

The Assistant Commissary (Mr. Reily), in charge of the magazine, was directed to blow up the magazine the moment an outbreak should take place.

The Collector of Cawnpore (Mr. Hillersdon) was also directed to convey away all his treasure from the treasury into the entrenchment, but under certain circumstances (which I have not been able correctly to ascertain) it was not done.

About this time the Nana of Bithoor offered his services, and, pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook to protect the treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard with a couple of his guns and about 2,000 men in his employ; very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, and his services were accepted; and in the meantime about a lakh or upwards of rupees were withdrawn and placed in the entrenchment, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops, &c., for May, leaving about eight-and-a-half lakhs in the treasury.

The Executive Commissariat and pay officers with all their records and treasure-chests were removed from the west side of the canal into bungalows adjacent to the entrenchment.

On the 3rd of June it was thought proper not to keep any public money under the sepoy guard at the office, and accordingly the Commissariat treasure-chest, containing about Rs. 34,000 in cash, and the Government paper deposits of gomashtas and others, together with the cash-book, security deposit and other important books, were taken into the entrenchment, and placed in the quarter-guard there.

About sun-set on that date, the 3rd Oudh Horse Battery which had been sent for our assistance some few days ago from Lucknow (and had been ordered to proceed towards Futtehgurh, to quell a disturbance in that quarter, but since recalled), joined the entrenchment.

About three days previously, reports becoming very strong of the mutinous intentions of the Cavalry, all the non-military Christian residents removed into the church and other buildings near to the entrenchment.

On the 4th, many more important books, stock and cash ledgers, relief report (then nearly finished), books of regulations, &c., were also taken by the Commissariat officer into the entrenchment.

The 2nd Cavalry, finding that they could not prevail upon the Infantry regiments to join them, determined to go off, and under the plea of having received some real or imaginary slight from the officers of their corps, on a sudden, at about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 5th of June, rose in a body with a great shout, mounted their horses, and on leaving their lines set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster-sergeant. Thence proceeding to the Commissariat cattle-yard, they took possession of the Government elephants, thirty-six in number, at the same time setting fire to the cattle-sergeant's bungalow.

Whilst the main body proceeded towards Nawabgunge, a few of the ringleaders went to the lines of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry, and used their persuasive powers so well as to succeed in getting the men (who were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on commands), to join them.

It is to be spoken to the credit of the men of the 1st Native Infantry, that when they agreed to go away with the mutineers, they first begged of their officers (who had been for some time in the habit of sleeping in the quarter-guard of the regiment to ensure confidence), to leave them, and ultimately forced them to go away into the entrenchment without hurting them.

This corps left its lines about half-an-hour after the cavalry. As the latter left with a shout, an alarm-gun was fired from our camp, and the non-military community all taken into the entrenchment from the church compound. Nearly all the bungalows on the west side of the canal were that day plundered and afterwards set fire to, so that there was nothing but large blazes of fire to be seen in that direction.

At about 7 o'clock A.M., three or four officers went on horseback towards the assembly rooms; and on their return, the 3rd Oudh Horse Battery was ordered to pursue the rebels, accompanied by a company of European soldiers. These went as far as the canal, but were recalled, owing to an apprehension that the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry, who were still in their lines in our rear, might attack us, when the remaining men would not be sufficient to defend the entrenchment.

The two last-named Native regiments showed signs, at 9 o'clock, of their also joining in the rebellion; and about half-an-hour after, nearly the whole of the Native commissioned officers (about thirty or thirty-five in number), came to the General, and reported that their remonstrances to the sepoys were of no avail, who had also that morning been tampered with by the cavalry, and appeared determined to go off. While

they were yet speaking the bugle sounded; and presently after we could see the two regiments drawn up in columns on their parade-ground, showing a defying front; but a shot or two from our long gun immediately dispersed them, and sent them at a full gallop round their lines on the outside road leading to Delhi, and branching off to Nawabgunge, where their rebellious brethren were then stationed.

The Native commissioned officers were then told to take their position in the Artillery Hospital Barrack, opposite to us on the east side, and to make an entrenchment for themselves there, and endeavour to draw back those of the sepoys and Native non-commissioned officers, who, they said, were not inclined to go, but were reluctantly compelled to join. These officers went away, with one or two exceptions, and we never heard any more about them; but I learnt afterwards, that fearing the resentment of the sepoys they took the straight way to their homes and never joined in the rebellion.

Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, &c., of the men on leave, and the baggage, &c., of the Christian drummers, who with their families had all come to seek protection in the entrenchment. The sick in hospital were also brought in, and the two barracks were very much crowded, so much so that the drummers and their families and Native servants had to remain in the open air at night, and under cover of the cook-house and other buildings during the heat of the day.

At 5 o'clock in the evening, all the uncovenanted (myself and my brother included), were mustered, and directed to arm themselves with muskets of which there was a great heap. This they did; and, after receiving a sufficient quantity of ammunition were told off in different sections under the command of several officers who instructed us as to what we should have to do when occasion required.

It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the Nana came out to receive them; and, taking them with him proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money; and while this was being done, word was brought that the other two regiments (53rd and 56th Native Infantry) were also coming to join. This so pleased the Nana, that he gave up the remaining cash as a general plunder to the rebels; after which they set fire to the records and to the building, and destroyed the Collector's kutchery.

This done, the whole mob moved on to the magazine (which, unfortunately, had not been permitted, by the sepoy guard placed there,

to be blown up), where they halted until carts and other carriage could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages; they then loaded their baggage, and took as much small ammunition as they could, and marched off about 5 o'clock in the afternoon to Kulleanpore (being one stage on the road to Delhi), leaving a small body of cavalry to complete the work of destruction, *i.e.*, firing the remaining bungalows that had been missed during the day, and which work they continued to perform nearly the whole night.

That same evening (5th of June) the Golundauzes* of the 3rd Oudh Horse Battery showed signs of disaffection, and were sent away from our entrenchment after being disarmed. Had these not left, I was told the General would have sent two guns to Nawabgunge to prevent the mutineers returning, as due information of their movements was brought to our camp; but being well assured that, according to the reports previously made by the informers, the rebels did not contemplate attacking us, no further precaution appears to have been deemed necessary; otherwise this would have been a good opportunity to set fire to the large quantity of powder still remaining in the magazine.

The above Golundauzes, it is reported, then proceeded to the camp of the mutineers, and going to the Nana who also was there set before him the advantages likely to be derived by attacking the English in their entrenchment, since there was so large a quantity of powder and guns of different sizes, with other ammunition, quite at hand, besides the thirty-five or forty boat-loads of shot and shell lying in the canal (which, on account of the unsettled state of the country, were unable to proceed to Roorkee, where they had originally been consigned from Cawnpore, and had only just returned). It was therefore, it appears, agreed upon to return next morning and attack us; for early on the morrow, the 6th of June, information was brought that the mutineers were coming upon us, and every preparation was accordingly made for our defence.

In the meantime the rebels secured all our magazine work-people, classies,† &c., and made them assist in putting up a few heavy guns in serviceable order; and, employing Government bullocks, of which they had also full possession, brought out about half-a-dozen guns (two of which were 18-pounders, and the other smaller); and placing them in a range under cover of the newly-built lines of the 1st Native Infantry,

* Gol-andaz.—A gunner, cannonier, bombardier.—Hindustani Dictionary, Platts.

† Khalassies.

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commenced playing upon us. The first shot was fired at about half-past 10 A.M., and immediately on hearing the report of the gun a bugle sounded in our camp, "All hands to your arms," and accordingly every individual, from a drummer or writer, to the regimental officers, all spread themselves out under the walls, or rather mounds of the entrenchment, which had been hastily built up about breast-high. Here we sat nearly all day, exposed to the hot winds and scorching sun of the month of June, every moment expecting an open-handed attack from the Infantry and Cavalry. This the enemy, however, never attempted, though at times large bodies of armed men could be seen collected in different places. Our Artillery kept up a brisk fire, and returned nearly every shot of the mutineers. In the meantime the latter commenced setting fire to the bungalows on our, or the east, side of the canal, and bringing round their guns closer up to us, behind the riding-school and the compound walls of buildings most suited to them.

The exact strength of our own people is not known to me, but from memory I give the detail below.* Those of the European soldiers I have since ascertained from daily indents in the possession of Thakoordas, Artillery Gomashta, who had hid himself in the city.

We had eight guns, *viz.*, two brass ones of the 3rd Oudh Battery, two 9-pounder long guns, and four of smaller size. For these sufficient ammunition had previously been taken, and buried underground. The

* 1st Company, 6th Battalion, Artillery	61	
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment	84	
1st European Fusiliers	15	
Her Majesty's 84th Foot	50	
		210
Officers of the three Native Infantry, Cavalry, and others, with the staff ...		100
Merchants, writers, and others, about	100	
Drummers, about	40	
		140
Women and children of soldiers, about	160	
Women and children of writers, merchants, and drummers ...	120	
Ladies and children of officers	50	
		330
Servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded, on hearing the enemy's guns firing	100	
Sick sepoys and Native officers who remained with us	20	
		120
Total ...		900

entrenchment was made round the hospital barracks of the old European Infantry (between the soldiers' church and the new unfinished European lines), and of the two buildings thus inclosed, one had thatched roofing, over which a covering of tiles was hastily thrown to prevent its easily catching fire. None of the Native writers, Bengalees and others in Government offices or merchants' employ, went into the entrenchment; they remained in the city, where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and some had to hide themselves to save their lives. The Commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies from the 6th, or rather were unable to bring them in, from the way the mutineers surrounded the entrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time except under cover of the night.

On the 7th, the enemy increased the number of their guns, some of which were of the largest size available. The 24-pounder guns, of which they had three or four, proved very destructive on account of their proximity to us; the shots from them were fired with such force as to bring down whole pillars of the verandahs, and go through the pukka walls of the hospital barracks.

We had but one well in the middle of the entrenchment, and the enemy kept up their fire so incessantly, both day and night, that it was as much as giving a man's "life-blood" to go and draw a bucket of water, and while there was any water remaining in the large jars, usually kept in the verandah for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day, the demand became so great that a bheestie bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, as most of the servants of officers and merchants had deserted, and it therefore became a matter of necessity for every person to fetch his own water, which was usually done during the night when the enemy could not well direct their shots; in fact, after the first three days' incessant firing the rebels made it a practice, usually at about candle light, to cease for about two hours, and at that time the crowd round the well was very great.

There was no place to shelter the live cattle; horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oudh Battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as bullocks kept for Commissariat purposes, were shot off, and in the course of five or six days, no meat was to be got for the Europeans. They, however, now and again managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the entrenchment

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at night, which served for a change; otherwise dal and chuppaties was the common food of all: several hogsheads of rum and malt-liquor were also burst by the enemy's cannon, but of this there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.

On the evening of the second day of the firing, the 7th June, I received a bullet wound (fortunately a spent shot fired from the riding-school) in my back, whilst standing a sentry under the walls of the entrenchment, which kept me off duty for nearly a week; however, I could observe the movements of the enemy, who had us well surrounded in the course of four or five days with cannon, and the musketry of the Infantry had no bounds, as they took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, out-buildings, &c., that had been burnt down, and were nearest to our camp: the church, which was also fired, proved to be the most annoying to us, as also the newly built (unfinished) European barracks. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter was usually checked by the vigilance of a most brave and energetic officer, Captain Moore, of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, who, though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest; but wherever there appeared most danger, he was sure to be foremost, with his arm in a sling and a revolver pistol in his belt, leading and directing the men how to act. This officer placed scouts with eye-glasses on the top of one of the unfinished barracks (No. 6, *vide* sketch), whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and which helped our Artillery to direct their shots. The rebel sepoys usually took possession of the first three of these barracks (Nos. 1 to 3), but whenever they annoyed us much, or attempted to advance nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans, in the midst of the most brisk firing, and getting under cover of the other barracks, would pepper the enemy, so as to soon rout them out of their hiding-places. On such occasions the number of killed on the opposite side was considerable, whereas our men generally escaped unhurt. It was very amusing to see the way Captain Moore used to make his men and himself pass from the entrenchment into the unfinished barracks, for whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picket placed out to protect our scouts, and keep possession of the nearest barracks (Nos. 5, 6, 7), he would collect a number more volunteers from the entrenchment, and send them out one at a time: as each man ventured out, some scores of bullets would be directed towards him, and which would make him run as fast as ever his legs would allow; however, the

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distance to run in one breath was not very great, for a lot of conveyances, bullock-trains, &c., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

This brave officer went out on two occasions, under cover of the night, with about twenty-five Europeans at a time, and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. But for the paucity of our soldiers it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particularly the Cavalry, for very often attempts were made to charge upon us, and notwithstanding the very large number of people collected on the enemy's side apparently with that intention under cover of the buildings and compound walls nearest to our camp, they seldom dared courageously to come out, for whenever they advanced, a few charges of canister would soon disperse and make them all run away as fast as ever they could.

For the first four or five days of the outbreak our artillery kept up a brisk firing, but after that it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine, for the rebels took great care to always keep well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them.

The heat was very great, and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, several ladies and soldiers' wives, as also children, died with great distress; many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the entrenchment near the new unfinished barracks, and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day on account of the shot and shell flying in all directions like a hailstorm—our entrenchment was strewed with them. The distress was so great that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend or attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers, and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank (Colonels' and Captains' daughters) put outside the verandah amongst the rain, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well as above; for there was scarcely room to shelter the living: the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

The enemy now commenced firing live shells well heated with the intent of setting fire to the tents of officers in the compound, as also to the thatched barrack, which, though hastily covered over with

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tiles, was not proof against fire. The tents, therefore, had all to be struck, as several had thus been burnt, and at last, on the 13th June, the barrack also took fire: it was about 5 P.M., and that evening was one of unspeakable distress and trial, for all the wounded and sick were in it, also the families of the soldiers and drummers; the fire took on the south side of it, and the breeze being very strong the flames spread out so quickly that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who were all in great confusion, so that the helpless wounded and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt down to ashes (about forty or upwards, in number). The whole of the medicines were also there and shared the same fate; all that the doctors could save was a box or two of surgical instruments, and a small chest of medicines, so that, after that was expended, the sick could get no medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines, in consequence of the insurgents collecting in very large bodies in the adjacent compounds and buildings, with their muskets and swords ready every moment to pounce down upon us, and the men were compelled to keep their places under the walls of the entrenchment, and could not lend a helping hand to those in the barracks.

The enemy on this occasion were upwards of 4,000 in number, as a reinforcement had only just been received by them from the neighbouring stations; and it appears that they had come with full determination to make a charge on that occasion, for they made several attempts, but were successively repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, there is no doubt they would have defeated us; but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their strength, for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a very good one, for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command, always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets.

Subsequent to this, almost daily attempts were made on the part of the rebels to take us by storm, but they could not stand our artillery, and therefore all their cannon was directed upon our guns, with the intention of disabling them; in this they so far succeeded that out of eight but two sound ones remained when the entrenchment was vacated, as will appear hereafter.

One morning (I believe it was the 21st June) a very great mob was seen collecting all round our entrenchment; their dresses were of

divers patterns and descriptions (for the regular corps of Infantry never came out to fight in their full dress; some few had on their jackets and caps, others even without the former, and nearly the whole dressed like recruits), for a number of Oudh soldiery (or rather, "tag-rag and bobtails") had joined them. It was their intention, as I afterwards learned from the city people, not to spare us that day, even if they should all die in the attempt; and the newly-created Subadar-Major of the 1st Native Infantry had sworn upon the Gunga-jull either to take us or die.

The enemy brought large bales of cotton with them, and, placing them out, they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner, by pushing the bales on, at the same time keeping up a brisk fire with their muskets.

While this sort of thing was being done towards the south-east side from the church compound, the three new barracks (Nos. 1 to 3 per sketch) were filled with upwards of 500 men, endeavouring to drive away our picquet and take possession of the rest, when Captain Moore again appeared as usual and previously arranging with our battery to send grape from the south-west corner, he took about twenty-five more men from the entrenchment, and, advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack, he sent a few vollies, then, going ahead behind No. 4 barrack, he managed to drive them all into Nos. 1 and 2, where a few rounds of canister routed them out entirely, killing about thirty-five or forty of their number.

In the meantime about 100 of the wretches, under the cotton bales from the church compound, advanced in that manner to within 150 yards of the entrenchment. This was intended as an advanced force, for, shortly after, the insurgents in the rear gave a fearful shout, and jumping off the compound walls, &c., advanced towards us, led on by the above-mentioned Subadar-Major, who was a well-made, powerful man. However, almost the very first shots from our musketry caught him, and immediately after, a few rounds of canister direct towards the enemy did great execution, killing and wounding about 200 of them, and thus causing a general dispersion.

About the same time as the above, the entrenchment on the north-east (Nos. 9 and 10 per sketch) corner of us caused much annoyance, for here about 200 men of the enemy kept up a dreadful firing, and it took us about an hour-and-a-half nt (I was attached to this corner under
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Captain Kempland, together with Messrs. Schorne, Sheron, Jacobi, coach-builder, Duncan, hotel-keeper, and others), with our musketry, to silence them.

This day I saw a very daring and brave act done in our camp about midday: one of our ammunition wagons in the north-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shot, and whilst it was blazing the batteries from the artillery barracks and the tank directed all their guns towards it; our soldiers being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artilleryman being either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered the other wagons near it; however, in the midst of all this cannonading, a young officer of the 53rd Native Infantry, Lieutenant Delafosse, with unusual courage, went up, and laying himself down under the burning wagon, pulled away from it what loose splinters, &c., he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth upon the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers who brought with them a couple of buckets of water, which were very dexterously thrown about by the Lieutenant, and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking-water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amidst a fearful cannonading of about six guns, all firing upon the burning wagon. Thus, at last, the fire was put out, and the officer and men escaped unhurt.

It may easily be imagined that by this time our barracks were so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter, yet the greater portion of the people preferred to remain in them than to be exposed to the heat of the sun outside, although a great many made themselves holes under the walls of the entrenchment, covered over with boxes, cots, &c. in these, with their wives and children, they were secure, at least from the shot and shell of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat, and the mortality from apoplexy was considerable. At night, however, every person had to sleep out, and take the watch in their turns, so that nearly the whole of the women and children also slept under the walls of the entrenchment near their respective relatives; here the bomb-shells kept them in perpetual dread, for nearly all night these shells were seen coming in the air and bursting in different places, often doing mischief. Thus the existence of those that remained alive was spent in perpetual dread and fear.

The soldiers had their food prepared by the few remaining cooks but all the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could, and

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it was sometimes a difficult matter for many who had uncooked rations served to them to provide a mouthful of victuals for themselves and children. The soldiers' cooks and the drummers occasionally lent a helping hand that way, but not without demanding and receiving high prices for their labour: thus I have repeatedly paid a rupee-and-a-half, and two rupees, for the cooking of one meal of *dal* and *chuppaties*, and that, too, often not properly done.

It is beyond description to attempt to give a detail of the innumerable troubles and distresses to which all in the entrenchment were subjected. The poor wounded and sick were objects of real commiseration, for their state was exceedingly wretched.

The stench, also, from the dead bodies of horses and other animals that had been shot in the compound and could not be removed, as also the unusually great influx of flies, rendered the place extremely disagreeable.

Thus it will not be wondered at when I say that many persons were exceedingly anxious to get out of the entrenchment and go into the city, thinking, from want of better information, that they would be very secure there; in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels.

Amongst others, my own family (consisting of wife and a daughter, my infant daughter having died from a musket-shot in the head, on the 18th), two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both seventeen years of age, a sister and her infant son, a brother twenty-two years old, and two old ladies, wished very much to leave, but could not do so on account of our large number; it was, therefore, considered expedient that one should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city.

With this view I applied to the General, on the 24th June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city; asking as a condition that on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the entrenchment. This my request was granted, as the General wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three Natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lakh of rupees as a reward,

with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest), for as I came out of the entrenchment disguised as a native cook, and passing through the new unfinished barracks, had not gone very far, when I was taken a prisoner, and under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to be placed under a guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our entrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our General, for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory, and I was confronted with two women servants who, three days previously, had been caught in making their escape from the entrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving, and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th idem. The trials and distresses I experienced, and the many narrow escapes from death I have had during the time I was in the hands of the enemy, will form a distinct part of this narrative; as, from its being of a personal nature, and fearing it may not prove interesting to the public, I have omitted it here.

Before proceeding further upon what took place in the entrenchment after I left, I must not forget to mention that our people dreaded nothing more than the setting in of the rains, which would have been a calamity exceedingly distressing; for, in the first place, the holes dug in the ground by the soldiers and others to secure themselves and children from the effects of the sun and the shot and shell of the enemy, would have been filled up; secondly, the walls of the barracks, which till then afforded some little shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by the 24-pounder and 18-pounder shots, so incessantly fired for eighteen days; and again, our muskets would have been rendered useless, for there were a great many of them,

and the men were quite unable to clean them all. The muskets were always kept ready loaded, so that, when occasion should require it, each man could use upwards of half-a-dozen apiece. In a word, one good shower of rain (such as generally takes place at the first fall) would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure.

It is true there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive on half rations for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of grain we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the Natives with us, which they preferred to *atta* and *dall*, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking, for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat, and many scrupulous Hindus lived the whole period entirely upon it; but, taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, our brave men repeatedly requested permission to be allowed to sally out at night and take possession of the enemy's guns, or, in case of failure, die an honorable death, rather than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers also were of the same opinion, but from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow, and the exceeding great, though natural, attachment of the females to their respective husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to day, which, if attempted, would without doubt have been attended with complete success, as I learn that latterly the cannons used to be almost entirely abandoned by the soldiery during the night, and only a few Golundauzes kept loading and firing them; the musketry was kept up by a handful of sepoys placed here and there, more for appearance sake than with any intention of doing us much injury, though during the day it was not so, but, on the contrary, every exertion appeared to be used by the wretches to torment us; and, as I now find, it was a matter of very great wonder and astonishment not only to the rebels, but to every individual in and near about Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people to exist so long under such difficulties, without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the entrenchment when I left (as above on the 24th June). But instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, that same afternoon a message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested, if he would consent to vacate the entrenchment and abandon Cawnpore, and at the same time make over to him all the public treasure, the guns and

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magazines in the camp. This message was brought by a very aged European lady, Mrs. Greenway, who, with one of her three surviving sons, Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers), and some others of her relatives, had sought refuge in a village belonging to the firm called Najafgurh, about sixteen miles from Cawnpore, thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them; in this, however, they were mistaken, like all the rest in Cawnpore, for the Nana soon found them out, and would have killed them there and then; but, for a promise on their part to give a ransom of a lakh of rupees, they were kept alive, and taken care of.

Thus this poor aged but respectable lady was made the medium of communication between the rebel Chief and the British General at Cawnpore.

I would here beg to be understood that what I now write has been gathered from different sources; for I was placed in gaol, and had not the opportunity to see for myself: however, I have taken care to convince myself of the authenticity of the information I herein insert.

The following day (25th June) was fixed by the General for an interview with any person whom the Nana might appoint to arrange matters; and accordingly at about noon a man by the name of Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleaders, sowars of the 2nd Light Cavalry, came to the camp, and were received by the General in one of the unfinished barracks outside the entrenchment (No. 6 as per sketch).

Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing so by the sowars. It was agreed, upon the part of our General, that all the Government money, the magazine in the entrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been injured and rendered useless by the enemy's cannon), be made over to the Nana; and in return the Nana should provide tonnage, and permit every individual in the entrenchment to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath, by the Nana.

All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey; and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants to see the boats, provided as above.

On the morning of the 27th a number of carts, doolies, and elephants, were sent to the entrenchment by the Nana, to enable the

women and children and sick to proceed to the river side. It is reported that the persons that came out that morning from the entrenchment amounted to about 450; and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the entrenchment.

The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army.

It was about 8 o'clock A.M. when all reached the river side, a distance of about a mile-and-a-half; those that embarked first managed to let their boats go; thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews; but the rest found difficulty in pushing them off the banks, as the rebels had previously had them placed as high in the mud as possible, on purpose to cause delay.

In the meantime the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon and kill all the English; and accordingly the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away; some of the boats were set on fire, and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot; some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them on shore, and in breast-deep water. A few boats crossed over to the opposite bank, but there a regiment of Native Infantry (the 17th) just arrived from Azimgurh, had placed itself in such a manner as to prevent their escape. The boats were then seized upon on both banks, the river not being very broad, and every man that survived was put to the sword. The women and children, most of whom were wounded, some with three or four bullet-shots in them, were spared and brought to the Nana's camp, and placed in a pukka building, called "Subada Kothee," and for the first three days no attention was paid to them, beyond giving them a small quantity of parched grain each daily for food, and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground without any sort of bedding, mats, &c.

One young lady, however, was seized upon (reported to be General Wheeler's daughter) and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd Light Cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favorable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and three others, threw herself into a well and was killed.

At sunset of the same day (27th of June) the Nana had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps, noted below,* and which had joined at Cawnpore, from time to time, since the 6th of June 1857, which assembled on the plain of Subada, on the north of our vacated entrenchment. Here three salutes were fired from the heavy guns, one of twenty-one guns for the Nana as Sovereign; nineteen for his brother, Balla Sahib, as Governor-General; seventeen guns for Jowalla Pershaud (a Brahmin), as Commander-in-Chief: after which the so-called Governor-General gave a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore and promising them a lakh of rupees as a reward for their labours which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it.

The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents, under the same salutes.

In the meantime, people followed after the advance boats, which had gone adrift at the first setting off, and which contained a good number of officers, soldiers, and their families; they went a few miles, but returned without success. The boats did not, however, escape altogether, but were captured by the zemindar of Dowreea Kheyra, named Babu Rambux, near Futtehpore; and the fugitives, about 115, were all sent back on carts to the Nana: they reached on the 1st of July, and on the evening of the same day all men and officers, about seventy-five or eighty, were killed in cold blood; an officer's lady with her child clung to her husband so that it was impossible to separate them, and they were killed together. The women and children on this occasion amounted to about thirty-five in number, making a total of the prisoners, in-

* 2nd Light Cavalry; the 1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry, of Cawnpore.

1st and 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry; two regiments of Oudh Native Infantry, from Lucknow.

17th Regiment, Native Infantry; 13th Irregular Cavalry, from Azimgurh.

12th Regiment, Native Infantry; 14th Irregular Cavalry; No. 18 Field Battery, from Nowgong.

Detachment of 10th Native Infantry from Futtehgurh.

Detachment of 6th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Allahabad.

Three Nowabie regiments from Lucknow.

Two half regiments of newly-raised Infantry at Cawnpore. Besides a great mob of zemindars, &c., of neighbouring districts, who came well-armed, to assist the Nana.

cluding the old lady, Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward, and the three members of their family, about 150 in all. These were then removed from the Subada Kothee into a small building (near the Assembly rooms), out-buildings of the medical depôt, lately occupied by Sir George Parker, where they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of *dall* and *chuppaties* daily for food for the first few days, after which a little meat and milk for the children was allowed, as also clean clothes were issued from those forcibly taken from the washermen of the station, who had them for wash, previous to the outbreak; a sweeper woman and bheestie were also allowed: some few of the sufferers died in bondage from want of care and attention. It is not easy to describe, but it may be imagined, the misery of so many helpless persons, some wounded, others sick, and all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those, so dear to them, who had so recently been killed (perhaps before their own eyes), cooped up night and day in a small low pukka-roofed house, with but four or six very small rooms, and that in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkhas, for a whole fortnight, watched most carefully on all sides, by a set of unmannerly, brutish, rebellious sepoys.

It is reported that the lives of the poor women were spared by the Nana from bad motives, and that he appointed a wicked old hag to persuade the helpless creatures to yield to his wishes; this message, I learn, was conveyed to the women with great art, accompanied by threats and hopes, but it is pleasing to find that it was received with great indignation, and a firm resolution to die, or kill each other with their own teeth, if any forcible means were employed to seduce them.

All this while the Nana continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinying, had left their respective stations, and poured in from all sides into Cawnpore, so that about the 10th of July, there were near upon 20,000 armed fighting men of all classes at his command, and the depredation they committed in the city was excessive. Many rich Mahajuns were plundered and reduced to beggary, and the poorer classes of people suffered in proportion; every person who appeared respectable or well-to-do in the world was assailed, and his house searched, under the plea of having Europeans hid in it, but really for no other purpose than to plunder whatever property he might have worth taking. It is impossible to describe all the wickedness these wretches committed during so short a time.

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Fresh corps were being raised, and recruits daily entertained. A new horse-battery was formed. The zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them. New offices were created, and bestowed daily upon favorites. The Ganges Canal (built with so much trouble, and at so great a cost to Government) was bestowed upon the villain Azimoollah, who, together with about 150 of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and Tuka Sing, Subadar of the same regiment (created a Brigadier-General of the Cawnpore Division at the time), were at the bottom of all mischief. It was through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood, as described above; as also, the gentlemen and ladies with their families that had arrived from Futtehgurh whilst our entrenchment was besieged, who were also murdered in the most inhuman manner by the above wretches.

The Nana caused to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom, throughout Cawnpore and its districts, that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign in India having been completed, they were defeated at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and dare not put foot in Cawnpore any more, as he was well prepared to meet any number, and to drive them away from all India. He, however, soon found out his mistake, for it was not long before intimation was received of the arrival of the British force at or near Futtehpore: 10,000 troops were sent to meet and beat it back to Allahabad, but the cowardly wretches soon found out, to their cost, how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European soldiers. The result of the fight is too well known to require repetition here. Reinforcement after reinforcement was sent by the Nana, but to no effect; until, at last, he himself headed a fresh reinforcement and proceeded to the seat of war, which had approached within twenty miles of Cawnpore, but, on arrival, he found his own courage no better than the rest of the villainous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life; he did so, and with him the whole of his boasting army.

On arrival at Cawnpore, the entire population was so panic-struck that, leaving house and property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels; and it is stated that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families on the way to escape with their own lives. From noon till midnight nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west; some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor Ghat,

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others went towards Delhi, and the most part of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were nicely robbed by the zemindars.

The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in goldmohurs, which they purchased at a great premium, having paid as far as 28 or 30 rupees for one (usually of the value of Rs. 20). These men paid a rupee a-head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, &c., and dispersed in different directions into the district.

Just after the defeat at Futtehpore of the rebels, a few spies (whether real or imaginary it is not known) were brought to the Nana as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless females in the prison; and with it some of the Mahajuns and the Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated. It was therefore agreed that the said spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared (said to be six in number out of 17 officers who had been captured about the 10th or 11th July on their way, by water, from Futtehgurh to this, and whose deaths were also delayed under promise of a ransom), should all be put to death, and that the Babus of the city, and every individual who could read or write English, should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out immediately, *i. e.*, on the evening of the 15th of July, and a decree was issued to apprehend the Native Babus, &c., after the Nana's return from the field of battle, where he proceeded, as described above, on the 16th of July, after causing the murder, on the 15th, of the English prisoners.

The Native spies were first put to the sword, and after them the gentlemen, who were brought out from the out-buildings in which confined, and shot with bullets; thereafter the poor females were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots from the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures in their agony fell down at the feet of their murderers, clasped their legs, and begged in the most pitiful manner to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely, in the midst of the

most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were between 140 and 150 souls, including children; and from a little before sunset till candle-light was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the buildings were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some 10 or 15 females, with a few of the children, had managed to escape from death by falling and hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow prisoners. Fresh order was therefore sent to murder these also; but the survivors not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation, thus putting a period to lives which it was impossible for them to save. The dead bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and julluds* were employed to drag them away like dogs.

It is too horrible to recount further on this subject; on the night of the 16th July, the station was deserted by the rebels, as stated above, and early next morning the English troops took possession of it, but not before the wretches had set fire to and blown up the magazine, which was done by the last guard left by the Nana, at about 8 A.M.

W. J. SHEPHERD,
Commissariat Department.

The 29th August 1857.

P. S.—I forgot to mention that when the Nana broke up his camp after the English entrenchment was vacated, he proceeded to his seat at Bithoor on the 5th July, where he caused 100 guns to be fired as a salute in honor of the King of Delhi, 80 guns in memory of his late adopted father, Bajee Rao, ex-Peishwa of Poona-Sattara, and 60 guns for himself on being placed on his throne; 21 guns were also fired as a salute for the Nana's wife, and a like number for his mother.

From Major W. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Calcutta, 29th August 1857.*

I have the honour, by the direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward, for submission to the Governor-General in Council, a letter

* Jallads.—Executioners.

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in original, from Brigadier-General J. G. S. Neill, Commanding at Cawnpore, dated 7th August, 1857, with a list furnished by Lieutenant H. G. Delafosse of the 53rd Native Infantry, of officers and others who have perished from various causes during the Mutiny and siege at that station, in view to dates being assigned to these casualties in the absence of all precise information on the subject.

2. I am to add that His Excellency does not deem it advisable to submit any promotions to Government, till the general question of re-organising the Native army shall have been considered.

3. Have the goodness to return the papers when no longer required.

From Brigadier-General J. G. S. NEILL, *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Cawnpore, 7th August 1857.*

I have the honour to enclose the names of those officers, their families, and civilians, together with the women and children of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, and Artillery, that were massacred at Cawnpore the day the British troops entered; or that were murdered in the boats in endeavouring to escape to Allahabad; or that were killed in the entrenchment;—as furnished by Lieutenant Delafosse, of the 53rd Native Infantry, one of the four European survivors.

From Lieutenant H. G. DELAFOSSE, *53rd Regiment, Native Infantry, to Captain* SPURGIN,*—dated Cawnpore, 6th August 1857.*

I have the honour to forward, for the information of Brigadier-General Neill, Commanding at Cawnpore, a list of the late inhabitants of that station as far as I can remember. Those whose fate I am certain of, I have written opposite their names; the rest, it is my firm belief, perished in the boats on the morning of the 27th June.

Engineers.

Captain Whiting, killed in the boat.

Lieutenant Ferris, killed in the boat.

Artillery.

Major Larkins.
Mrs. Larkins and children.
Lieutenant Dempster, killed.
Mrs. Dempster and children.
Lieutenant Ashburner, missing.
Lieutenant Ashe, killed in the boat.
Lieutenant Eckford, killed in the boat.
Second-Lieutenant Burney, killed in the boat.
Second-Lieutenant Maister, wounded.
Second-Lieutenant Sotheby, wounded.
Dr. Macaulay, brought back in boat.

Cavalry.

Major Vibart, brought back in boat.
Mrs. Vibart and children, brought back in boat.
Captain Seppings, brought back in boat.
Mrs. Seppings and child, brought back in boat.
Captain Jenkins, killed.
Lieutenant R. Quin, fever.
" C. Quin, wounded, brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Harrison, killed in boat.
Lieutenant Manderson.
" Wren.
Lieutenant Daniell, wounded brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Balfour, wounded brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Mainwaring, 6th wounded, brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Boulton, 7th, killed in boat.
Lieutenant Sterling, 3rd.

32nd Grenadiers.

Captain Moore, killed in boat.
Mrs. Moore, brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Wainright.
Mrs. Wainright.
Miss Wainright.
Ensign Hill.
Mrs. Hill.

84th Grenadiers.

Lieutenant Saunders.

1st Fusiliers.

Lieutenant Hanville, killed in boat.

1st Regiment, Native Infantry.

Colonel Ewart, wounded.
Mrs. Ewart and child.
Captain Athill Turner, wounded, brought back.
Mrs Turner, fever.
Captain Elms.
Captain Smith, killed.
Lieutenant Satchwell, died in boat.
Lieutenant Wheeler, Aide-de-camp, killed.
Lieutenant Redman, killed.
Ensign Supple, killed.
Dr. Newenham and children.
Mrs. Newenham, fever.

53rd Regiment, Native Infantry.

Major Hillersdon, wounded.
Captain Reynolds, killed.
Mrs. Reynolds, fever.
Mrs. Reynolds' child.
Captain Belson and children.
Mrs. Belson, fever.
Miss Campbell.
Lieutenant Brydges.
" Thomson, wounded.
" Prole, killed.
Two Misses Glasgow.
Lieutenant Jellicoe and child.
Mrs. Jellicoe, fever.
Lieutenant Armstrong.
" Master, wounded brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Delafosse.
Ensign Dowson.
" Forman, wounded.
Dr. Collyer, fever.

56th Regiment, Native Infantry.

Colonel Williams, apoplexy.
Mrs. Williams, wounded.
Miss Williams, fever.
Three Misses Lindsay.
Ensign Lindsay.
Mrs. Blair.

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56th Regiment, Native Infantry—(contd.)

Two Misses Williams.
Major Prout, sunstroke.
Mrs. Prout.
Captain Halliday, killed.
Mrs. Halliday, smallpox.
Mrs. Halliday's child.
Captain Kempland.
Mrs. Kempland and children.
Lieutenant Goad.
" Fagan, wounded, brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Chalmers.
" Morris.
" Warde.
" Henderson, wounded, brought back in boat.
Lieutenant Jackson, 67th Native Infantry.
Mrs. Jackson.
Lieutenant Battine, 14th Native Infantry.
General Wheeler, Commanding.
Lady Wheeler.
Miss Wheeler.
Brigadier Jack, fever.
—Jack, Esq., killed.
Colonel Wiggins, killed in boat.
Major Lindsay, fever.
Mrs. Lindsay, fever.
Captain Williamson.
Mrs. Williamson and child.
Rev.—Moncrieff.
Mrs. Moncrieff and child.
Dr. Garbett, fever.
Dr. Allen.
Two Misses Blair, one died of fever.
Mrs. Fraser, brought back in boat.
Mrs. Evans.
Mrs. Darby and infant.
Miss Bisset.
Mrs. Swinton and three children.
Miss Cripps.
Charles Hillersdon, Esq., killed.
Mr. Cox, late 1st Fusiliers, killed.
Mrs. Hillersdon, fever.
Mrs. Hillersdon's child.
Sir George Parker, sunstroke.
M. Killop, Esq., killed.
—Stacey, Esq., wounded.
Captain Angelo, wounded.
—Baines, Esq., wounded.
—Miller, Esq., brought back in boat.
—Satouche, Esq.
—Hillersdon, wounded.
—Cumming, Esq., brought back in boat.
—Anderson, Esq.
Mrs. Anderson.
—Cooke, Esq.
—Campbell, Esq.
Rev.—Haycock.
Mrs. Haycock.
Mr. Christie, fever.
Mrs. Christie and family.
Mr. Fagan.
Mrs. Fagan and family.
Mr. Greenway and family.
Mr. Shirn.

56th Regiment, Native Infantry—(concld.)

Mrs. Allen.
Dr. Harris.
Mrs. Harris.
Miss Brightman, fever.
Dr. Bowling.
Mrs. Bowling and child.
Dr. Chalwin, Veterinary Surgeon, killed.
Mrs. Chalwin.
Miss White.
Lieutenant Harris' child.
Mrs. Wade, fever.
Mrs. George Lindsay.
Mr. Shencair.
The whole of the married women and children, 32nd Regiment Grenadiers; 1st Company, 6th Battalion, Artillery, married women and children belonging to Company.
Mrs. Shore.
Mrs. Eckford.
Also many persons who came into the station with their families on account of disturbance, and whose names I do not know.
Mr. Boyes.
Dr. Boyes.

(Signed) H. G. DELAFOSSE, *Lieut.*,
Late 53rd Native Infantry.

Translation of a vernacular document found in the house in which the ladies of General Wheeler were murdered.

List of those who arrived in the house on Tuesday, the 7th of July 1857 :—

Mr. Greenway.
Mrs. Greenway.
Mrs. Greenway.
F. Greenway.
Martha Greenway.
Jane Greenway.
Mr. Jacobi.
Henry Jacobi.
Miss Lindsay.
Henry Simpson.
Miss Colgan. (?)
Mr. Keirseile. (?)
Mary Keirseile.
Willis Keirseile.
Mrs. O'Brien.
Mrs. Green.

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Translation of a vernacular document found in the house in which the ladies of General Wheeler were murdered—(contd.)

Lucy Jacobi.
Hugh Jacobi.
Mrs. Tibbett. (?)
Miss Peter. (?)
Mrs. Cocks.
Mrs. Reed.
Susan Reed.
James Reed.
Julia Reed.
C. Reed.
Charles Reed.
Baby Reed.
Mrs. Gillie. (?)
Henry Brett.
Mrs. Dooney. (?).
Henry Duncan.
Mrs. Leavy.
James Leavy.
Mrs. Brothrick. (?)
Grace Kirk.
William Kirk.
Charlotte Kirk.
Mrs. White.
Mrs. Macmullen.
Mrs. Sinclair.
John Greenway.
Mary Greenway.
Lizzie Hornet.
Mrs. Sheriden.
W. Sheriden.
Baby Sheriden.
Mrs. Wrescham.
Clara Wrescham.
Drummond Wrescham.
Edward Green.
Mrs. Crab.
John Fitzgerald.
Mrs. Jenkins.
Mrs. Peel. (?)
George Peel.
Mrs. Moore.
Marian Conway.
T. C. Weston. (?)
Mrs. Caroll.
Mrs. Butler.
Mrs. Johnson.
Jane Marfet. (?)
Mrs. Peterson.
Miss Burn.
Miss Burn.
Mrs. Bell.
Alfred Bell.
Mrs. Borrell.
Mrs. Murray.
Mrs. Jones.
Mrs. Russell.
Eliza Russell.
Mrs. Gilpin. (?)
William Gilpin.
James Lewis.
Elizabeth West.
W. Nock.
One native.
Henry Walkins.
Jennie Martindale.
Weston Durden.
William James.
Jane Gill.

Translation of a vernacular document found in the house in which the ladies of General Wheeler were murdered—(contd.)

Eliza Bennett.
Mrs. Probett.
Stephen Probett.
Catherine Willup. (?)
Jane Willup.
Thomas Willup.
Mrs. Dallas.
W. O'Conner. (?)
Lucy Lyells.
Mrs. Canter.
Humet Pistol. (?)
Elizabeth Simpson.
George Casey.
G. Casey.
Lucy Stake (?)
William Stake.
Joseph Conway.
William Sanders.
Margaret Fitzgerald.
Mary Fitzgerald.
Tom Fitzgerald.
Ellen Fitzgerald.
Mrs. Lindsay, wife of Major Lindsay, of—Regiment, stationed at Cawnpore.
Caroline Lindsay.
Harriet Gilpin.
Sarah Gilpin.
Tom Gilpin.
S. Gilpin.
Mrs. Walker.
Mrs. Cayman. (?)
Emma Weston.
Mrs Fraser.
James Cousins.
Mrs. Peter.
James Peter.
Mrs. Baines.
Phillip Baines.
Mr. Nonirs.
Mr. Guthree.
Catherine Guthree.
Mrs. White.
Mrs. Wollen.
Tommy Wollen.
Susan Wollen.
Mrs. Cooper.
Mrs. Carroll.
Mrs. Carroll.
Two ayahs.
Mrs. Sanders.
Mrs. Bowling.
Mrs. Moore.
Miss White.
Mrs. Probert.
Johnny Probert.
Willie Probert.
Emma Probert.
Susan Probert.
Mrs. Seppings (2nd Cavalry).
John Seppings.
Edward Seppings.
Mrs. Dupter. (?)
Charles Dupter.
William Dupter.
Henry Dupter.
Mrs. Wallet. (?)
Mrs. Hill.

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Translation of a vernacular document found in the house in which the ladies of General Wheeler were murdered—(concld.)

Mrs. Derby.
Miss Williams.
Mrs. Parrot.
Mary Peter.
Arthur Newman.
Charlotte Newman.
Mrs. Basilico. (?)
Frances Linsday.
Mrs. Scott.
Mrs. Mackenna.
Mrs. Wallis.
David Walker.

List of Futtehghur fugitives, dated 11th July 1857.

Mrs. Woolyar.
Charles Woolyar.
Thomas Woolyar.
Mrs. Gibbons.
Miss Seth.
Mrs. Tucker (wife of Colonel Tucker, Clothing Department).
Miss Tucker.
Louisa Tucker.
George Tucker.
L. (?) Tucker.
Sutherland Tucker.
Mrs. Reen. (?)
Mary Reen.
Catherine Reen.
Ellen Reen.
Nelly Reen.
Jane Reen.
Cornelia Reen.
David Reen.
Mrs. Thompson.
Miss Lang.
Mrs. Maltby (wife of Civil Surgeon.)
Mrs. Lowis (wife of R. Lowis, Joint Magistrate, Futtehgurh).
Emma Lowis.
Eliza Lowis.
Mrs. West (wife of European Ghat Darogah).
Three natives.
Mrs. Fatman.
Mrs. Guthrie (?)
Mrs. Heathcote (wife of doctor of 10th Native Infantry).
Godfrey Lloyd.
Baby Lloyd.
Colonel Goldie (of Calcutta, on leave to the Hills).
Mrs. Goldie (Futtehghur).
Mary Goldie.
Ellen Goldie.

List of Futtehghur fugitives, dated 11th July 1857—(concld.)

Mr. Thornhill (Judge of Futtehghur).
Mrs. Thornhill.
Charles Thornhill.
Mary Thornhill.
Colonel Smith (10th Native Infantry).
Mrs. Smith.
Mrs. Rees.
Eliza Rees.
Jane Rees.

Received into charge, 11th July, 163 sick people; also 47 from Futtehghur. Total 210.

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CHAPTER IV.

HAVELOCK'S CAMPAIGN—RELIEF OF THE GARRISON OF LUCKNOW.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Cawnpore, 21st July 1857.*

I am free to cross the Ganges. Nana Sahib's force at Bithoor is entirely dispersed. We have brought from the place sixteen guns and a quantity of animals; set fire to his palace, and blown up his powder magazine. A portion of my troops and five guns are already in position at the head of the road to Lucknow. The difficulties of a swollen, broad, and rapid river, with only one small steamer and a few boats, are not slight; but the whole army is full of hope that we shall soon be united on the left bank.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel TYTLER, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Cawnpore, 23rd July 1857.*

Received a letter of the 14th from Agra; all well. No enemy near them. Complete command of the city and cantonments, though the latter, having been destroyed, are not occupied. Plenty of ammunition and provisions for six months at least. Troops moving up must not depend on Agra for percussion caps. Mutineers at Delhi running short of ammunition. Last news from thence dated 7th of July. It was expected to fall in a few days. We have 1,100 men across the river. Passage most difficult, on account of the breadth and strength of the stream. I hope to complete the passage in two days, but cannot say for certain; all working hard at it. Sent thirty-five elephants to-day; fear I have lost one. Lucknow holds out bravely, and in no

danger; can easily hold their own until the 5th August, and longer if necessary. Enemy's fire very slack. Large bodies of men who occupied the villages on the road have abandoned them, on receiving the intelligence of our passing the river. It is a great pity we cannot keep up our old system, seen and felt at the same moment; but this river is a fatal obstacle; all possible baggage is left behind. No one takes tents, only a change of clothes, and some food and drink, yet we are delayed; we shall resume our old ways in three days, please God, and relieve Lucknow in six.

Give us 3,000 Europeans and six horsed guns, and we will smash every rebel force one after the other; and the troops coming up in the rear can settle the country. All well here; I trust you are also.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 24th July 1857.*

Your two telegrams of July 22nd received. I am thankful for the information regarding Oudh. A strong Native rumour arrived here yesterday that the entrenchments of Lucknow were forced three days ago. I am endeavouring to ascertain the truth of this report, which I do not myself believe. Meanwhile, the passage of the troops across the river goes on unremittingly. My three despatches of the 12th, 15th and 20th will, I trust, arrive, and give you all the details of my operations. I have at length received communication from Delhi. Captain Norman writes that General Reed's force amounts to 3,400 British and 1,900 Natives, who can be relied upon, with twenty-eight field guns, and a small siege-train; that they are attacked every third or fourth day, but the enemy have hitherto been invariably repulsed with great loss. Our loss has also been heavy. General Reed is very ill. Our force attempts no offensive movements, but are looking for reinforcements from me. They urge me to come up the Trunk Road. I shall answer that I must first relieve Lucknow. From Lucknow, just received, garrison safe up to 22nd. The besiegers are beginning to move down towards us. The latest news from Delhi of the 15th instant.

Memorandum by the Acting Commander-in-Chief,—dated 25th July 1857.

I beg to submit a telegraphic message, dated Cawnpore, July 23rd, which reached me this morning, from Brigadier-General Havelock, Commanding Moveable Column.

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The Brigadier-General reports that two-thirds of his force were established on the Oudh bank of the Ganges; he expresses a confident hope that Lucknow will soon be in his hands; and he begs for instructions whether he is to remain in Oudh, and thoroughly re-conquer and pacificate the province, or if he shall re-cross the Ganges, march on Agra (which is, he states, now blockaded), unite himself to the force there, and assist in the reduction of Delhi; finally, the Brigadier-General urges that there should be no delay in his operations when Lucknow is once relieved, and he earnestly requests early orders for his guidance.

I entertain a decided opinion that Brigadier-General Havelock, after relieving Lucknow, should remain in Oudh, and restore order and re-establish British authority in that province. If he merely relieves the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow, and, after accomplishing that object, instantly re-crosses the Ganges into our own provinces, it will be thought and believed throughout India that he had signally failed to re-conquer Oudh and that he was driven out of the province by force of arms. The insurgents, though beaten before Lucknow, would assuredly collect again, and follow up the retiring army, prevent supplies from coming into camp, and reduce our troops to great straits and hazard when re-crossing the Ganges, the passage of which, when wholly unopposed, the Brigadier-General describes as having been a very difficult and tedious operation; but, he adds, "Colonel Tytler's (Assistant Quartermaster-General of the force) perseverance overcomes all obstacles." If the passage of the Ganges was so difficult and tedious when no opposition was offered, there can be no question that the operation would be extremely hazardous, if not impracticable, with an enemy, numerically vastly superior, in hot pursuit; but if it was perfectly successful, I consider that withdrawing from Oudh would be a false move, and in every way injurious to our interests and reputation. No longer overawed by our troops, and entirely freed from their presence, and the province of Oudh completely in their hands, the rebels, in all probability, would pour into our territory, and there is nothing to prevent their overrunning the whole country between the Ganges and the Gunduck, from Jounpore, Azimghur, and Goruckpore on the Oudh frontier, down to Sarun, Tirhoot, Chuprah, and Purneah. Surely nothing short of the most imperative necessity would justify our running such risks as I have described, and I maintain that no such necessity exists. We may lose—perhaps have lost—the country around Agra; but it would be hard to convince me that any number of mutineers and

insurgents that can possibly be congregated before the place can ever succeed in capturing the fort of Agra, a strong and regular fortification, thoroughly armed with heavy guns of siege calibre, manned by an European garrison of at least 1,000 men, including the volunteers, and with a principal arsenal, thoroughly supplied with every munition of war, within the walls. If the authorities have neglected to collect and store provisions, the garrison may be starved into submission, of course, but otherwise the fort of Agra is perfectly safe.

We have authentic information that reinforcements, to the extent of 3,250 men of all arms, with a considerable number of additional guns, were sure to reach Delhi during the first week of this month; and Sir Henry Barnard has stated, in his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor of the 18th June, that with this addition to his strength the complete overthrow of Delhi would be secured, and easily accomplished; and in this opinion of the General I entirely concur.

For all these reasons, therefore, I am strongly opposed to General Havelock's force quitting Oudh, and I very urgently recommend that instructions to complete the re-conquest of that province may be forwarded to him.

The 5th Fusiliers are now on their way to Allahabad by steamers; the 90th Light Infantry will be despatched on Monday next; two light field batteries of artillery, and, it is hoped, 1,000 Gurkhas, are in progress towards the same destination; and with this assembled force, fully equipped for service, we shall be in a position to render effectual aid to Agra, or elsewhere in the North-Western Provinces, wherever assistance may be most urgently required.

PAT. GRANT.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have received a telegram from Colonel Tytler, intimating to me that the beleaguerers of Agra had disappeared from the neighbourhood, and that the garrison was provisioned for six months. This is an additional reason, if more were wanted, for Havelock's force being retained in Oudh to complete the re-conquest of that province.

The intelligence from Agra is up to the 14th of July.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 25th July 1857.*

I assumed command here yesterday on General Havelock crossing over. I have at once set about re-establishing police and our authority

in bazaar and city; promulgated Government orders for rewards for bringing in sepoys and public property; made Captain Bruce Superintendent of Police and Intelligence Department, already with good effect; put a stop to plundering; troop-horses being brought in; suggest all should be kept for Government use only, and all horses, private property of deceased officers, be taken by Government, at fair valuation, for mounting dragoons, and horsing batteries; a stringent Government order should be issued on this head to all forces, particularly to General Havelock, where there is that disposition to plunder; a Government order, stringent, against plundering also; some of the Nana's correspondence got hold of, implicating parties of the 17th Regiment, under Subadar Boondho Sing (name doubtful); destroyed boats here, after General Wheeler and party embarked; particulars will be sent. All European men, women, and children have been destroyed; the fate of four European men still doubtful, and inquiries instituted. I hope all will be crossed over to-morrow. Colonel Wilson, 64th, and Crommelin, Engineers, arrived. Convoy from Allahabad all safe, will be in to-morrow. News from Agra and Lucknow good. Enemy from Cuttra reported to be crossing out to meet Havelock; cholera in his camp; all well here. I will hold my own against any odds. The civil powers ought to be ordered to take possession of Futtehpore and all the country between this and Allahabad, and re-establish their authority.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Cawnpore, 26th July 1857.*

The force being crossed over, all will be ready to move on, I hope, by the 28th. A little cholera. More experienced doctors here would be of benefit as field surgeons to superintend. Havelock left with me sixty-nine sowars who behaved badly before the enemy, and were disarmed and dismounted. I would have disposed of them otherwise; but here they add to my weakness; I don't trust them; they do nothing whatever; they are Oudh, Delhi, and near this country, men. Lieutenant Palliser, and his Adjutant, with them; good officers looking after a parcel of rips; they will likely murder them if sent off with them to Benares or Allahabad; I wish to get rid of them and make use of the two officers. Some decent men, well-disposed, can be had here; I will entertain them for police sowars, and if you approve more, if right, good for outpost and gaining information.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungerwar, 27th, and Allahabad, 28th July, 9-50* P.M.

I am across the water; Lucknow holds out. I have written for the caps and shall have them sharp. Captain Maude, Royal Artillery, objects to our Indian fusees. He wants a supply of Boxer's new pattern fusees for shells to be sent for from Ceylon; also some of Boxer's new pattern diaphragm shells for 12-pounders, and the reinforcement for the No. 3 Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery, which must by this time have arrived in Ceylon, may be forwarded up here. The Royal Artillery with the China force will probably have some of the stores which Captain Maude wants. I have left General Neill to hold Cawnpore and organise everything. He will complain of this, but I have not another officer to whom I could entrust the duty for an hour. I have intelligence from Delhi—Sir Henry Barnard died of cholera on the 8th or 9th instant; variously stated, General Reed is ill; Neville Chamberlain and Arthur Becher are both wounded. The enemy have perpetually sallied and been repulsed. Loss on both sides heavy; the siege makes no progress. I would hope it may be possible either to complete the four regiments now with me, *viz.*, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 64th, 78th, and 84th, or at all events to send up the 5th and 90th *entire.* Detachments work most inconveniently.

From Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated 27th July 1857.*

General Havelock may not have sent down any copies of proclamations by the Nana found here, I therefore enclose four; also the translation of a document from the Nana, which will show the part taken by the mutineers of the 17th Regiment in the slaughter of our people in the boats.

Captain Gordon, of the 6th, who is acting as my aide-de-camp, is looking over all the papers we have secured, and I will forward copies of all of the slightest consequence.

Translation of Perwunnah 32.

Health and prosperity to Boondoo Sing, Subadar of the Barker (17th) Regiment.

Your petition regarding your arrival with treasure, and your plan for the seizure of certain sepoys who have absconded, has been received

and read. The Sirkar Maharajah Bulkish (doubtful) Bahadur, being pleased with your zeal and bravery, has approved of your deeds and your cleverness; and assuredly what you have done is deserving of praise and approval, and it was certainly proper that you should do something to please your Chief.

As to what you have written regarding the sepoys, a good plan will be made about them when you arrive here, because the Sirkar has got thirteen guns, &c., posted in different places.

Having devised measures with you, the runaway sepoys will be searched for and seized.

At this time there are absolutely no English troops remaining here; they sought protection from the Sirkar, and said, "allow us to get into boats and go away;" therefore the Sirkar has made arrangements for their going, and by 10 o'clock to-morrow these people will have got into boats and started on the river.

The river on this side is shallow, and on the other side deep. The boats will keep to the other side, and go along for three or four koss.

Arrangements for the destruction of these English will not be made here, but as these people will keep near the bank on the other side of the river, it is necessary that you should be prepared, and make a place to kill and destroy them on that side of the river, and having obtained a victory come here.

The Sirkar is much pleased with your conduct, and it is very conspicuous, and the English say that they will go in their boats to Calcutta.

Janduce, trooper, who came from you, has also received a perwunnah, and been sent back.

3 Zilkaideh, in the year 1273 Hijree, at 10 o'clock at night on Friday.

Proclamation.

A traveller, who came to Cawnpore from Calcutta, had heard that first the Council met for the purpose of distributing cartridges to take away the religion of the Hindustanis. The intention of the Council was this, that when the religious business comes on, 7,000 or 8,000 Europeans will kill about 50,000 Hindustanis; then all will become Christians. The sense of this proposal was sent to Queen Victoria, and she having approved of it several Councils were held, which were joined by the European merchants. This determination was come to, that so

many European soldiers should be asked for, that no matter how many Hindustanis there were in the day of battle, they should be defeated. When this request was known in England, 35,000 soldiers set out in ships for Hindustan; and when the news of their departure reached Calcutta, orders were then issued to serve out the cartridges, with the fixed purpose of making the army Christians; and then the christianizing of the ryots would be quickly accomplished. The cartridges were smeared with the fat of pigs and bullocks, the news of which was received from the Bengalees employed in making them. For saying this one of these men was put to death, and all the others put in prison. While they were doing this the Vakeel of the Sultan sent him news from London that 35,000 soldiers had set out for Hindustan to christianize the people there. The Sultan ordered the King of Egypt thus: "This is no time for peace; do you deceive Queen Victoria, because my Vakeel has written that 35,000 men, for the purpose of christianizing the army and people of Hindustan, have set out for that country. Now the remedy for this is difficult for me; but if I neglect this how shall I show my face before God? and some day the like will happen to myself, for if the English christianize India they will do the same to my country also." On receipt of this order the King of Egypt, before the assembly and arrangement of the European force, sent his own army to Alexandria, which is on the road to India. Immediately on the arrival of the European army, that of the King of Egypt began to fire on them from all sides with guns, and having destroyed the ships, sunk them, and not one European escaped. The English in Calcutta, after having issued the order for biting the cartridges, and exciting this rebellion, were awaiting reinforcements from London, for the great God, from his complete omnipotence, is first, and his decrees are accomplished. When the news of the destruction of the London army arrived, the Governor-General was much afflicted and grieved, and he lamented. "In the night, murder and robbery; in the morning, neither head upon the body nor crown upon the head. The blue sky makes one revolution; neither Nadir nor a trace of him remains."

Done by order of the Peshwa Bahadur, 13 Zilkaideh, 1273 Hijree.

Proclamation for the Ordering of the Army.

In every regiment, whether of Horse or Foot, there will be a Colonel Commandant, and Major second-in-command, as well as Adjutant.

The duties of the Commandant are to command his corps, to make known the orders of the Sirkar's will, and to arrange all batteries and fights, when the orders of the Sirkar will be performed. The second-in-command is below him, his companion in council and command, and when anything happens to the Commandant he will take his place. The Adjutant will take charge of the drills and parades of the regiment and of such things as of old have been the custom for the Adjutant to take charge of. The office of the Quartermaster likewise pertains to him, and as the Quartermaster was accustomed to take care of the magazine and ammunition that no one might injure them, and to keep an account of the quantity held by each sepoy, so shall he do; should there be any deficiency in the counting of them, and they are otherwise expended than in the service of the State, then he will be convicted of a fault. The Company allowance of fifty rupees shall be given to the Subadar of the Company, thirty rupees for command, and from the twenty for contract shall be kept up a cobbler and a smith, and those who work for the accoutrements of the Company shall be paid, and there shall be a munshi; and ten subàdars who receive the allowance shall, among them, keep up a munshi of their own, who, on the completion of the month, shall make out the muster-rolls and pay-abstracts of the ten companies and sign them; he shall then give them to the Adjutant. In the Adjutant's office the Meer Munshi, and two mohurrirs allowed him, will see that all is correct, when, having arranged the papers, he will send them to the Commissariat officer. Having been prepared, then they will come to the Government, which will deliver the pay. At all courts-martial the Meer Munshi will write the proceedings and the opinion of the Court, and the members having signed, then they will be sent to the Commanding Officer, who will forward them to the Brigadier, by whom they will be laid before Government, which will confirm or disapprove, and publish accordingly. The Meer Munshi's pay shall be fifty rupees, and each mohurrir's ten rupees; and the Adjutant shall be one of the ten subadars who will receive the allowance of Adjutant in addition to his pay as subadar. Of the two mohurrirs one shall attend at 4 o'clock to write such orders of the Government as there may be, when he will take them to the Adjutant's office, whence they will be made known to the regiment. To these officers for that twenty rupees shall be given. The Major and Colonel are separate. Their pay shall be separately drawn for, and other subadars appointed in their places, and the Sirkar will advise and determine their pay, as

well as the allowance to the Adjutant, which will be drawn for accordingly.

The first orders are these.

13 Zilkaideh, 1273 Hijree.

Proclamation.

In the Artillery, Infantry, and Cavalry, there shall be four Commanding Officers. The pay of a Colonel shall be 500 rupees, and his allowance 250 rupees; the Major's pay shall be 500 rupees; and the Adjutant's allowance, in addition to his pay as a Subadar, shall be 150 rupees. The Quartermaster also shall have 150 rupees, in addition to his pay as a Subadar, both of whose duties he is to do.

13 Zilkaideh, 1273 Hijree.

Proclamation.

Should any man of the Cavalry, Artillery, or Infantry be slain in battle, on his account a life-pension shall be granted at once to his son, or his wife, or his mother, or his sister, or his daughter. If he is wounded and unfit for service he shall have a life-pension agreeably to the regulations, and if fit for service he shall be ready at his own house when called on. Whoever becomes old in the service shall have a pension according to the regulations, and the pay which is established at Delhi shall also be given here, from the date that the army has belonged to the State.

13 Zilkaideh, 1273 Hijree.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungalwar, 28th July 1857.*

In reply to Your Excellency's telegram of the 26th instant, I beg to say that I should consider it certain that I must incur the risk of serious loss if I attempt to re-cross the Ganges to Cawnpore, even supposing that I have been reinforced by the remnant of the garrison of Lucknow. The chances of relieving that place are at the same time hourly multiplying against us. I will not now enter into details, but specify only that Nana Sahib has collected 3,000 men and several guns, and is now on our left flank at Futtehpore Chewrassee, with the avowed intention of cutting in upon our rear when we advance towards Lucknow.

The difficulties of an advance to that capital are excessive. The enemy has entrenched and covered with guns the long bridge across the

Solee at Bunnee, and has made preparations for destroying it if the passage is forced. I have no means of crossing the canal near Lucknow, even if successful at Bunnee. A direct attack at Bunnee might cost me one-third of my force. I might turn it by Mohan, unless the bridge there is also destroyed.

I have this morning received a plan of Lucknow from Major Anderson, Engineer in that garrison, and much valuable information in two memoranda, which escaped the enemy's outposted troops, and were partly written in Greek character. These communications contained much important intelligence orally derived from spies, and convinces me of the extreme delicacy and difficulty of any operation to relieve Colonel Inglis, now Commanding in Lucknow. It shall be attempted, however, at every risk, and the result faithfully reported.

Our losses from cholera are becoming serious, and extend to General Neill's force as well as my own.

I urgently hope that the 5th and 90th can be pushed on to me entire and with all despatch, and every disposable detachment of the regiments now under my command may be sent on.

My whole force only amounts to 1,500 men, of whom under 1,200 are British, and ten guns imperfectly equipped and manned.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 29th July 1857.*

Havelock's force marched at 5 A.M. to-day: found strong post of enemy; captured three brass guns; lost one officer killed, and three wounded; slaughtered many of the enemy. In about an hour after enemy in force, with many cavalry, advanced to meet them; were soon routed, with the loss of all their guns, twelve in number, total, fifteen brass guns taken. The enemy numbered at least 13,000. The force rested a little when it pushed on to Basanhagunge, near which the enemy is said to be in force.

All is well here. The Nana is about twenty miles off on the Oudh side. If he passes near Bithoor, as he threatens, we shall give a good account of him here.

From Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp Busherutgunge, 29th July 1857.*

I moved forward from the strong position of Mungulwar on the 20th instant, and soon became engaged with the enemy near the town of Unao.

2. It is necessary to describe the enemy's position: his right was protected by a swamp which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was drawn in a garden enclosure, which in this warlike district had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion. The rest of his force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between the village and the large town of Unao is narrow. The town itself extended three-quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in this direction. The swamp shut us on the left. Thus an attack in front became unavoidable.

3. It was commenced by the 78th Highlanders and 1st Fusiliers with two guns, and soon became exceedingly warm. The enemy were driven out of the bastioned enclosure; but when our troops approached the village, a destructive fire was opened upon them from the loopholed houses. It became necessary to bring up the 64th under Colonel Wilson, R.A. Here some daring feats of bravery were performed. Private Patrick Cavanagh, 64th, was cut literally in pieces by the enemy, whilst setting an example of distinguished gallantry. Had he lived, I should have deemed him worthy of the Victoria Cross. It could never have glittered on a more gallant breast.

Lieutenant Bogle, 78th Highlanders, in an attempt to penetrate into a house filled with desperate fanatics of the Mussulman faith, was badly wounded. The village was set on fire; still its defenders resisted obstinately. Finally the guns were captured, and the whole force was enabled to debouch by the narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, and formed in line. It found the enemy rallied, and re-formed in great force. Infantry, guns and cavalry were drawn up in line on the plain. They were attacked in direct echelon of detachments and batteries, their guns taken, and the Infantry and Horse put to flight. During the whole of the action, a large detachment of the troops of Nana Sahib threatened our left flank.

4. The troops halted three hours, and then moved on towards Busherutgunge. It is a walled town, with wet ditches. The gate is defended by a round tower, on and near which four pieces of cannon were mounted; the adjacent buildings being loopholed and otherwise strengthened. In rear of the town is a broad and deep inundation, crossed by a narrow chaussée and bridge. The guns pushed on in admirable order, supported by the 1st Fusiliers skirmishing, and the 78th Highlanders and 64th Regiment in line.

The enemy's cannonade was well sustained; nevetheless, our force continued to gain ground. The 64th were then directed to turn the town by our left, and penetrate between it and the swamp, thus cutting off the enemy from their chaussée and bridge. The Fusiliers and the Highlanders precipitated themselves on the earthworks, broke through the entrenchment, and captured the town.

5. The whole of the guns of 5th Company of 7th Battalion, Artillery, were taken by us, with nearly all its ammunition. It had come from Fyzabad and Lucknow. The ground on both sides of the road at Unao was so flooded that it was impossible for cavalry to act. My Volunteer Horse were, therefore, reduced to inactivity, though most anxious to engage.

6. The loss of the enemy at Unao is estimated, by Native report, at 1,500 killed and wounded. It might, in truth, amount to 500. It was lighter at Busherutgunge, in consequence of the mistake already noticed.

In these two combats nineteen guns were captured from the enemy.

7. I must praise the conduct of all my staff officers: Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, hardly able from indisposition to sit on his horse, set, throughout the day, an example of daring and activity; Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, had a horse shot under him; Lieutenant Seton, my acting aide-de-camp, was severely wounded; Major Stephenson, at the head of the Madras Fusiliers, showed throughout the day how the calmest forethought can be united with the utmost daring.

8. I forward returns of killed and wounded, and of captured ordnance.

General return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the force under the command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *in the actions on the 29th July 1857.*

Killed.

Regiments.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Warrant officers.	Total.
Royal Artillery, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
" " 78th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	3
" " 84th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
European regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Volunteer Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	5
Total ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	10	...	12

Wounded.

Regiments.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Warrant officers.	Total.
Royal Artillery, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	1	7
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	18	...	21
" " 78th "	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	15	...	18
" " 84th "	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	6
European regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	4	...	5
Volunteer Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2
1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	3	...	12	...	17
Total	...	...	...	2	...	1	6	5	...	61	1	76

Missing. / **Horses.**

Regiments.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Warrant officers.	Total.	Horses Killed.	Horses Wounded.
Royal Artillery, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " 78th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" " 84th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
European regiment	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Volunteer Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2
1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2

Total casualties, 88; and 3 horses.

CAMP BUSHERUTGUNGE,
The 29th July 1857.

(Signed) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl. to the Force.

Return of Ordnance captured during the actions on the 29th July 1857, by the force under the command of General HAVELOCK, C.B., *and how disposed of.*

Number.	Description.	Where captured.	How disposed of.
2	3-pounder, brass ...	Unao	Spiked, and left on the ground.
1	12-pounder, " ...	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
2	24-pounder howitzer, brass	On the plain beyond Unao ...	Destroyed by shot.
5	9-pounder, brass ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto.
1	24-pounder, " ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto.
2	6-pounder, " ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto.
1	12-pounder, iron ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto.
1	6-pounder, " ...	Ditto ditto ...	Ditto.
1	8-pounder, brass ...	At Busherutgunge ...	Ditto.
1	3-pounder, " ...	Ditto	Ditto.
2	2-pounder, iron ...	Ditto	Ditto.
Total 19			

CAMP BUSHERUTGUNGE,
The 29th July 1857.

(Signed) C. S. COOPER, *Major,*
Comdg. Arty. of Genl. Havelock's Column.

From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—dated Calcutta, 29th July 1857.

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward extract of a telegram from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, C.B., Commanding the Moveable Column, relative to some new pattern shells and fuses required for the use of the detachment of Royal Artillery serving under his command, and to request you will have the goodness to take the orders of Government about obtaining them from the stores in the *Himalyah.*

2. If procurable from that source, His Excellency recommends that a supply be despatched to Allahabad forthwith; and if not thence, that application be made to the Ceylon authorities, who can probably furnish them.

3. I am also to request that the reinforcements for No. 3 Company, 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery, which must have reached Ceylon by this time, be ordered round with all speed.

Extract of a telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *Commanding the Moveable Column.*

Captain Maude, R.A., objects to use Indian fuses. He wants a supply of Boxer's new pattern fuses for shells to be sent from Ceylon, also some of Boxer's new pattern shells for 12-pounders. The Royal Artillery with the China force will probably have some of the stores Captain Maude wants.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Busherutgunge, 30th July 1857.*

I am thankful for the proposed publication of my despatches. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded has on every occasion been considerable; but as I have no cavalry, they carry off both dead and wounded. How, then, did I capture their guns? I advanced steadily on their lines, and they abandoned their guns. The horses, bullocks, and equipments generally, if not always, escaped me. I estimate their loss in killed and wounded at Futtehpore at about 150; at Dong at 200; at Cawnpore at about 250.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungulwar, six miles from Cawnpore, left bank of the Ganges, 31st July 1857.*

My force is reduced by sickness and repeated combats to 1,364 rank and file, with ten ill-equipped guns. I could not, therefore, move on against Lucknow with any prospect of success, especially as I had no means of crossing the Sye or the canal. I have therefore shortened my communications with Cawnpore, by falling back two short marches, hitherto unmolested by an enemy. If I am speedily reinforced by 1,000 more British soldiers and Major Olpherts' battery complete, I might resume my march towards Lucknow, or keep fast my foot in Oudh, after securing the easier passage of the Ganges at Cawnpore by boats and two steamers; or I might recross and hold the head of the Grand Trunk Road at Cawnpore.

The disaffection at Dinapore menaces yet more injuriously my communications, but it has set free the 10th Foot and the 5th Fusiliers, and the 9th Light Infantry are said to be on their route up. Detachments of the regiments now with me are posted at different points on the line. A reinforcement of 1,000 British soldiers, from which it would be necessary to make a detachment to defend the bridge-head on this side

might yet enable me to obtain great results, but with a smaller addition to my column little could be effected for the interests of the State.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel TYTLER, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Mungulwar, 31st July 1857.*

My dear Grant,—We crossed the river on the 28th; encountered the enemy at and between Unao and Busherutgunge on the 29th; took nineteen guns of sorts, one battery included, but only six horses were captured; we inflicted a heavier loss than usual—I should say some 400 killed and wounded; our own loss was 88, reducing us to 1,000 European infantry; we could now only place 850 in line; our numerous sick, wounded, and baggage, requiring strong guards in this country, where every village contains enemies; we were diminishing daily from cholera, diarrhœa, and fighting. The Bunnee bridge, 120 yards long, strongly intrenched, and said to be destroyed, had to be passed. We could not hope to reach Lucknow with 600 effective Europeans; we had then to pass the canal, and force one-and-a-half miles of street; we found we thrashed the Oudh people easily in the open, but failed to force two small occupied serais—the men hung back; one of our guns was left under fire, it was some time before I could get the 64th Rifles to keep down the fire; had then to dismount, called for volunteers to run it out; the Artillery on this did the work.

Busherutgunge is a strong place on our line of communication; it is in rear of an extensive jheel, traversed by a narrow raised road and bridge; 150 men might hold it against us, and cut off our retreat. We had not a man to hold it with. It is absurd to see our handful of men outflanked by the numbers of the enemy. The Ganges was also in our rear. Neill says his guns command the opposite bank: its breadth is, at the lowest estimate, three-quarters of a mile—I make it more; the range of a 24-pounder is 1,400 yards; his shot would do more harm to us than to the enemy. Under these circumstances, when asked my opinion as to the possibility of at once relieving Lucknow, I decided against it, for the following reasons: if we failed (and I saw no chance of success) Lucknow was inevitably doomed, and Government in a worse position than ever; while, if we waited for reinforcements, we might still be in time to save it, as the garrison say they can hold out to the 5th of August, and longer, if necessary, and warn us not to approach Lucknow with less than from 2,000 to 3,000 Europeans. We retired to

this place, Mungulwar, six miles from the Ganges, as the Nana threatened our rear. We are constructing a work to cover the passage when we require to pass the river. One thousand infantry for the field, and 300 to hold Busherutgunge and the Bunnee bridge, when repaired, will enable us to bring off the garrison. Cawnpore is threatened by the 42nd from Saugor and some rabble. The Delhi force talks of giving up the siege and retiring to Kurnal.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 1st August 1857.*

A quantity of different portions of harness was dug out of the ruins, but most of it injured; only sufficiently good to complete one battery. I have ordered five sets to be made as soon as possible. I do not think Enfields are in use with the mutineers, what they have are those taken from Wheeler's force, or any that may have been in the magazine; some officers fancied they detected the cartridge paper where the enemy had been. I do not think they had much of any ammunition; a large quantity was dug out of the ruins partly destroyed, half a lakh good, and a lac of balls; seven Enfields were found which had been used, and much rusted. After Cawnpore was re-captured, General Havelock's force, six miles on the other side of river, fell back to get another battery, and 1,000 European infantry. Will send him over Olpherts' half battery and the detachment of 84th escorting. Report has it, as we came this way, enemy fled to Lucknow; they lost heavily from 1,200 to 1,500 men and all their guns. Hope General Havelock will be ordered to advance again sharp.

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to the Medical Board,—dated Fort William, 1st August 1857.*

Brigadier-General Neill, Commanding at Cawnpore, having reported that more experienced surgeons would be of benefit as field surgeons, to superintend the treatment of cholera and other severe diseases, I am desired to request that your Board will be so good as to take immediate steps to supply the deficiency at present existing.

MINUTE by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 2nd August 1857.

COMMAND OF THE DINAPORE AND CAWNPORE DIVISIONS.

The mutiny of three regiments of Native Infantry at Dinapore on the 24th ultimo, and the disastrous result which has followed the

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attempt to relieve Arrah, against which the mutineers directed their first movements, has very seriously diminished the hope of preserving the peace of the Lower Provinces along the valley of the Ganges from Berhampore to Benares, and in the neighbourhood of the Trunk Road south of Benares. Our communications with Benares and Allahabad are threatened and our chief sources of revenue in Bengal are in jeopardy. Upon the first account of the events at Dinapore, Major-General Lloyd was removed from the command of the division. There was, upon his own showing, no room for doubt that he had been guilty of grievous mismanagement and neglect. It is now necessary that the military command in that part of India should, without a day's delay, be placed in the ablest and most trustworthy hands; and on present circumstances the authority of the commander will be exercised with much greater advantage if it be extended over the adjoining division of Cawnpore as well. The arrival yesterday of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram in Calcutta happily makes the services of that distinguished officer available to the Government of India at this juncture; and I propose that the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions should be combined in one command and entrusted to Sir James Outram. Instructions will be given through the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the civil officers to co-operate with Lieutenant-General Outram, and to aid and support all his measures to the utmost of their power; but I do not think it desirable that the burden of any portion of the civil administration in the Lower or Central Provinces should be thrown upon General Outram.

(Sd.) CANNING.

MINUTE by J. DORIN, Esq., *dated 3rd August 1857.*

I consider the appointment of Sir James Outram to the proposed command most desirable, but I think it very doubtful whether we shall be able to hold the Cawnpore Division and at the same time provide for the tranquillity of our richest Bengal districts. I shall be quite prepared to find it necessary to withdraw our troops as low as Allahabad, and to endeavour to maintain the provinces of Bengal and Behar in security till reinforcements arrive from England. Telegraphic communication with Benares is already cut off, and it is questionable whether the Grand Trunk Road continues open. Our handful of

European troops is totally unequal to attempt extensive operations and it seems to me wiser to endeavour to hold the country of which we are reasonably sure than to risk the loss of the whole by wasting our force at distant points which in our present weak position is of very little practical value.

(Sd.) J. DORIN.

MINUTE by J. Low, Esq., *dated 3rd August 1857.*

I cordially concur as to the wisdom of conferring on Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram the command of all the troops in the Divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore. I don't participate in the opinion of Mr. Dorin that there is a probability of our finding it necessary to withdraw our troops from the latter important station.

(Sd.) J. LOW.

MINUTE by W. GRANT, Esq., *dated 3rd August 1857.*

I do most cordially concur in Sir James Outram's appointment to both divisions. The question of holding on or drawing in is not now for practical solution before us. In either event this appointment is the best that can be made.

(Sd.) W. GRANT.

MINUTE by B. PEACOCK, Esq., *dated 4th August 1857.*

I concur entirely in the proposal of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General. I trust that it will not be necessary to abandon Cawnpore. Such a measure must necessarily be fraught with the greatest mischief, and it will require much anxious consideration before it is resorted to.

(Sd.) B. PEACOCK.

General Order, dated 4th August 1857.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to make the following appointment:—

Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., of the Bombay Army, to command the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions which are to be combined in one command.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 4th August 1857.

I am desired to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Acting Commander-in-Chief, that the recent disastrous events at Dinapore and in its neighbourhood having rendered it necessary that the military command in that part of India should, without delay, be placed in the ablest and most trustworthy hands, and as under present circumstances the authority of the commander will be exercised with much greater advantage if it be extended over the adjoining Division of Cawnpore as well, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to determine that the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisions shall be combined in one command and entrusted to Major-General Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., who will proceed to that district without delay.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungulwar, 4th August 1857.*

I was joined this morning by the half of Major Olpherts' battery under Lieutenant Smithett. I inquired of him minutely how his detachment had behaved. He told me that the conduct of all had been very good, except his gun-lascars. They had, in April last, threatened to spike the guns whenever they might be engaged with the enemy. At Benares Major Olpherts informed me that they had conducted themselves ill on the night of the mutiny.

So far as depends on me, I cannot afford to have a single traitor in my camp. I paraded the detachment, and spoke to them all, both British and Natives. I congratulated the former on having come into a camp of heroic soldiers, who had six times met the enemy, and every time defeated him and captured his cannon. The lascars at this moment were facing the detachment; I turned to them, and told them what miscreants I had this morning discovered them to be, traitors in heart to their fostering Government. I made the British soldiers disarm them, and ordered them out of the camp under a light escort, to be employed under General Neill in the labours of the intrenchment. He will look after them. If they attempt to desert, I have ordered them to be punished with death; the same if they refuse to work with other soldiers. They shall do no other duty till I am better instructed.

I have given the same orders regarding a detachment of sepoys of the 60th Regiment, now on duty at Cawnpore.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungulwar, 6th August 1857.*

I yesterday received information that the enemy had re-occupied in force the town of Busherutgunge. I advanced upon it, turned the position by its left and drove the mutineers and rebels out of it with great slaughter. They had eight or ten guns beyond the causeway, two on this side of it; two of those beyond were 24-pounders: the whole were kept at such a distance and withdrawn so rapidly that we never got a fair sight of them; none, therefore, fell into our hands, but two on the walls which had been captured on the 29th ultimo and dismantled by the Commandant of Artillery; so imperfectly, however, that the enemy again fired out of them. The enemy's dead strewed the town. I estimate their loss at 300 killed and wounded. I returned to this position in the evening.

I must prepare Your Excellency for my abandonment, with great grief and reluctance, of the hope of relieving Lucknow. The only three staff officers in my force whom I ever consult confidentially, but in whom I entirely confide, are unanimously of opinion that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involves the loss of this force. In this I concur. The only military question that remains, therefore, is whether that, or the unaided destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow, would be the greatest calamity to the State in this crisis. The loss of this force in a fruitless attempt to relieve Colonel Inglis would, of course, involve his fall. I will remain, however, till the latest moment in this position strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge-communication with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy may enable me to strike a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out.

The enemy is in such force at Lucknow that to encounter him five marches from their position would be to court annihilation.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel TYTLER, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp Mungulwar, 6th August 1857.*

We left this place on the 4th, and bivouacked for the night at Unao. On the morning of the 5th we advanced to Busherutgunge,

about six miles. On nearing the serai we found our intelligence of its being re-occupied correct. The two heavy guns (24-pounders) and two 24-pounder howitzers were ordered to advance by the road. Six guns, the 78th Highlanders, and the Sikhs under Colonel Hamilton, were to turn the left of the village by our right; and the 1st Madras Fusiliers and the 84th Foot were to cover the turning column with the heavy guns. The movement expelled the enemy early from the serai, but they held obstinately the villages immediately on the other side of the street beyond the serai.

They were turned out of this by the guns; on advancing we met four guns, posted on, and to the right and left of the road; our heavy guns silenced them, and they were withdrawn, the enemy retiring slowly, forced back but not beaten. It was purely an artillery fight, the infantry only occupying the villages when the enemy were expelled. The villages on our right and left were held to the last by the enemy, who continued to fire at long distances; some went to the rear, and we had to send the Sikhs with two guns to hold the serai and protect our baggage.

We lost two killed and twenty-three wounded in this skirmish. The enemy lost heavily from the first fire of our 24-pounders The whole transaction was most unsatisfactory, only two small iron guns, formerly captured by us, and destroyed in our idea, being taken. It became painfully evident to all that we could never reach Lucknow; we had three strong positions to force, defended by fifty guns and 30,000 men. One night and a day had cost us, in sick and wounded, 104 Europeans and a fourth of our gun ammunition: this does not include our killed and dead, some ten men. We had 1,010 effective Europeans, and could, consequently, parade 900 or so; the men are cowed by the numbers opposed to them, and the endless fighting. Every village is held against us, the zemindars having risen to oppose us; all the men killed yesterday were zemindars. We know them to be all around us in bodies of 500 or 600, independent of the regular levies. I therefore had no hesitation in giving it as my opinion that the force had no chance whatever of forcing its way into Lucknow, and that it was sacrificing it without a chance of benefiting the garrison; that Cawnpore, with 500 men (one-half sick), would be in great danger, and had no chance of being reinforced, according to your telegram. All were of the same opinion, and we retired to our position, five miles from the

river, to prevent Unao and Busherutgunge being occupied in our rear. I will write more fully.

From Major W. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department,—No. 757, dated Calcutta, 6th August 1857.*

Recommends that certain sowars, who have been dismounted and disarmed, be permitted to proceed to their homes, and enquires what are the wishes of Government with regard to the horses of disarmed irregular cavalry soldiers. Solicits authority to confirm the entertainment of certain police sowars at Cawnpore.

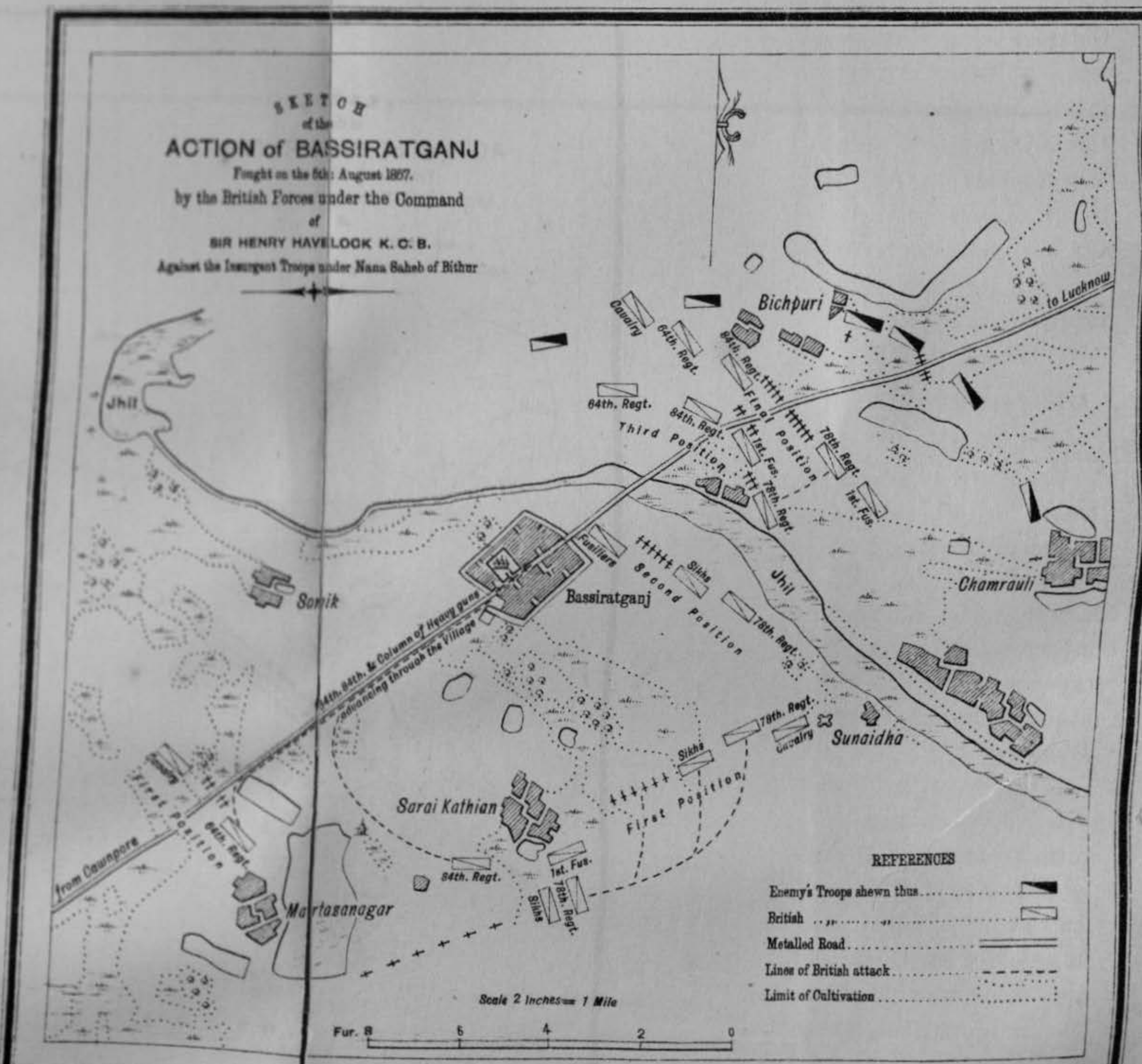
I have the honor, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to annex copy of a letter No. 4, of the 26th ultimo, from Brigadier-General J. G. S. Neill, Commanding at Cawnpore, soliciting instructions for the disposal of certain sowars left at that station, who had been dismounted and disarmed by Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., for misconduct before the enemy; and I am to request that, in submitting the questions to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, you will have the goodness to express His Excellency's recommendation that they may be allowed to proceed to their homes on leave.

2. In connection with this subject, I am to beg you will ascertain and communicate to me, for the information of Sir Patrick Grant, the wishes of His Lordship in Council, as to what compensation is to be made to these men for their horses confiscated to the State, and also for those of all irregular cavalry appropriated for Government purposes, after disarming the riders and owners.

3. I am desired further to solicit the authority of Government to confirm the entertainment of the ten police sowars, referred to by Brigadier-General Neill in the second paragraph of his communication under reference.

From Brigadier-General J. G. S. NEILL, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 4, dated Cawnpore, 26th July 1857.*

I have the honor to report that Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., has left with me 69 sowars whom he, as reported to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dismounted and disarmed for misconduct before the enemy; these men, in whom up here I have not the slightest confidence, are with the small force under my command, and of course add to its weakness. I shall feel obliged by instructions being issued for their disposal. I beg to suggest they be sent away from this; several



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Photo., S. I. O., Calcutta

Reg. No. 633, Mil.—Mar. 96.—500.

are Oudh men; some from about here and Delhi. I would never have brought them so far, feeling assured they would not resist temptation; they did good service in the country about Benares and Allahabad, and were only fit to act against dacoits and insurgents in the country for escort duties, &c. I can make no use whatever of these men. There are, I am informed, people well disposed towards the Government in this neighbourhood, who are willing to serve as sowars. I have directed the entertainment of ten for the police I am re-establishing here; and if the men I can get promise well, intend, should Government approve, to entertain sufficient to establish some sort of reconnaissance, for we are now absolutely without any intelligence beyond what is obtained from scouts. The European Volunteer Cavalry are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the country or their duties in the field to be of much use to us, as no doubt they, with experience, will become.

From Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Camp Mungulwar, 6th August 1857.*

I beg you will acquaint His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that having received information that the enemy had re-occupied Busherutgunge in force, I advanced against that place yesterday, turned the left of the position, with the Highlanders, Sikhs, and Captain Maude's battery, under Colonel Hamilton: attacking in front with the rest of my force, I drove the enemy out of the town and across the narrow causeway and bridge with great slaughter, and returned to this position at night; not a soldier or armed villager on the enemy's side dared to follow me.

The insurgents had eight or ten guns beyond the causeway; two on this side of it, two of those beyond were 24-pounders. The whole were kept at such a distance, and withdrawn so rapidly, that we never got a fair sight of them. None, therefore, fell into our hands, but two on the walls, which had been captured on the 29th ultimo, and dismantled by the Commandant of Artillery, so imperfectly, however, that the enemy again fired out of them.

I estimate the loss of the enemy at 300 killed and wounded: mine was twenty-five. The enemy will not, I fear, again venture to fight with a narrow causeway and swamp in his rear.

I inclose a return of casualties; also a sketch of the ground.

Inclosure 14 in No. 4.

Casualty return of the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General H. Havelock, *in the action at Busherutgunge on 5th August 1857.*

Regiment.	Killed. Lieutenant-Colonel.	Killed. Major.	Killed. Captain.	Killed. Lieutenant.	Killed. Ensign.	Killed. Sergeants and Havildars.	Killed. Drummers and Trumpeters.	Killed. Rank and File.	Killed. Medical subordinate.	Killed. Total.	Wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel.	Wounded. Major.	Wounded. Captain.	Wounded. Lieutenant.	Wounded. Ensign.	Wounded. Sergeants and Havildars.	Wounded. Drummers and Trumpeters.	Wounded. Rank and File.	Wounded. Medical subordinate.	Wounded. Total.	Horses. Killed.	Horses. Wounded.	Remarks.
Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Her Majesty's 64th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	
" " 78th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	
" " 84th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1*	7*	1	9	...	...	* Two of these very slightly, almost nominally.
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	
Volunteer Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ferozepore Regiment ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	21	1	23	...	...	

Total casualties ... ... 25.

Camp Mungulwar, The 6th August 1857.

(Sd.) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.

From Major Mayhew, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Calcutta, 8th August 1857.*

Forwards reports of Brigadier-General Havelock's operations against the mutineers near the towns of Unao and Busherutgunge.

In forwarding, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a despatch,* in original, from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, c.b., Commanding the Moveable Column, No. 39, of the 29th ultimo, detailing his operations against the mutineers near the towns of Unao and Busherutgunge, I have the honour to request you will state to His Lordship in Council that the Commander-in-Chief considers that the best acknowledgments of Government are due to the Brigadier-General for the true soldierly skill and ability with which these brilliant affairs were conducted.

* See pages 161-165.

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I am further to solicit the attention of the Governor-General in Council to the officers named by the Brigadier-General as most conspicuous. His Excellency considers them especially worthy of commendation.

Have the goodness to return the enclosures when no longer required.

From Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Bivouac Mungulwar, Oudh, 12th August 1857.*

Be pleased to inform the Commander-in-Chief that I was yesterday prepared to cross over to Cawnpore by the bridges and boat equipage, which Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler and Captain Crommelin have established. But I had determined that if there should be any considerable assemblage of hostile troops in my front, I would not await their attack in this strong position, but take the initiative and strike a blow against them. In the course of the day a succession of spies brought me information of about 4,000 men, with some guns, having come forward from Nawabgunge to Busherutgunge. I at once put my force in motion, although its baggage and spare ammunition, additional doolies, &c., were already on the right bank. My advanced guard pushed the enemy's parties out of Unao, where my force bivouacked under trees. Marching at dawn, it found him for the third time prepared to defend Busherutgunge, and thus came on our eighth combat since the 12th July. The insurgents were about 4,000 in number, with six field guns. They had varied their mode of defence by entrenching the village of Boorhea-ke-chowkee, in advance of Busherut. My superior artillery fire would soon have crushed them, but I could only slowly bring my batteries and echeloned troops across the wide and deep morasses which protected their front; meanwhile their shot and shell caused some loss in my ranks; but when these obstacles were passed, success was speedily achieved. The Highlanders, without firing a shot, precipitated themselves with a cheer upon the principal redoubt and captured two out of the three horse battery guns with which it was armed. The Fusiliers at the same time drove the enemy's extreme left before them, and their whole line was speedily in full retreat. I estimate their loss at 300 killed and wounded; my own was thirty-five. I retraced my steps leisurely to this position.

A body of troops under Munsoob Alee, a rebellious talookdar, made an effort to interrupt our progress by a demonstration on our right flank, but were compelled to retreat by our artillery fire. This action has inspired much terror amongst the enemy and I trust will prevent his effectually opposing our embarkation at Cawnpore which is a difficult operation.

Casualty return showing the number of killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK *in the action of the 12th instant.*

Regiment.	Killed.								Wounded.								Missing.							Bullock-drivers.		Horses.		Bullocks.	
	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Total.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
Artillery ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 64th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	11	1
" 78th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" 84th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	10	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Volunteer Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ferozepore ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	3	...	1	3	24	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	2	11	1

CAMP MUNGULWAR,
The 12th August 1857.

(Signed) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.,*
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.

Return of ordnance captured during the action on the 12th August 1857, by the force under the command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *at Boorhea-ke-chowkee.*

Number.	Description.	Where captured.	Remarks.
1	9-pounder gun, No. 500	On the plain near Busherutgunge ...	
1	Ditto No. 504	Ditto ditto.	
	1 waggon and 90 rounds of ammunition, with 70 fuzes.	Ditto ditto.	
2			

CAMP MUNGULWAR, *The 12th August 1857.*

(Signed) G. S. COOPER, *Maj.*, *Comdg. Artillery.*

(Signed) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.*

Return of damage done to the carriages of the Artillery division during the action of the 12th August 1857.

Nature of ordnance.	Nature of damage.	Remarks.
24-pounder gun, iron ...	1 Limber pole broken	2 bullocks killed.
12-pounder howitzer, brass ...	2 Limber boxes broken	......
9-pounder gun " ...	Spring of Tacequet scale and screw broken	3 bullocks killed; 1 wounded.
24-pounder howitzer " ...	Limber axle split, trail plate screw head broken, falon of limber wheel broken.	3 bullocks killed.
9-pounder gun " ...	Nave of wheel injured	......
9-pounder " " ...	......	3 bullocks killed.
9-pounder waggon ...	1 spoke broken	......
9-pounder "	1 wheel tire injured	......

CAMP MUNGULWAR, *The 12th August 1857.*

(Signed) G. S. COOPER, *Comdg. Artillery.*

(Signed) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*, *Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveabl Column.*

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Camp, 15th August 1857.*

It is now that I should report to Your Excellency the fearful inroads cholera is making in my little force; to-day there have been eleven fatal cases. The total sick and wounded is 335. The total British strength is 1,415. I do not despond. I must march to-morrow against Bithoor, but it seems advisable to look the evil in the face, for there is no chance but between re-inforcements or gradual absorption by disease. The medical men yesterday recommended upon.* I don't halt while the enemy keeps the field; and, in truth, our health has suffered less fearfully when in bivouacs than in Cawnpore. I will not return to the cantonments if I can help it, but stay either in camp at Nawabgunge or further from the city.

A number of widows of Christian drummers murdered by Nana Sahib represent that they and their children are starving. I will, if Your Excellency sends me the sanction of Government, order them an advance from the military chest to the amount of their regulated pension from the day of the murder. They have no certificates of last-pay, but assert their husbands were two months in arrears.

Telegram from the Commissioner at Benares, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Benares, 17th August 1857, 1-50 P.M.

Brigadier Neill writes, Cawnpore, 14th August: General Havelock recrossed all his men yesterday; they are much worn out by fatigue and exposure, and urgently required rest and care of their health. Loss has been great from sickness; the force is much too weak to attempt any advance on Lucknow, which is not to be thought of until re-inforcements arrive. Nothing has been heard from Lucknow since the force entered Oudh. I hear from Chester that the rebels are at Bithoor with eight guns, and will be attacked soon. The *Jumna* gun-boat might not give much help. Koer Sing has passed through Sasseram to Rhotas. All as usual in the division except the unhappy abandonment of Goruckpore by all but the brave F. M. Bird, who stands fast.

From Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Bivouac Bithoor, 17th August 1857.*

I have to request the favour of your informing the Commander-in-Chief that I marched to this place yesterday.

* *Sic in original.*

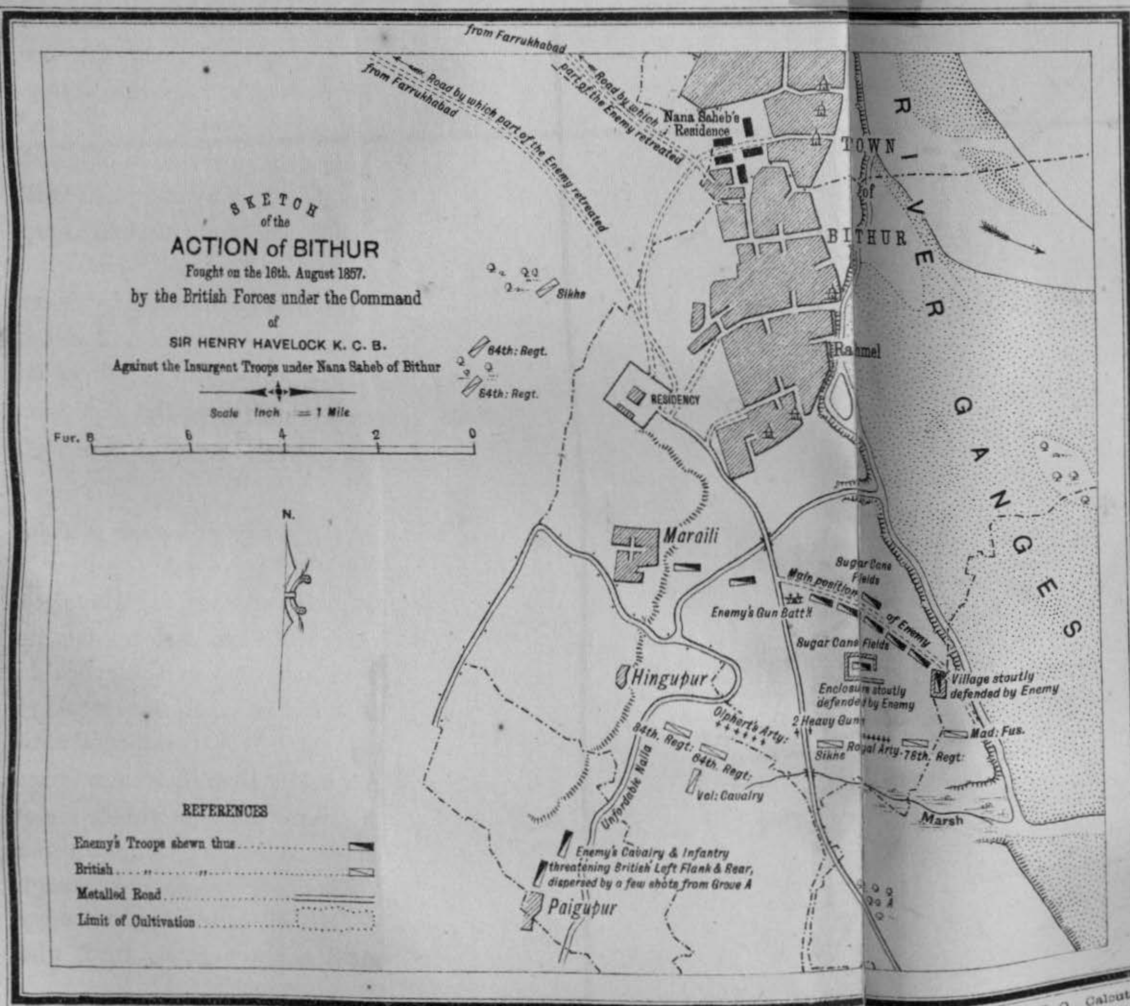


Photo., S. I. O., Calcutta.

Published specially for the Military Department, Government of India (based on the Military records and the Revenue Survey of District Cawnpore in 1837 to 40 and District Unao in 1860 to 62).

Reg. No. 4, Mil.—Mar. 96—500.

The mutineers of the 31st and 42nd from Saugor, the 17th from Fyzabad, and sepoys of other regiments, with troops of the 2nd Light Cavalry and 3rd Irregulars, united to a portion of Nana Sahib's troops, were with two guns in one of the strongest positions I have ever seen: they numbered 4,000 men. The plain, densely covered with thicket, and flanked by villages, has two streams flowing through it, not fordable by troops of any arm, and only to be crossed by two narrow bridges, the furthest of which was protected by an entrenchment armed with artillery: the road takes a turn after passing the second bridge, which protects the defenders from direct fire; and behind are the narrow streets and brick-houses of Bithoor. I must do the mutineers the justice to pronounce that they fought obstinately; otherwise they could not for a whole hour have held their own, even with much advantages of ground, against my powerful artillery fire; the streams prevented my turning them, and my troops were received, in assaulting the position, by a heavy rifle and musketry fire from the rifle and battalion companies engaged; but, after a severe struggle, the enemy were driven back; their guns captured, and infantry chased off the field, in full retreat towards Seorajpore. Had I possessed cavalry, not a rebel or mutineer could have reached that place alive; as it is, they shall not long remain there unmolested.

The loss of the enemy is estimated at 250 killed and wounded; mine is 49, and my numbers are further reduced by sunstroke and cholera.

I inclose a sketch of the position; returns of killed and wounded, and captured ordnances.

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Casualty return, showing the number of killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *in the action of the 16th August 1857, at Bithoor.*

Regiment.	Killed.								Wounded.								Missing.								Bullock-drivers.		Horses.		Bullocks.		Remarks.
	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonel.	Major.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.	Sergeants and havildars.	Rank and file.	Total.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	
Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	2	1	
Her Majesty's 64th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
" " 78th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	14	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
" " 84th ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Volunteer Cavalry ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Ferozepore Regiment ...	...	...	...		..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8	...	...	1	...	...	1	36	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	2	1	

Total casualties ... 49.

BIVOUAC BITHOOR,
The 16th August 1857.

(Signed) H. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.

Nominal list of officers killed and wounded of the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *in the action of the 16th of August 1857.*

Rank.	Name.	Regiment.	Killed or wounded.	Remarks.
Captain ...	A. Mackenzie ...	78th Highlanders ...	Wounded ...	Slightly.

BIVOUAC BITHOOR,
The 16th August 1857.

(Sd.) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.

Return of ordnance captured by the troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *during the action of the 16th of August 1857.*

Number.	Description.	Where captured.	Remarks.
1	4-pounder brass (Native)	In the position covering Bithoor	
1	6-pounder ditto (service)	Ditto ditto.	
	1 Native limber (ditto)	Ditto ditto.	
	1 „ cart (ditto)	Ditto ditto.	
	44 rounds ammunition (4-pounder) ...	Ditto ditto.	
	55 cartridges (6-pounder)	Ditto ditto.	
	18 shot (ditto)	Ditto ditto.	
	3 barrels powder	Ditto ditto.	
2			

BIVOUAC BITHOOR,
The 16th August 1857.

(Sd.) G. S. COOPER, *Maj.*,
Comdg. Arty. Division.

(Sd.) H. M. HAVELOCK, *Lieut.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Allahabad Moveable Column.

Telegram from Lieutenant STANTON, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta,—dated Sherghotty, 17th August 1857.*

News received from Benares-accounts from Delhi to 2nd instant, reinforcements were arriving and troops in good spirits. General Havelock has not relieved Lucknow; he has returned to Cawnpore, after again beating the enemy and taking two guns Lucknow garrison believed to be well, and able to hold out. 5th Fusiliers detained at Mirzapore for further orders. Koer Sing has bolted round over the hills towards Rhotus.*

* Rhotus—*sic* in original. Rohtas, pergunna in Shahabad, Bengal.

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Telegram from Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 18th August 1857, 4-30 P.M.

Learning from common report that an advance on Lucknow, *via* the Googra, is contemplated, and knowing something of the river, I take the liberty to state the advance on Lucknow by Googra is not advisable unless the services of Maun Sing be secured.

First.—The warlike population of Oudh, especially, is swarmed by mutinous troops,* and would possibly be too strong for our small force divided, because a portion would proceed up the Googra and a portion would be sent to join General Havelock. The united force would have a far better effect.

Secondly.—The Googra has never been piloted this season, the river will fall, and, should the steamer stick on a sand bank, it would be difficult to extricate her, especially when harassed at the same time by the enemy. Great delay would, at any rate, occur. I have been down the Googra between Toondah and Gopalpore; there are many forts; the people are of a bad character; the river steamers have generally bad and insufficient machinery, and their commanders are totally unaccustomed to face such contingencies; therefore it would be a very difficult operation.

*Fourthly.**—Distance Fyzabad to Lucknow, eighty miles; road not metalled, nor generally bridged; inhabitants of Dericaol, near Fyzabad, of the worst description, as also those of Nawabgunge, in the vicinity of Lucknow. Supplies would be obtained with much difficulty.

Fifthly.—At Fyzabad carriage could only be procured with the greatest difficulty; commissariat arrangements would be slow there. Byram Ghat is nearer to Lucknow, but would necessitate longer river navigation. Same objections apply with regard to commissariat arrangements.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 18th August 1857, 3-40* P.M.

Received your telegram of 17th, 3 P.M.

Having advanced on night of 4th, met enemy near old ground, following day defeated him, and returned that night to position, six miles off; men much knocked up.

* *Sic* in original.

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On the 6th, I sent steamer up with small part of Artillery, Fusiliers, and Sikhs on board, to look up Bithoor where enemy were assembling, and had good effect. The 42nd and men there driven out and punished on 8th.

General Havelock intimated his intention, as river was risen, to recross when bridge was finished. On the afternoon of 11th, he sent over baggage and ammunition, when the latter was ordered back by him, and he again advanced that night, defeated enemy on old ground next day, took and brought away two guns, and returned to old position; that night he recrossed to this side; next day troops much knocked up.

About 4,000 enemy, with five guns, had been at Bithoor and Sheorajpore for some days, threatening this, but I could have kept them out.

On the 16th, Havelock moved out, in one column, to Bithoor, carried the enemy's position, captured two guns, and men too much exhausted to follow them up; returned on 17th. Had lost, in all three operations, severely (besides by enemy) from sunstroke, cholera, and effect of exposure and fatigue, 324, including 6 wounded officers, sick; 12 soldiers killed by sunstroke on 16th; all this telling on the men severely. Rest they must have.

No accounts from inside of our position at Lucknow since 22nd, but late native accounts represent them holding out well, the enemy making no impression.

News from Agra up to 9th—all well; and from Delhi up to 4th most cheering; the mutineers evidently breaking up there.

Nothing can be done towards Lucknow from this until reinforced. An advance now, with reduced numbers (and those nearly used up from exposure and fatigue), would be madness. Cholera still among us, but confined to those who have been exposed; is subsiding.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 18th August 1857, 4-50* P.M.

I recommend the Victoria Cross to Lieutenant Crowe, 78th Highlanders, who was the first to enter the redoubt at Bourzekee* Chowkee, the intrenched village in front of Busherutgunge on the 12th instant.

* Bourhea-ke-chowke.

I recommend for the same decoration Lieutenant Havelock, 10th Foot. In the combat at Cawnpore he was my aide-de-camp. The 64th Regiment had been much under artillery fire, from which it had severely suffered. The whole of the infantry were lying down in line; when perceiving that the enemy had brought out the last reserved gun (a 24-pounder), and were rallying round it, I called up the regiment to rise and advance. Without any other word from me, Lieutenant Havelock placed himself on his horse in front of the centre of the 64th, opposite the muzzle of the gun. Major Stirling, commanding the regiment, was in front, dismounted, but the Lieutenant continued to move steadily on in front of the regiment, at a foot pace, on his horse. The gun discharged shot until the troops were within a short distance, when they fired grape. In went the corps, led by the Lieutenant, who still steered steadily on the gun's muzzle, until it was mastered by a rush of the 64th.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 18th August 1857, 12-50 P.M.

Postal communication restored with Cawnpore; also telegraphic communication. Both had been interrupted since the 10th by some insurgent villagers at Moorutgunge, about twenty-one miles from this on the Cawnpore road. All well here, and at Cawnpore. General Havelock returned to Cawnpore on the 13th, not being strong enough to get to Lucknow.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General H. HAVELOCK, *dated 19th August 1857.*

I have received your despatches, by telegraph, of the 6th and 12th instant, reporting the successful result of the attacks made on the enemy by the force under your command on those days respectively.

The sustained energy, promptitude, and vigorous action by which your whole proceedings have been marked, during the late difficult operations, deserve the highest praise, and it will be a most agreeable duty to me to make known to his Lordship the Governor-General the sense I entertain of the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions of Sir Patrick Grant.

I beg you to express to the officers and men of the different corps under your command, the pride and satisfaction I have experienced in reading your reports of the intrepid valour they have displayed

upon every occasion they have encountered the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, and how nobly they have maintained those qualities for which British soldiers have ever been distinguished, high courage and endurance.

I entirely concur in the soundness of the view you have taken of your position, in your telegraph of the 6th instant, from Mungulwar, and of all the reasons which influenced you to defer for the present active operations.

I esteem myself most fortunate in having the benefit of your assistance, and that I should find you in the important situation in which you are placed at the moment.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, 19th August 1857, 3 P.M.

News of approach of rebels from Oudh, and joined by the Gwalior people, received. Steamer *Jumna* sent up the Ganges to destroy boats, and prevent the Oudh people crossing. Unless General Havelock be strengthened, danger may be apprehended. Two hundred and eighty men of the 5th Fusiliers have been detained at Mirzapore, waiting General Outram's orders; they should be ordered up quickly.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 19th August 1857, 8-30 P.M.

Party which I sent out to re-open communication with Cawnpore has completely succeeded in doing so, and dispersing the rebels in numbers, for forty miles from this; still, indications of pressure from Oudh exist. The *Jumna* steamer has been sent by me for about one-third of the way up the Ganges to destroy all boats on the river, and return here, for I cannot spare the European soldiers sent in her to go up to Cawnpore. I fear that eventually communication between this and Benares may be cut off. I have no men to send to protect the villages between the trunk road and Oudh on the Benares side. The Oudh Thesselders are gradually seizing these villages.

Telegram from Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 19th August 1857, 4-50* P.M.

Require every man we can get. Would like one regiment, Madras Native Infantry. Parties of the enemy on opposite bank of river, in sight of this; also collecting boats to cross twelve miles down. Steamer

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gone to destroy them. Havelock encamped near Native cavalry lines. Europeans much used up; imperative they should be rested, and not exposed; they are not equal to a few miles' march; 346 in hospital, 7 officers sick, also 120 convalescent—total, 17 officers, and 466 men, non-effective. The sooner a permanent work to secure our stores, magazines, &c., is commenced upon, the better; the present site will never do. Think the artillery carriages the best.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. Havelock, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 19th August 1857, 1-10* p.m.

There is a combination against us which will require our best exertions to baffle. The troops from Oudh have come down to the left bank, and will threaten Cawnpore; meanwhile boats are collecting at Futtehpore to enable a portion of their troops to cross there and interrupt the communication with Allahabad; whilst the Gwalior Contingent (strong in artillery, and provided with a siege-train) passes at Calpee, and attacks my diminished force. I will do my best against them, but the risk is great.

I have sent the steamer down to destroy the boats at Futtehpore. I should bring into the field eight good guns, but the enemy are reported to have from 29 to 30. These are great odds, and my 900 soldiers may be opposed to 5,000 organized troops. The loss of a battle would ruin everything in this part of India. I could entice the enemy at Calpee, and prevent their crossing the Jumna, or permit them to cross, and drive them back into it, if my force were adequate to the effort, but it is fearfully weak, and disease daily diminishes my numbers.

As I am told in the camp that Your Excellency has heard nothing of my movements since the 4th of the month, I will mention that, hitherto, everything has gone on prosperously. I struck a heavy blow against the Oudh troops on the 12th at Busherutgunge—third fight there, and recrossed the Ganges that day in less than six hours, without the slightest interruption. On the 16th I defeated the Saugor troops at Bithoor, and destroyed everything there.

I will make head against this new danger with the like determination; but without reinforcements, I do only hope for success.

From Major-General Sir J. Outram, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Dinapore, 19th August 1857.*

On the evening of the 15th instant we anchored off Bhagulpore, where I landed to inspect the defensive preparations of Mr. Yule, the

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Commissioner, which I found to be everything I could desire; eighty men of Her Majesty's 5th Regiment occupying a Mahomedan tomb on an elevated * * *, and impregnable to any enemy not furnished with artillery, and which thoroughly commands and protects the Commissioner's house and public offices. Mr. Yule had kindly given up a portion of his house for a hospital for the Europeans, among whom cholera had broken out and three had died; others were suffering, but the disease had taken a milder form, and I trust will have entirely ceased by this time. At midnight Mr. Yule came on board to inform me that the 5th Irregular Cavalry, stationed at Bhagulpore, had mounted their horses and fled (with their arms) three hours before, though only just reported to him. It appears that as our steamer and flat exhibited only about twenty soldiers, they imagined that a stronger body was concealed, with the purpose of surprising and disarming them during the night, which caused the panic under which they fled. Half of their Native officers remained. The troopers molested no one, and left all their property behind them. Before our departure, shortly after daybreak on the 16th, Mr. Yule reported that he had ascertained the Cavalry had taken the direction of Bowsee, thirty-six miles from Bhagulpore, where the head-quarters of the 32nd Native Infantry are stationed.

To this moment we have learnt nothing further of their proceedings, nor whether or not they induced the 32nd Regiment to follow their example; but the flight of the sowars, having been reported by telegraph to Monghyr and Dinapore, had created, we found on arrival at those places, a very unnecessary alarm.

Mr. Tucker (of Monghyr) had withdrawn his detachment of Europeans (fifty men of the 5th Fusiliers) into the fort, some three miles in circuit, all the gates of which, except one, he had closed up, and the town was left without any protection. Certainly fifty European soldiers could be no real protection to so extensive a place, but their mere appearance in the town gave a sense of security to the people and taking them away to shut them up in the fort had, of course, the very contrary effect. I therefore wrote to Mr. Tucker, remonstrating against the measure, and caused corresponding instructions to be conveyed officially to the officer commanding; I also directed the Commanding Officer at Baghpore to send up to Monghyr thirty of his party of Europeans, the remainder of his detachment being quite sufficient for that place, in addition to the Hill Rangers; and

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both places have now as much European protection as can possibly be afforded, and quite as much as is needed to give confidence.

On arrival near Patna, the night before last, I learnt that the panic had extended to Dinapore, and that the 90th Regiment, which had passed up the river four days before, had been recalled. I immediately despatched an express to prohibit the return of the regiment, but unfortunately it did not reach in time to stop the return vessels, which came back yester-evening, and, I regret to say, with cholera on board (a doctor and three men had died); this has necessitated landing the men in order to cleanse and purify the vessels, which cannot be ready for their reception before to-morrow evening. The delay thus caused in the advance of this regiment, and the disease likely to be engendered by prolonged confinement on board crowded boats during the present extreme heat, is the more particularly provoking as there is, in reality, no cause whatever for alarm here. So satisfied am I on this subject (after the precautions I have ordered to be carried out, the mountain-train guns being placed at the opium godowns in such a position as to effectually protect them, and at the same time overawe the town, &c.), that I have ordered a detachment of 100 men of the 90th Regiment, which had been kept back here, to rejoin the regiment; and another 100 men of the 5th Fusiliers, who also had been retained here, I would likewise send away, were it not they are required for the town duties, which could not safely be entrusted to the 10th Regiment, under the lax discipline and exasperated feelings it displays towards natives of all classes just now; distressing evidence, if not positive proof, of which will be furnished to Government as soon as the Court of Inquiry, now sitting, closes its proceedings as to the authors of the cold-blooded murder of several of the sepoys who had not gone off with the mutineers, and which there is too much reason to believe was perpetrated by the soldiers in revenge for the slaughter of their comrades at Arrah.

I propose taking on two guns of the battery here (leaving the mountain-train for service in Behar, if necessary hereafter, for which I intended it), and also Major Eyre's battery to Benares, where I intend, if practicable, to organize a column to advance to Lucknow through Jaunpore, between the Sye and Goomtee rivers, the only course now left by which we can hope to relieve our garrison in Lucknow; General Havelock having again retired from the attempt, and recrossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, unable, I imagine, to cross the Sye in the face of the

enemy, the bridge having been destroyed. In addition to the artillery above mentioned, I can only have the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Regiment, so weakened by detachments as to amount together to less than 1,000 men, some of the Goorkhas, perhaps, and the Madras Regiment now on its way up the river; but I hope to arrange with General Havelock to effect a junction with such troops as he can forward from Cawnpore, to cross the Ganges about Futtehpore, and pass the Sye near Rye Bareilly. My column having effected its way so far, would there prepare rafts (on inflated skins) by which these reinforcements would cross the Sye. We should then be in sufficient strength, I trust, to force our way to Lucknow.

All that I have to do here will be completed by to-morrow, and no time shall be lost in pushing up to Benares, from whence I hope to send back most of the steamers and flats now here and above. Aware, as I am, how urgently those vessels are required at Calcutta, I am very much vexed such great and unnecessary delays should have interposed my detentions here and at Mirzapore, and other places, and Your Lordship may rely on my preventing any further delays that can possibly be avoided.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Dinapore, 20th August 1857.*

I recommend that all spare medical officers in Calcutta or the Lower Provinces may be sent to Allahabad for field service, with orders to call at Dinapore and Benares for instructions in case of any urgent demand for their services.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Dinapore, 20th August 1857.*

Received at Dinapore on the evening of the 20th August by letter from Monghyr, dated yesterday, the purport of a message from your Excellency, read by a gentleman at the telegraph station, five miles from Monghyr, which he thus communicated. Last message which should have arrived at Patna, not yet received. Beg to refer to letter I yesterday addresed to Governor-General, stating manner in which I purpose relieving Lucknow (not prudent to entrust to telegraph), which would necessitate disembarking 5th and 9th regiments at Benares instead of Allahabad. If not approved, Your Excellency's orders by telegraph may reach me at Benares by the time those regiments can get there. Had

already telegraphed to-day, urging despatch of wing of the 29th to relieve the detachments of regiments at Berhampore, Bhagulpore, Monghyr, Patna, and Buxar, which cannot rejoin their head-quarters until so relieved. Will see that garrison of Allahabad is up to strength Your Excellency mentioned.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief—dated Cawnpore, 20th August 1857, 7* P.M.

I was appointed to the command of the force above designated in July last. Between the 12th of that month and the present date I have been engaged with the enemy at Futtehpore, Pandoo Nuddee, Cawnpore, in Oudh, at Unao twice, at Busherutgunge, at Boorja, Keechowk* and Bithoor. On every occasion I had defeated him and captured in the field forty guns, besides recovered for the State sixty more. But I was unable for want of troops to march on Lucknow.

My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the entrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. I am theatened by a force of 5,000 men from Gwalior, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything; but the above are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the State much damage. I solicit Your Excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assume the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi wherever my services may be required. With 2,000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns, six of siege calibre; but I want artillerymen and officers, and infantry soldiers.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 21st August 1857, 12-30* P.M.

I cannot express the gratification with which I have perused Your Excellency's telegram of the 19th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repays me for the labours and responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken, of necessity, at a most unpropitious season; my soldiers will as highly and deeply value Your Excellency's commendation. I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather, and the

* Bourhea-ke-chowke.

repose of which they stand in need; but sickness continues in our ranks —we lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to Your Excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2,000 or to 2,500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand; protect my communications with anything that comes against me; and be ready to take a part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5,000 men and 30 guns, or by the Goorkhas which are assembling at Furruckabad under rebellious Nababs, which have also a formidable artillery; but as they can partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fights; but if regiments cannot be sent me, I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India and retiring upon Allahabad, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season. It is painful to report that, in the latter event, Cawnpore, and the surrounding countries, in fact the whole Doab, would be abandoned to rapine and misery, and Agra will fall unsupported. I do not consider that our force would be compromised, for in truth the case* (base) of the operation is, strange to say, like the Punjab. I have endeavoured briefly to state my case, and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to Your Excellency.

I do most earnestly hope that you will be able to provide prompt reinforcements; my communications with Allahabad will be quite safe as soon as detachments begin to pass upwards. I had sufficiently explained the danger to which I am exposed should the enemy at Gwalior take the initiative, and move on Calpee with his imposing force; it is to my left rear; and a force would at the same time endeavour to cross from Oudh to Futtehpore; this would cut in my rear, and prevent even the advance of my reinforcements. I have sent a steamer to destroy his boats, but have no news of its success. The Furruckabad force would also assail me, and this column, hitherto triumphant, would be destroyed. The Gwalior force on the Jumna is 5,000 strong, with thirteen guns. The force, threatening Futtehpore and Dalmow Ghaut may at any moment, by the fall of Lucknow, swell to 20,000, with all the disposable artillery of the province. The Furruckabad force is 12,000 men with twelve guns. If I do not get any promise of reinforcement from Your Excellency, by return of telegraph, I will retire at once towards Allahabad. I can no longer bear a defenceless entrenchment;

* *Sic* in original.

that on the river being taken in the rear by the enemy assembling on the right bank of the Ganges.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—No. 805, dated Fort William, 21st August 1857.

In returning the enclosures of your letter No. 724, of the 31st ultimo, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has read Brigadier-General Havelock's reports* with the highest gratification, and His Lordship in Council desires to assure His Excellency that the Government of India will not be unmindful of the courage, skill, and exertions which have marked the progress of the Brigadier-General's Column, and of the signal service which that gallant force and its commander have rendered to the Government.

* Dated respectively, Camp, Pandoo Nuddee, the 15th and Camp Cawnpore, the 20th July 1857.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 22nd August 1857, 9 A.M.*

Received this morning Your Excellency's telegram† of 20th instant, 7 P.M. I beg to offer my sincere thanks for the reinforcements from Dinapore therein announced, *viz.*, head-quarters, 90th Regiment, and detachment of 5th Regiment; their arrival here will be anxiously expected, and I trust they will only be the advanced guard of far stronger reinforcements, which I urgently need; I want another company of artillery to work my heavy guns, and cavalry to enable me to improve success. I have commenced the tracing a field work in which a detachment can always be left when I march out against an enemy. The former entrenchment on the river bank has ceased to be applicable to circumstances. Part of the Gwalior men have crossed the Jumna, and are already at Orlega. Cholera, I regret to say, still dissolves us; I lost two officers last night; I am preparing to send off sick and wounded to Allahabad.

Telegram from Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, *dated 22nd August 1857, 11-45-P.M.*

I am rejoiced to hear of your arrival at Dinapore.

The force under General Havelock is reduced, by casualties on service, and by cholera, which has been and still rages in his camp, to

† Telegram not found among the papers.



Published specially for the Military Department, Government of India (based on the Military Records and Revenue Survey Map, "Cawnpoor Cantonment, Civil Station, City and Environs

Photo. S. I. O., Calcutta.

700 men in the field exclusive of detachments which guard the entrenchment, and keep open the communication with Allahabad. He is threatened by a force of some 5,000 men with some twenty or thirty guns, from Gwalior, besides the Oudh Force. He says, he "is ready to fight anything, but the above are great odds, and a battle lost would do the interest of the State infinite damage; I solicit reinforcements." His applications for assistance have been frequent, and, deeming his situation to demand immediate aid, I ordered the 90th Regiment to be sent to him with all possible speed as also the detachment of the 5th Regiment which was on board the *Benares* steamer, if it could be spared. Pray send the 90th Regiment at once to his aid. I will write to you to-morrow.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General H. HAVELOCK, *dated Calcutta, 23rd August 1857, 9-30* A.M.

I have received your telegrams of the 21st August, 12-30 P.M., and the 22nd August, 9 A.M.

By a telegram from General Outram, dated Dinapore, 17th August, to the Governor-General, he appeared to have arrived on the 16th or 17th at that place. He states to the Governor-General that the 90th Regiment, which left Dinapore on the 14th for Allahabad, had been recalled by the local authorities, and was then (17th instant) at Dinapore.

A telegram from me to General Outram, dated 18th instant, entreated him to send you the 90th, and also a detachment of the Fusiliers, if the latter could be spared, without delay, and I trust this will have been done. I took the precaution of writing to General Outram to prevent the local authorities exercising any discretion with respect to the 90th Regiment.

As Dinapore is off the line of telegraph, my telegram to General Outram of the 18th instant would possibly not reach him before the 20th. I despatched another telegram at 11-45 P.M., on the 22nd instant (last night), repeating my entreaty to send you the 90th. I sent this telegram to Benares, as well as Dinapore. I agree in all that you say about your position, and from the moment of my arrival have felt your being made strong at Cawnpore to be of the first importance. The detention of this regiment, and other detachments, by the local authorities at different points, while on their way to Allahabad, I deeply regret. I have no artillery. I propose to send, to-day, copies of all

your recent telegrams to General Outram that he may have an exact knowledge of all you have been doing, and of your position at this moment.

Captain Peel, Royal Navy, with 500 sailors, and ten 8-inch guns, with ammunition, &c., left this on the 20th for Allahabad.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *dated Calcutta, 23rd August 1857, 11-15* A.M.

Since my telegram to you of 11-45 last night (August 22nd), urging the immediate despatch to Allahabad and Cawnpore of the 90th Regiment, and, if possible, also of the detachment of the 5th Regiment, on board the *Benares* steamer, I have received two fresh telegrams from General Havelock, pressing for reinforcements. He states, unless immediate reinforcements are promised by telegraph, he must at once abandon Cawnpore, and fall back on Allahabad.

His loss by cholera was 6 men daily, and he had lost two officers on the 20th by the same disease. His sick in hospital were 331, principally cholera and wounds. The Gwalior force, noted at 5,000 men, with 30 guns, had crossed the Jumna.

I will send you, by post, copies of all his recent telegrams addressed to the Commander-in-Chief. This includes those to General Grant, as well as to myself.

I believe the troops, not only in the Dinapore, but also in the Cawnpore Division, have been placed under your orders, and you should therefore be acquainted with all that has recently taken place in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore.

Telegram from Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, *Cawnpore, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, dated Cawnpore, Sunday, 23rd August 1857, 5* P.M.

I forward to Your Excellency a copy of a letter this day received from Colonel Inglis, 23rd Regiment, Commanding at the Residency, Lucknow:—

Lucknow, 16th August 1857.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

A note from Colonel Tytler to Mr. Gubbins, reached last night, dated Mungulwar, 4th instant, the latter part of which is as follows:— "You must aid us in every way, even to cutting your way out, if we can't force our way in; we have only a small force." This has caused me much uneasiness, as it is quite impossible with my weak and shattered force

that I can leave my defences. You must bear in mind how I am hampered, that I have upwards of 120 sick and wounded, and at least 220 women, and about 230 children, and no carriage of any description, besides sacrificing 23 lakhs of treasure, and about 30 guns of sorts. In consequence of the news received, I shall soon put this force on half rations until I hear again from you. Our provisions will last us then till about the 10th of September. If you hope to save this force no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy, who are within a few yards of our defences. Their mines have already weakened our post, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others. Their 18-pounders are within 150 yards of some of our batteries, and from their position, and our inability to form working parties, we cannot reply to them, and therefore the damage hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350, and 300 natives, and the men dreadfully harassed, and owing to part of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. If our native force who are losing confidence, leave us, I do not know how the defences are to be manned. Did you receive a letter and plan from me? Kindly answer this question.

Yours truly,
(Sd.) J. INGLIS.

Mr. H. Tucker, Civil Commissioner at Benares, informs me that it is the intention of Sir James Outram to ascend the "Gogra" and relieve Lucknow by Fyzabad, and that Sir James desires my co-operation, making a demonstration of recrossing the Ganges; even to do more by striving to regain my strong position of Mungulwar, or more nearly approaching Lucknow; but I must have fresh troops to enable me to do either of these.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, —dated Allahabnd, 23rd August 1857, 5-25 P. M.

Steamer *Jumna* with 20 Europeans, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 14 Sikhs, proceeded up the Ganges towards Cawnpore for 60 miles to cut off communication between Oudh and the Doab. Burnt seven boats, and destroyed about 43. Resistance by villages at Jateemahad, about sixteen miles above Allahabad. Casualties on our side :—killed,—one lascar; wounded mortally,—one seaman; severely,—one lascar; slightly,—one seaman and a private, Madras Fusiliers. Simultaneous detachments of 88 Europeans and 5 Sikhs with 2 guns under Major

Mackintosh, 78th Foot, proceeded up the Trunk Road for forty miles towards Cawnpore; burnt three villages, and restored communication between Cawnpore, which had been cut off by men crossing from the Oudh side, and joining the rebels in the Doab. Sahabad and water party have both returned; further particulars by letters.

Telegram from Mr. TUCKER, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Benares, 23rd August 1857, 9-20* P. M.

Sir James Outram expects to have portions of the 90th and 5th Fusiliers, and any other European troops available, the Gurkhas, Eyre's troops, and two guns from the Dinapore Battery, for an expedition to Lucknow direct from Benares.

Is the 90th to stop at Benares, or to go on to Allahabad? If it goes on Outram's expedition will be knocked on the head, as the 90th is the backbone of his proposed force.

Havelock is weak but his danger from Gwalior distant and problematical; whilst Outram wishes to march direct upon Lucknow from this at once, and will ultimately take on the whole to Cawnpore for a march up the Doab. As he is not here, I let Your Excellency know his plans, for which I am preparing carriages, supplies, and all the articles which Outram wrote to me to-day about. He does not go up the Gogra, but direct from Benares at once.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Governor-General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 24th August 1857.*

I beg to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's telegram of the 23rd, 4-20 P. M., and Major Mayhew's of the same, 5-10 P. M. I am thankful for the effort you made to reinforce me. I will communicate with Sir James Outram, and have telegraphed to Benares to learn where he is. I am leaving Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien 650 infantry in Allahabad, but as he will have Captain Peel's Naval Brigade and powerful guns for the defence, it would be advantageous to me if I could be authorised to send him back the thirty invalid artillery, and get back in exchange the 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, now at Allahabad, which would enable me to equip and work my heavy guns. With the reinforcements promised, I could resume the initiative and march to Lucknow if the place should not unfortunately have fallen before the reinforcements arrive.

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Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM,—*dated Calcutta, 24th August 1857.*

We have been collecting some medical officers at the Presidency to accompany detachments of troops going upwards. Does this arrangement answer the purpose which you have in view?

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, Benares,—dated Calcutta, the 24th August* 1857, 12 P.M.

I have written to you by the post of this evening, forwarding copies of all telegraphs received from General Havelock, with my replies to this date.

The Governor-General showed me your letter to him on the movement you proposed to make from Benares, and of the object of that movement; General Havelock to co-operate with you, by crossing at Futtehpore, and subsequently the Sye, near to Rye Bareilly.

In a telegraph received from Havelock since the despatch of my letter to you (dated Cawnpore, 23rd August, P.M.), he says: "Mr. Tucker, Civil Commissioner at Benares, informs me that it is the intention of Sir James Outram to ascend the Gogra and relieve Lucknow by Fyzabad, and that Sir James desires my co-operation by making a demonstration of recrossing the Ganges; even to do more by striving to regain my strong position of Mungalwar, or more nearly approaching Lucknow. But I must have fresh troops to enable me to do either of these."

Hope of co-operation from General Havelock, is, therefore not to be entertained. The march from Benares by the most direct road to Lucknow is a long one, some 150 miles, and the population through which you would pass hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you would turn or rather come in rear of the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow. This would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Bena were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore and united to Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the numerous nullahs, full of water at this season, on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all encumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops in being conveyed by steam would suffer less than if obliged to march and reach Cawnpore many days earlier, besides relieving Havelock's anxiety about his post. In offering these remarks or suggestions

to you, who are acquainted with the country, the people and the difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment or perfect freedom of action. I mention them as they occur in writing to you, and I think I may venture to say that the measures you may deem most advisable to pursue, will receive the approval of the Governor-General. Accounts received from the friends, it is the object of your proposed movement to relieve, say it must be done on or before the 10th September.

Since writing the above, a despatch, dated 24th August, 12 A. M., has come in from Havelock, which says, " with the reinforcements promised, I could resume the initiative and march to Lucknow if the place should not unfortunately have fallen before the reinforcements arrive." The reinforcements promised were the 90th and the detachment, 5th Fusiliers, on board the *Benares* steamer.

From Sir Colin Campbell, *Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir* J. Outram, *Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, Benares,—dated Calcutta, 24th August 1857.*

I am extremely happy and deem myself most fortunate to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged.

I send you, herewith, the different telegraphs received from General Havelock since my arrival; they will make you fully acquainted with his operations in Oudh; his reasons for recrossing the Ganges; his subsequent operations in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, with account of his loss by sickness and casualties in the field; his present numbers, and their condition as to health and efficiency.

I have been favoured by the Governor-General with a perusal of yours to His Lordship of the 19th instant, in which you propose to collect a force of about 1,000 infantry and eight guns at Benares, with a view to march to the relief of our garrison in Lucknow, by the most direct route from thence, and that the force under General Havelock at Cawnpore should co-operate with you in this movement, by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore and the Sye subsequently (with your assistance) at Rye Bareilly, and forming a junction with you beyond that place.

General Havelock states in his telegraph of the 20th instant that his force is reduced to 700 men in the field, exclusive of the detachments required to guard his entrenchments and keep open

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his communication with Allahabad, and so inadequate does he consider his force to be for the defence of his post, that he states, in his telegraph, dated 21st August, 12-30 P.M., that, if not assured of reinforcements by return of telegraph he will retire to Allahabad. Hope of co-operation from General Havelock (by a force equal to accomplish the movement you propose by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore) is not to be entertained. The march from Benares by the most direct route, to Lucknow, is a long one, some 150 miles, and the population, through which you would have to pass, hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you (by that route) turn, or, rather, come in rear of the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and this would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore, and united with Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the numerous nullahs, necessarily full of water at this season, which are to be found on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all encumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops in being conveyed by steam would suffer less than if obliged to march, and Havelock's anxiety about his post would be removed.

In offering these remarks or suggestions to you, who are acquainted with the country, people, and difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment and perfect freedom of action, but I mention these as they occur to me in writing to you, and I think I may venture to say that the measures you may deem most advisable to pursue, will receive the approval of the Governor-General. I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you.

From Colonel R. J. H. BIRCH, C.B., *Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Medical Board,—dated Fort William, 24th August 1857.*

Major-General Sir J. Outram having recommended that all spare medical officers in Calcutta, or the Lower Provinces, may be sent to Allahabad for field service, with orders to call at Dinapore and Benares for instructions, in case of any urgent demand for their services, he has been informed in reply that some medical officers have been collected at the Presidency to accompany detachments of troops going upwards, and has been asked whether this arrangement will answer the purpose he has in view.

2. I am desired to make this known to your Board, and to request that you will favour me with any suggestions you may have to make to Government in the matter.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM,—*dated Calcutta, 25th August 1857.*

Upon well considering the plan proposed in your letter of the 19th, it seems open to these objections:—

The road to Lucknow by Jaunpore is bad; it lies through a country in insurrection; there would be great difficulty in keeping communications open in your rear; there would be no safe places at which to leave the sick and wounded; supplies must be uncertain; the march will be 150 miles, and will not be eased or expedited by carriage or water conveyance.

The road by Allahabad and Cawnpore is much longer; but none of these objections apply to it. It will bring you into junction with General Havelock's force, which, considering the small strength of each force, seems very necessary; and if the Gwalior regiments advance, you will have them in front. But the road by Jaunpore may have advantages of which I am not aware; and I am confident that your deliberate judgment will decide for the best.

It is not probable that the relief of the Lucknow garrison will be facilitated by the abandonment of Cawnpore; but, if this should be the case, do not hesitate to abandon it. The political importance of it, and the cost of recovering it, are not to be weighed against the relief of Lucknow.

Accounts from Lucknow to the 16th were received last night. There are 350 Europeans and 300 Natives; but they have 120 sick, and 450 women and children, and no carriage; they cannot therefore cut their way out. They are hard pressed; but a reduction to half rations will enable them to hold out till the 10th of next month.

Endeavour to communicate with Colonel Inglis, and tell him that he is not to care for the treasure if it should be an encumbrance, but that he may use it any way for the release of the garrison.

The detachment of the 29th Regiment cannot be sent from Calcutta; but more than 400 men of the 90th and 5th will be despatched to Benares by bullock train, at the rate of 80 a day, beginning from Friday next: each batch will be eleven days on the road.

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I wish you to communicate with Mr. Frederick Gubbins at Benares respecting Rajah Maun Sing; he will be able to give you the latest information of the Rajah's proceedings.

I am told that Rajah Maun Sing is gone to Lucknow on business of his own. If his influence there should enable him to obtain by any means the unmolested retirement of the garrison from the Residency, and its safe passage to your camp or to any place of security, any reward may be paid for this both to Maun Sing and to those who may help him, which shall not be inconsistent with the sovereign authority of the British Government in Oudh.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 25th August 1857, 11 A.M.

A detachment of 200 men of Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders left yesterday for Cawnpore, under command of Major Macintyre, 78th. The head-quarters of the 5th Fusiliers, consisting of 306 men and officers, under command of Major Simmons, just arrived here on board the *Mattabangha* flat in tow of the *Charles Allen* steamer.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Ghazipore, 25th August 1857.*

Since my message of this morning, I have received your message of the 23rd, stating that, if not assured of speedy relief, General Havelock will have to fall back on Allahabad; I shall send express to Benares, desiring my message to be sent to General Havelock, informing him when he may expect the 90th and the 5th, and any other troops that may now be available at Allahabad.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief, —dated Ghazipore, 25th August 1857, 10* P.M.

Received your message of the 22nd instant this evening.

In accordance with these orders, the 90th Regiment complete means three companies coming from Calcutta, and such portion of the 5th as I have collected, will be sent on by steamer to Allahabad, and thence pushed on by quickest means practicable. This prevents my carrying out any intended advance to the relief of Lucknow from Jaunpore or Rye Bareilly, as proposed in my letter to the Governor-General from Dinapore, dated 20th instant, no other European troops

being available; but the necessity for reinforcing General Havelock seems imperative.

By a letter from Cawnpore, dated the 19th instant, I learn that General Havelock's Movable Column consists of 1,100 Europeans and 250 Sikhs, exclusive of 300 Europeans holding Cawnpore under General Neill.

The 90th, the detachment of the 5th, and Eyre's Battery, left Buxar yesterday in three steamers and three flats, and, I hope, may overtake me at Benares the day after to-morrow.

I have relieved the half of Eyre's Battery left here by two guns from the battery at Dinapore.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, to General H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 26th August 1857.*

In consequence of your telegram, dated 24th August, 12 P.M., I have just sent the following telegraphic message to General Outram:—

From the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *Benares,—dated Calcutta, 26th August 1857.*

General Havelock wishes to have the 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, of Artillery, now in garrison at Allahabad, sent to him at Cawnpore, in exchange for the 30 invalid artillerymen now in his camp. If you approve of this, give the necessary orders by telegraph to the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to forward them to him by the first opportunity, and to tell off a special party of infantry to assist in working the guns in the meantime. Kindly inform General Havelock of your decision on this point.

Captain Peel, R.N., with his sailors, left this for Allahabad by river on the 20th instant.

Telegram from the Commissioner at Benares, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta,—dated Benares, 26th August 1857, 8-10 P.M.

It has been determined that the 90th Regiment is to go straight up to Havelock with the 5th, and every man that can be spared.

Outram's own expedition is knocked on the head: he and Mr. Grant were at Ghazipore yesterday, and are expected here to-day.

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Telegram from the Commissioner at Allahabad, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 26th August 1857, 9-45 A.M.

Brigadier Neill writes from Cawnpore, under date the 24th instant, that the rebels have advanced their 18-pounder guns to within 150 yards from our position: the garrison has food for twenty days on half rations.

The Dinapore mutineers are at Saharka, in Pergunnah Khyrafurh, of this district: they are unable to cross the Tonse River on account of high flood. Rewah troops have not arrived to resist them; and our Rajahs are unable to do so.

From Brigadier-General NEILL, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Cawnpore, 27th August 1857.*

I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Governor-General of India, an extract of a letter, dated Sumpther, 18th instant, from J. Thornton, Esq., Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, to Captain Bruce, Superintendent of Police, here.

I have been for some time endeavouring to secure the safety of Mr. Thornton, and have every hope of success.

Extract from a letter from J. THORNTON, *Esq., Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, to the address of Captain* H. BRUCE, *Superintendent of Police, Cawnpore,—dated Sumpther, 18th August 1857.*

For the information of the General, I beg to enclose a list of those who were killed at Jhansi. The mutiny commenced on the 5th June; on the 6th, four officers were killed on the parade; the others, who escaped into the fort, were massacred on the 8th. It is the general impression that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury, were going off, and it was only at the instigation of the Jhansi Ranee with the view of her obtaining possession of the district that they attacked the fort together with other armed men, furnished by the Ranee. For two days our officers held out bravely, shooting several who attempted to force an entry into the fort, but, as they had no guns or ammunition, or food, they gave themselves up after the mutineers had sworn most solemnly to allow them to go unmolested. Yet they allowed them to be massacred by the Ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received Rs. 35,000 in cash, two elephants, and five horses, from

her. The Ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansi Chief by being buried within the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter, but none of the other Native Chiefs in Bundelkhund have as yet turned against our Government. The Jalowan Chief has raised a body of about 12,000 men, but I do not think he would fight against us. There is a rumour here that Major Erskine, Commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, Jalowan and Jhansi, is coming this side with some Madras regiments, but of this I am not certain. At Saugor too a portion of our troops have mutinied, but no particulars are known, and from my peculiar position here, I have been unable to communicate with him.

We hope to hear that more troops have arrived, and all will soon be settled in every quarter. Please to let me know how affairs are at Meerut; whether the two European corps which were there are still *in statu quo*, or have gone elsewhere.

I might as well mention, for the information of the General, that the man who is now in possession of Jalowan, was the Jagirdar of Gourserai within my jurisdiction, which comprised the Pergunnahs of Mhow, Pandwah, Gurrotah, and Gourserai. I held my own office at Mhow, Raneepur, in the Jhansi District.

List of persons killed at Jhansi.

Left wing, 12th Native Infantry:—Captain Dunlop, commanding; Lieutenant Ryves; Ensign Taylor; Dr. McEgan, with wife and sister; Quartermaster-Sergeant Newton, with wife and four children.

Detachment, 14th Irregular Cavalry:—Lieutenant Campbell, commanding; name of the other officer not known.

Civil:—Captain Skene, Superintendent of Jalowan, Jhansi and Chandeyree, with wife and two children; Lieutenant Gordon, Deputy Commissioner of Jhansi; Mr. J. Andrews, P.S., Ameen, Jhansi; Mr. R. Andrews, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Jhansi, with wife and four children.

Captain Burgess, Revenue Surveyor; Lieutenant Turnbull, Assistant Surveyor; Mr. Murood, Sub-Assistant Surveyor, with wife; Mr. Blyth, mother-in-law, and three children; Mr. Millard, with wife and three children. Mr. Young, senior, with wife; Mr. Young, junior, Sub-Assistant; Mr. Gabriel, Revenue Surveyor; Mr. Carshore, Collector of

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Customs, with wife and four children; Mr. Wilton, Patrol, with wife and child, and two sisters; Mr. Orr, Superintendent of Customs, with wife and mother.

Clerks :—Mr. Scott; Mr. Purcell, senior; Mr. Purcell, junior; Mr. Elliot, with father and mother; Mr. Muttoo, senior, with wife and child; Mr. Muttoo, junior; Mr. Crawford.

Sergeant Ryley, Overseer of Public Works of Jhansi; Mr. Fleming, out of service; Mrs. Brown, wife of Dr. Brown, Deputy Commissioner of Jalowan, with a child and sister.

The above is a list of such as have been ascertained to have been killed at Jhansi. Mr. Crawford, one of the Jhansi clerks, who is at present here, is the only person who appears to have escaped from Jhansi.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Benares, 28th August 1857,* 5 P.M.

May Captain Peel's Brigade occupy Allahabad for the present, as proposed by General Havelock, thus releasing infantry, so much required just now, as the Marine Brigade could not be provided with infantry escort beyond Allahabad until General Havelock returns from Lucknow? Captain Peel's Brigade could not be more usefully employed.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Benares, 29th August 1857, 5-30* P. M.

The Collector of Mirzapore reports that there is only a small supply of coals at Mirzapore; that the rebels from Arrah have passed by Segowlee, and destroyed the coal there. No more to be got thence at present. Very little coal remains at Benares. More coals should be sent up immediately.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Benares, 29th August 1857, 5-36* P.M.

Major Cotter, Commanding Madras Battery at Benares, reports that the sergeant turners, artificers and drivers, were detained at Dum-Dum. I recommend that they may be sent to him as soon as possible.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *or the Officer Commanding at Benares.*

Eighty men of the 90th Regiment were sent off to Raneegunge yesterday, to be forwarded by bullock train and horse dâk to Benares. A like number will be despatched every day, until the whole detachments of the 5th, 64th and 90th Regiments, now at Chinsurah, have been exhausted. The total strength of these detachments is 582 men. The Officer Commanding at Allahabad to forward this despatch by telegraph to Cawnpore, if General Outram is not at Allahabad. General Outram is requested to give directions as to the disposal of these several detachments after their arrival at Benares.

Telegram from Brigadier-General Sir H. HAVELOCK, C.B., *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 29th August 1857, 4* P.M.

Received Your Excellency's telegraph of 26th August, 7-30 A.M. Sir James Outram informs me by telegraph dated 28th August, 5-45 P.M., that the 90th Regiment, 765, 5th Fusiliers, 437, 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Artillery, 66, total, 1,268, besides detachments from Mirzapore and Chunar, are on their way up to me, and that details of the 64th, 78th and 84th Regiments, and 1st Madras Fusiliers, 493 officers and men, will also be sent on, upon the arrival of the Naval Brigade at Allahabad. Sir James comes on with these detachments. Whenever my first reinforcements reach me, I propose to recross to the left bank of the Ganges, and have written to Colonel Inglis to hold out at Lucknow, to extremity.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Mirzapore, 31st August 1857, 2* P.M.

Information has been received through Mr. Hamilton, Opium Agent, Ghazipore, that Mahomed Hussun, the Oudh Chuckladar,* is occupying the Collector's bungalow, and his followers, numbering some 5,000 or 6,000, were located in the town of Gorukhpore. The Mussulman population went to pay their respects with nazzurs. The Chuckladar abovementioned had taken regular possession of revenue and police establishments. The special object which General Outram has in view prevents his detaching any force to recover Gorukhpore, or to prevent the disorder from spreading to Chuppra or Sewanhut. If the

* Chakle-dar.—The Governor or Superintendent of a province or chukla.—Hindustani Dictionary, Platts.

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Supreme Government can send any Native force to act in those districts, 200 Europeans of the 10th Regiment might join them from Dinapore with two guns. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief might think it advisable to telegraph to Dinapore to detach 200 Europeans and two guns from Dinapore and to occupy Chuppra. The Mohurrum will have terminated. Should the Shekawattee Battalion be considered available, it might be steamed up from Calcutta, and joined to the detachment of Europeans from Dinapore for preserving the North-Western Frontier of Bengal from further encroachments. This suggestion is respectfully submitted to His Excellency.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions,—dated Calcutta, 31st August 1857, 4* P.M.

I have received your telegram of the 29th August, 5-36 P.M. The men of Colonel Cotter's Battery, Madras Artillery, that you mention, have been provided with horses, and left Raneegunge yesterday morning (30th August), along with Colonel Fischer's Column, for Benares.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions,—dated Calcutta, 31st August 1857.*

Your message of the 28th instant received. The remount horses for Major Eyre's Battery, in charge of Captain Smyth, of Artillery, proceeded, on the 28th instant, with the movable column commanded by Colonel Fisher, from Raneegunge towards Benares and Allahabad.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Mirzapore, 31st August 1857, 1-31* P.M.

I fear, from the underwritten message from Colonel O'Brien, that there is a deficiency of Enfield rifle ammunition at Allahabad; and request that an ample supply may be sent up, without delay, to Allahabad. Be most careful that the greatest possible amount of Enfield ammunition is brought. I am quite dependent on those below for the supply of this ammunition.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, —dated Allahabad, 2nd September 1857, 5-48* A.M.

In message of the 31st August, regarding Enfield ammunition, I was guided by Colonel O'Brien's message. That officer subsequently

received a supply of Enfield cartridges, and anxiety on that head is removed as regards our present supply. Ample provision will, doubtless, be made by Your Excellency for future demands here.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 2nd September 1857, 11-15 A.M.

Major-General Outram and ninety men of the 90th Foot arrived at Allahabad on the evening of the 1st September.

I beg to report having sent the *Jumna* steamer up the Jumna to look after the party of the Dinapore mutineers, whom I referred to in my telegram of the 20th. It is reported that these mutineers intend crossing the Jumna, and making for the Trunk Road, not far from Cawnpore. This report requires confirmation.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 4th September 1857, 1-20 P.M.

Number of troops at Allahabad:—European Infantry, 140 men; European Artillery, 61; European Artillery invalids, 31; and Native Infantry Sikhs, 122. The diminution of garrison is caused by troops ordered by General Outram to join his force. The above is a list of men fit for duty. Steamer *James Hume* and flat *Luchinee*, steamer *Calcutta* with *Krishna* and steamers *Mirzapore and Nemesis* arrived here yesterday evening and this morning with Captain Eyre's full battery and 134 men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; 604 men of Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry merely passed into camp, and formed no part of this garrison, being attached to General Outram's force.

Telegram from Mr. CHESTER, *to Lieutenant* BROWN,*—dated Allahabad, 4th September 1857, 2-45 P. M.*

The following is an extract of a letter from Brigadier Neill to me from Cawnpore, 3rd instant:—"News five days old, I believe authentic, from Lucknow by kossid; our people in good health and all right; have driven mine under house near their walls, from which they had been much annoyed by enemy's sharpshooters, between 100 and 200 of whom had been blown up; our people sallied out, and spiked one of the large guns. It is also said that the sepoys of the besieging force are leaving for their homes. The Gwalior troops remain quiet, and are not expected to move for some time, if at all. All quiet at Cawnpore, only we have no military occupation of the country to the

west beyond Bithoor, which is held by the Nana's civil officers. The Sweepers police have re-established our authority at Bithoor, and also got the fort of Sul Kynee in the Calpee Road."

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 4th September 1857, 4 P. M.

The diminution of this garrison, reported in this day's daily telegram, is caused by part of the garrison being posted to General Outram's force. Company of the 78th is expected here from Benares to-morrow, strength about 78 men; further reinforcements taken from the 90th, which are to come up by bullock-train from Bengal, are to remain in this fort pending further orders. General Outram's order will be reported in detail by post as soon as all arrangements are completed.

The steamer *Jumna* sent up the River Jumna (*vide* my telegram of the 2nd instant) went up that river, but did not reach Rungpore, where the first party of the Dinapore mutineers had intended crossing to the left bank of the Jumna, that steamer not having sufficient power to stem the rapid current; the mutineers, however, did not cross the river at Rungpore; they have proceeded further up-country on the right bank of the Jumna, and are now out of the circle of my observations.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Governor-General of India in Council and the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Allahabad, 6th September 1857.

The following telegram has been received from General Neill, Cawnpore:—

"News from Lucknow of the 2nd September. Baillee guard all right; enemy's two heavy guns disabled, and they can neither fire nor move them."

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 5th September 1857, 5 P.M.

Sir J. Outram left this last night at 9 o'clock. His force thus:— First column at 1 A. M. on the 5th consisting of the head-quarters 5th Fusiliers, Eyre's Battery of Artillery, detachment of the 64th and 84th Foot, 20 officers and 653 men. The second column consisting of the 90th,

left on the 5th at 9 P. M., consisting of 28 officers, 646 men, under General Outram. A third column consisting of a company of the 78th, which came from Benares this morning, will follow to-night, consisting of two officers and 89 men. The troops sent from this, under General Outram's orders, reduce the strength of this garrison to 10 officers and 235 effective European soldiers. There are, however, the following supplementary aids speedily to be had:—Convalescents from the sick sent from Cawnpore and left by the troops proceeding up-country and the armed steamer *Jumna*. General Outram has further ordered the detachment of the 90th, coming from Raneegunge, to be detained here until further orders. A detailed report will be sent by post to-morrow.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, —dated Allahabad, 8th September 1857, 7 A.M.

General Outram has requested me to telegraph as follows:—

"Camp Hissar, September 7th. This is our second march from Allahabad with second column, consisting of Her Majesty's 90th, and Company of 78th just joined. The other column, under Major Simmons, 5th Fusiliers, is one march ahead; all well. The 90th, after so long confinement on shipboard, not equal to double marches. I intend, therefore, to take the ordinary marches to Cawnpore, where all reinforcements will have joined by the 15th. No occasion to hurry, now we have such favourable accounts from Lucknow."

Telegram from General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta, dated Camp Kulombow, 9th September 1857.*

General Havelock has sent me a note, received by him from Colonel Inglis, yesterday, dated Lucknow, 1st September, in which he says he is hard pressed, and calculates that his provisions will only last till the 28th; but the favourable reports received at Cawnpore on the 6th, through sowars considered reliable, leads to the hope that the garrison had really had the success reported after the date of Colonel Inglis' letter; for the sowars of Cawnpore receive communication from friends in the city of Lucknow in as many hours as a kossid might take in passing out of the closely-watched garrison, and, secretly, through the intermediate country. The successes I referred to were telegraphed direct to Your Excellency by General Havelock. I have no doubt we shall force our way to Lucknow by the 28th; but, if delayed, our then near approach will, I trust, encourage the garrison to hold

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out; if not, perhaps their friends in the city will secretly supply their wants. We are getting on better, as the 90th get more accustomed to their shore legs. Try to facilitate the march of the 12th Cavalry, to overtake us, as much as you can.

Telegram from Lieutenant-Colonel O'BRIEN, *to the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 12th September 1857.*

General Outram, *en route* to Cawnpore, discovered that the Oudh people, 300 or 400 men with four guns, had crossed the Ganges into the Doab: he immediately despatched from his camp at Thurses, under Major Eyre, 100 men of the 5th Fusiliers, 50 of the 64th Regiment, and two guns: some 40 Irregular Horse, under Captain Johnson, joined this force. The enemy fled to their boats and made fight with the cavalry, and resisted the infantry, who punished them severely, until the guns opened upon them, when they were utterly beaten: few of them escaped. Our loss appears to have been one European private killed, five wounded and five Natives wounded. Had these rebels not been attacked, the country between Allahabad and Cawnpore would probably have fallen into complete disorder, and our communication with Cawnpore would have been destroyed. General Outram's account of the affair is despatched by this day's dak. It took place at Koondun Puttee on the bank of the Ganges, about sixteen miles north of Khuga, and 18 or 20 miles east of Futtehpore. Futtehpore is 79 miles from Allahabad on the Cawnpore Road.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 14th September 1857,* 6 P.M.

Spies report that an assault was made on the garrison at Lucknow on the 7th instant. The rebels were repulsed with severe loss.

Letters from Agra state that two of the Gwalior infantry regiments have joined the Indore mutineers, and the whole to-day are on the Chumbul, nominally *en route* to Agra, but it is believed they intend to proceed to Delhi.

Jodhpore Legion mutinied; they have Lieutenant Conolly in their hands. The portions of it stationed at Mount Abu were driven down the hill by fifty Europeans stationed there.

The Dinapore mutineers passed Trean *en route* to Delhi some five days ago; they have a number of wounded, about 300, with them, and are badly off for ammunition, especially caps.

From the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters, Calcutta, 16th September 1857.

Forwards report of Major Eyre's operations in the Doab to dislodge a party of insurgents from the Oudh territory, and recommends him and his detachment to the favourable notice of Government.

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, despatches*, in original, from Major-General Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., reporting the operations of a detachment of troops sent under the command of Major V. Eyre, of the Artillery, to dislodge a party of insurgents who had effected a footing in the Doab from the Oudh territory, near the village of Koondun Puttee.

* No. 62, dated 11th September 1857, with two enclosures.

2. I am to add that His Excellency concurs in Sir J. Outram's recommendation of Major Eyre and his detachment to the favourable notice of Government.

3. The return of the papers is solicited.

From Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, Calcutta—dated Camp Thureedon, 11th September 1857.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that, on arriving at my Camp Katogun on the 9th instant, I received definite information that a party of insurgents from Oudh, amounting to from 300 to 400 with four guns, had crossed the Ganges near the village of Koondun Puttee, fifteen miles north of Khaga on the Trunk Road, between Futtehpore and Allahabad.

Operations against them could be best effected from this encampment, because I could here obtain the best intelligence, and my having apparently passed the direct road to them was likely to throw them off their guard. I accordingly sent orders to halt the leading column in order to have rested men for the work.

On joining Major Simmon's column at this place despatched under Major Eyre a party consisting of 100 of Her Majesty's Fusiliers, 50 of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment mounted on elephants with two guns and completely equipped with tents, two days' cooked provisions and supplies for three more.

Captain Johnson's detachment of the 12th Irregulars consisting of forty men made a forced march and concentrated with Eyre's party at Hutgaon Khas yesterday evening, having completed forty miles.

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For the further proceedings, I beg to refer His Excellency to Major Eyre's despatch; his reputation as a successful leader had already been so well established that I purposely selected him for this duty in the perfect confidence that he would succeed.

The importance of this success will, I am sure, be fully appreciated by Your Excellency and the Governor-General. I now consider my communications secure which otherwise must have been entirely cut off during our operations in Oudh, and a general insurrection, I am assured, would have followed throughout the Doab had the enemy not been destroyed, they being but the advance guard of more formidable invaders, from which evil having been prevented by Major Eyre's energy and decision that officer and the detachment under his command are, I consider, entitled to thankful acknowledgments from Government, which I am confident will not be withheld.

Copy of a despatch from Major V. EYRE, *Artillery, Commanding a detachment, to Colonel* NAPIER, *Military Secretary to Major-General Sir* J. OUTRAM, K.C.B.,—*dated Camp Koondun Puttee, 11th September 1857.*

I am happy to have it in my power to report, for the information of Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., that the expedition he did me the honour of entrusting to my command has been attended with entire success, and the daring invasion of this territory from Oudh has been signally punished.

I arrived at Hatgaon last evening at dusk, where I was joined by Captain Johnson's troop of the 12th Irregular Horse (forty in number). As they had marched twenty-four miles and were in need of rest I halted until 1-30 A.M., when we had the advantage of moonlight to pursue our march to Koondun Puttee, where we arrived at daybreak.

The Oudh rebels having been apprised a little previously of our advance, had fled precipitately to their boats, about half a mile off. I ordered the cavalry under Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Havelock to pursue them, and followed up myself, with all practicable speed, with the infantry and guns. We found the cavalry had driven the enemy into their boats, which were fastened to the shore, and were maintaining a brisk fire on them from the bank above. On the arrival of the detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 64th Foot under Captains Johnson and Turner, the fire of our musketry into the densely crowded boats was most telling, but the enemy still defended themselves to the utmost, until the guns under Lieutenant Gordon opened fire, when the rebels instantly threw themselves, panic-stricken, into the river.

Grape was now showered upon them and a terrific fusillade from the infantry and cavalry maintained, until only a few scattered survivors escaped. Their number appeared to be about 300. Previously to their plunging into the river, they threw their guns overboard and blew up one of their boats, which had been boarded by a party of infantry, whereby, I regret to say, one man of Her Majesty's 5th was killed and ten more or less injured (of whom five were Europeans and five Natives). All the officers mentioned above distinguished themselves highly, and the conduct of the men was all that could be desired.

Lieutenant Impy of the Engineers and Mr. Volunteer Tarby have likewise by their zeal and usefulness merited my thanks and commendation.

P. S.—Having heard of another party of rebels at a ghaut higher up the river, I have despatched the cavalry to reconnoitre.

From Major V. EYRE, *to Colonel* NAPIER,—*dated Camp Futtehpore, 12th September 1857.*

I have the honour herewith to forward a correct return of killed and wounded on the late expedition to Koondun Puttee.

In the postscript of my despatch of the 11th instant, I mentioned having sent the forty 12th Irregular Cavalry troopers, under Captain Johnson, to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to intercept a party of Oudh rebels said to have landed at Ukree Ghaut.

They had, however, retreated across the river before Captain Johnson's troop could get at them; but a small fort which had been recently erected near the ghaut by the rebels was destroyed by Captain Johnson.

I was informed by Mahomed Zuboor Khan, the Thanadar of Koondun Puttee, that had not the Oudh invaders been checked, and a portion of them destroyed by our troops, it was their intention to overrun the whole country between Futtehpore and Allahabad, with a view of interrupting our communications and impeding our operations.

He also assured me that the following persons on this side of the river had taken an active part in these disturbances and hostile designs, *viz.*, Bhunmer Sing, Zemindar of Ukree, Ramsahae of Hutgaon (an active confederate of the former), Seeta Bux and Pulwan Sing of Burgalla, and Nurlusta Kumaroodeen Hoossain of Puttee.

I take this opportunity of mentioning that the detachment of the 12th Irregulars had already marched twenty-four miles when they

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received the sudden order to join me at Hutgaon, and although both men and horses had been a whole day without food they galloped on the whole way to meet me, a distance of nine miles further, guided by that energetic officer, Lieutenant Dawson, of the * , who also took a conspicuous part in their subsequent operations.

Numerical return of killed and wounded with the Field Force under command of Major V. EYRE, *Artillery, on the 11th September 1857,—dated Camp Futtehpore, 12th September 1857.*

Her Majesty's 5th:—Privates Isaac Money, Stephen Lally, Thomas Walker, Charles Helford, slightly burnt; Private William Berant, severely burnt; Corporal Henry Evans, slightly burnt, sword cut in head.†

Artillery:—Tent lascar, severely burnt; tent lascar, bullet wound, severely.

12th Irregular Cavalry:—Hoosein Bux, slightly wounded.

Commissariat:—Jemadar of Mahouts, killed.

Camp followers:—Three (names unknown), severely burnt.

(Signed) R. H. BARTRUM,
Asst. Surgn. in medical charge.
V. EYRE, *Maj.*,
Comdg. Field Force.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 16th September 1857.

In returning the reports from Brigadier-General Havelock, detailing his operations against the rebels on the 6th‡ and 12th August, respectively, submitted with your docket of the 22nd August 1857, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Governor-General in Council has perused the reports with great satisfaction.

See pages 175 to 180.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 17th September 1857,* 1-30 A.M.

If I find that a brigade of three regiments can securely hold Lucknow, placed in an invulnerable position commanding the city and

* Probably Lieutenant J. Dawson, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry, Department of Public Works, Oudh.

† These were chiefly injured by one of the enemy's boats being blown up after it had been boarded by our troops.

‡ 5th August.

its resources, shall Lucknow be retained or abandoned? A larger body of troops will be expended in watching Oudh than in holding Lucknow in security, the communication from Benares to Allahabad, and along the line of the Ganges to Furruckabad. The moral effect of abandoning Lucknow will be very serious against us; the many well-disposed chiefs in Oudh and Rohilkhund, who are now watching the turn of affairs, would regard the loss of Lucknow as the forerunner of the end of our rule. Such a blow to our prestige may extend its influence to Nepaul and will be felt all over India. The civil Government of the city may be maintained without interfering with the province at present.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *Commanding the Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions,—dated Calcutta, 18th September 1857,* 9-30 P.M.

Lucknow may be retained if you can hold it securely and without depending upon early reinforcements.

But the one permanent object is the rescue of the garrison; and whatever will most surely conduce to this will be best. If the safety of the garrison can be more thoroughly secured by retiring, pray do not hesitate to do so. We will recover our prestige before long.

As to reinforcements, the China regiments are very slow in arriving. The head-quarters of the 23rd Regiment (350 strong) arrived to-day, but it is not known where the rest are.

Therefore you must not count upon any addition to your Europeans at present.

Telegram from Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Busherutgunge, 21st September 1857.*

I have to request that you will inform His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that I was joined by my reinforcements on the 15th and 16th instant. On the 19th I crossed, first to the island on the Ganges, and then to its left bank, by a bridge of boats, which had been laboriously constructed by Captain Crommelin, Field Engineer. The enemy retired after a very feeble, in fact a nominal, resistance to his position at Mungalwar. The two brigades of my force occupied an alignment, the right centre behind sand hills, the centre and left on a plain extending to the road from the Lucknow ghat to Mungulwar. My heavy guns and baggage were passed over on the 20th.

This morning I attacked the enemy, turned his right and drove him from his position, with the loss of four guns, two of which and the regimental colour of the 1st Bengal Native Infantry were captured by the

Volunteer Cavalry in a charge headed by Sir James Outram. The loss on our side was trifling. The enemy suffered severely. About 120 were sabred by the cavalry.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Fort William, 21st September 1857.

With reference to your letter No. 968, of the 16th instant, forwarding Major Eyre's report of his successful operations against a party of rebels who crossed from the Oudh side of the Ganges into the Doab, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council highly appreciates this further good service rendered by Major Eyre and the detachment under his command, and has noted with satisfaction the energy and sound judgment exhibited by Major Eyre and his officers in the execution of it.

The original enclosure of your letter is herewith returned as requested.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Camp Bagagunge, 22nd September 1857,* 5-5 P.M.

The rebels along the road are flying before our force which marched twenty miles and yesterday fourteen miles. Their retreat was too precipitate to enable them to destroy the Bunnee Bridge; only four more guns taken, but many have been cast into wells and only four passed the Bunnee Bridge. Firing at Lucknow distinctly heard and Royal Salutes by our 24-pounders to announce our approach to our friends. Our army will have reached Lucknow either last night or this morning.

Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Benares, 27th September 1857, 6-15 P.M.

A telegram from Cawnpore, dated at 3 P. M. this day, in reply to a question from hence, says that nothing has been heard there from Lucknow Column since the 22nd of September, when the column was fourteen miles from Lucknow; but yesterday (the 26th) distant firing was heard, and Native reports assert that all is over, and we are in possession of the city, but nothing from the army received; there is a strong report at Benares to-day to the same purpose.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 28th September 1857, 11-25 A. M.

The Oudh people, whom I have frequently represented as pressing down towards that part of the Allahabad District which is north of the

Ganges, have approached within some four or five miles of Jhoosee, namely, the village which is opposite Allahabad, and commands the ferry across the Ganges. The force is a rabble, but they may interrupt our communication. I am therefore sending a party of Sikhs, under an European officer, to take post in a temple at Jhoosee, which some time ago I selected, and the armed steamer *Jumna* was also ordered by me into the Ganges this morning, and will be available for the protection of the ferry. This, I hope, will prevent the Oudh rabble advancing further. There is no danger of the force; but the Naval Brigade, which has been expected here since the 18th idem, ought to be sent up in the most expeditious way; by land, if necessary. Nothing heard at this station up to this date from General Outram's force since its arrival at Begumgunge. On the 25th heavy firing was heard at Cawnpore; in the direction of Lucknow some firing on the 26th and a few guns on the 27th idem.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 30th September 1857, 3 P.M.

Complication may possibly arise regarding the post of Futtehpore. Major Barnston, of Her Majesty's 98th Infantry, now commands there as senior officer. He applied to me for orders. In point of fact, he should apply to General Outram. Major Barnston applied to me for two guns to instruct his men in the gun exercise; sickness having arisen among his men for want of employment. I have no guns to spare. There may be a couple of spare guns at Cawnpore. If there are, I advise that Futtehpore should have two guns from that place for safety. I trouble you with details on account of the anomalous position of Futtehpore, and the apparent impossibility of communicating with General Outram. A large collection of Dinapore mutineers are in the Banda District; this district commences about twenty-two miles from Futtehpore. All well here. Communication with Benares and Cawnpore. No news from Lucknow.

From Brigadier-General H. HAVELOCK, *Commanding Oudh Field Force, to Captain* H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General,—dated Lucknow Residency, 30th September 1857.*

Major-General Sir James Outram having, with characteristic generosity of feeling, declared that the command of the force should remain in my hands, and that he would accompany it as Civil Commissioner only, until a junction could be effected with the gallant and enduring garrison of this place, I have to request that you will inform His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that this purpose was effected on the evening of

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the 25th instant; but before detailing the circumstances, I must refer to antecendent events. I crossed the Sye on the 22nd instant, the bridge at Bunnee not having been broken. On the 23rd I found myself in presence of the enemy, who had taken a strong position, his left resting on the enclosure of the Alambagh, and his centre and right drawn up behind a chain of hillocks. The head of my column at first suffered from the fire of his guns, as it was compelled to pass along the Trunk Road between morasses: but as soon as my regiments could be deployed along his front, and his right enveloped by my left, victory declared for us and we captured five guns. Sir J. Outram, with his accustomed gallantry, passed on in advance close down to the canal; but as the enemy fed* his artillery with guns from the city, it was not possible to maintain this, or a less advanced position, for a time taken up; but it became necessary to throw our right on the Alambagh, and refuse our left; and even then we were incessantly cannonaded throughout the 24th, and the enemy's cavalry, 1,500 strong, crept round through lofty cultivation, and made a sudden irruption upon the baggage massed in our rear. The soldiers of the 90th, forming the baggage guard, received them with great gallantry, but lost some brave officers and men; shooting down, however, 25 of the troopers, and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven to a distance by two guns of Captain Olphert's battery.

The troops had been marching for three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages. It was thought necessary to pitch tents and permit them to halt on the 24th. The assault on the city was deferred until the 25th. That morning our baggage and tents were deposited in the Alambagh under an escort, and we advanced. The first brigade, under Sir James Outram's personal leading, drove the enemy from a succession of gardens and walled enclosures, supported by the 2nd Brigade which I accompanied. Both brigades were established on the canal at the bridge of Charbagh.

From this point the direct road to the Residency was something less than two miles, but it was known to have been cut by trenches, and crossed by palisades at short intervals, the houses, also, being all loopholed. Progress in this direction was impossible; so the united column pushed on, detouring along the narrow road which skirts the left bank of the canal. Its advance was not seriously interrupted until it had come opposite the King's palace or the Kaisarbagh where two guns and a body of mercenary troops were entrenched. From

* Flanked?

this entrenchment a fire of grape and musketry was opened under which nothing could live. The artillery and troops had to pass a bridge partially under its influence, but were then shrouded by the buildings adjacent to the palace of Fureed Buksh.

Darkness was coming on, and Sir James Outram at first proposed* to halt within the courts of the Mehal for the night, but I esteemed it to be of such importance to let the beleaguered garrison know that succour was at hand, that with his ultimate sanction I directed the main body of the 78th Highlanders and the regiment of Ferozepore to advance. This column rushed on with a desperate gallantry led by Sir James Outram and myself and Lieutenants Hudson and Hargood of my staff, through streets of flat-roofed loopholed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and overcoming every obstacle, established itself within the enclosure of the Residency. The joy of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described; but it was not till the next evening that the whole of my troops, guns, tumbrils, and sick and wounded, continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, could be brought step by step, within this enceinte and the adjacent palace of the Fureed Buksh. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome a reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. Our advance was through streets of houses such as I have described and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops; the advantage gained has cost us dear.

The killed, wounded and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers who, I much fear—some or all—have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men, Brigadier-General Neill, Commanding 1st Brigade; Major Cooper, Brigadier, Commanding Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Bazely, a volunteer with the force, are killed. Colonel Campbell, Commanding 90th Light Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, my Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; and Lieutenant Havelock, my Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, are severely, but not dangerously, wounded.

Sir James Outram received a flesh wound in the arm in the early part of the action near Charbagh, but nothing would subdue his spirit; and, though faint from loss of blood, he continued, to the end of the action, to sit on his horse, which he only dismounted at the gate of the Residency. As he has now assumed the command I leave to him the narrative of all events subsequent to the 26th.

Enclosed is the return of casualties up to that date.

* See letter from Sir James Outram to the Commander-in-Chief.

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Numerical return of killed, wounded, and missing of the troops composing the Oudh Field Force, in the actions of the 25th and 26th September 1857, under Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C.B., *Commanding.*

Regiments.	Killed.											Wounded.											Missing.											Grand total of all ranks.	Remarks.
	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.		
1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	12	13	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3	...	32	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	11	61	
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	7	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	26	31	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	16	54	
" 64th Foot	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	8	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	
" 84th "	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	9	11	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	2	1	21	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9	48	
" 78th Highlanders	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	5	..	32	39	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	4	...	71	81	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	6	126	
" 90th Light Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	11	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	46	49	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	26	86	
Regiment of Ferozepore	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	5	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	34	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	44	
Volunteer Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	..	11	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	18	
12th Irregular Cavalry	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	
Artillery Brigade	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	13	17	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	22	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	48	
Golundauze	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	
Staff	...	...	...	...	...	2*	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	
Total ...	...	1	1	6	...	3	1	9	...	98	119	1	...	6	15	...	...	1	18	1	289	339	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	76	77	535	

* Brigadier-General Neill and Lieutenant-Colonel Bazely.

ADJT.-GENL.'S OFFICE, OUDH FIELD FORCE, LUCKNOW;
The 30th September 1857.

(Signed) J. HUDSON, *Lieut.*,
Actg. Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Oudh Field Force.

Names of Officers Killed and Wounded.

Killed.

General Staff.

1. Brigadier-General Neill.
2. Brigadier (Major) Cooper, Artillery.
3. Lieutenant-Colonel Bazely, Bengal Artillery.

Artillery.

4. Lieutenant Crump, Madras Artillery.
5. Assistant Surgeon Bartrum.

12th Irregular Cavalry.

6. Lieutenant Warren.

Detachment, Her Majesty's 64th.

7. Lieutenant Bateman.

Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders.

8. Lieutenant Webster.
9. Lieutenant Kirby.

Her Majesty's 84th.

10. Captain Pakenham.
11. Lieutenant Poole.

Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

12. Lieutenant Moultrie.

Wounded.

General Staff.

13. Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B.
14. Captain Becher, Assistant Adjutant-General.
15. Captain Orr, slightly.

Divisional Staff.

16. Captain Dodgson, Assistant Adjutant-General.
17. Lieutenant Sitwell, Aide-de-Camp.

Field Force Staff.

18. Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.
19. Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

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Engineers.

20. Captain Crommelin, slightly.

Artillery.

21. Captain Olpherts, slightly.

Volunteer Cavalry.

22. Lieutenant Lynch, Her Majesty's 70th, slightly.
23. Lieutenant Palliser, 63rd Bengal Native Infantry, slightly.
24. Lieutenant Swanston, 7th Madras Native Infantry.
25. Lieutenant Birch, 1st Bengal Light Cavalry, severely.

Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.

26. Captain L. Estrange, severely.
27. Captain Johnson, severely.

Detachment, Her Majesty's 64th.

None.

Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders.

28. Captain Lockhart, severely.
29. Captain Hastings, slightly.
30. Lieutenant Crowe, slightly.
31. Lieutenant Swanson, severely.
32. Lieutenant Grant, severely.
33. Lieutenant Jolly, Her Majesty's 32nd (attached) since dead.
34. Lieutenant Macpherson, slightly.

Her Majesty's 84th.

35. Captain Willis, slightly.
36. Lieutenant Barry, slightly.
37. Lieutenant Oakley, severely.
38. Lieutenant Woolhouse, severely.

Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

39. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, severely.
40. Lieutenant Knight, severely.
41. Assistant Surgeon Bradshaw, slightly.
42. Lieutenant Preston, slightly.

1st Madras Fusiliers.

43. Lieutenant Arnold, since dead.
44. Lieutenant Bailey, severely.

GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 30th December 1857.

No. 1666 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, in directing the publication of the subjoined despatch from

Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., dated the 30th of September 1857, considers it due to that officer and to others who may have felt disappointment at the omission of it among the despatches which were published in the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary* of the 23rd instant, to explain that although earlier in date than those despatches it has been received after them, and that its publication has not been delayed.

His Lordship in Council most fully appreciates the valour of the troops whom that distinguished officer, the late Sir Henry Havelock aided and supported by Sir James Outram and by the lamented Brigadier-General Neill, led victoriously through the hosts of the insurgents and in the face of extraordinary difficulties to the relief of the garrison of Lucknow; and he desires that every officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier will accept the assurance of the entire approbation of Government as offered to each and all individually.

The Governor-General in Council observes with great satisfaction the supplemental order in which Sir J. Outram separately brings to notice the services rendered by the Ferozepore Regiment under their gallant leader, Captain Brasyer. The thanks of Government were given to this regiment in the G. O. No. 1625, of the 22nd instant; and His Lordship in Council willingly reiterates his acknowledgments to Captain Brasyer and his officers and men.

A despatch from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated the 22nd of December 1857, is also now published. In it His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief prominently brings to notice the good service performed by the officers of the Volunteer Cavalry, commanded by Captain Barrow, and the Governor-General in Council embraces with much satisfaction the opportunity of publicly recording his sense of the gallant conduct of Captain Barrow and his devoted band, officers and men, ever forward where hard work and danger were to be found.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

From Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, G. C. B., *to His Excellency* SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, G. C. B., *Commander-in-Chief,—dated Lucknow, 30th September 1857.*

General Havelock having effected his junction with the garrison holding the Residency of Lucknow on the evening of the 25th instant, I, on the following day, resumed command of the troops, issuing the Order A, of which I enclose a copy for His Excellency's information. I had previously sent a note to the commandant of the garrison, warning him of our approach, and warning him not to be enticed into weakening his garrison by detaching to our support when he should hear us

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engaged in the city, lest the enemy should avail themselves of that opportunity to assault his position. This note I have since learnt he received—copy enclosed B.

Since we have obtained access to the exterior of the entrenchments, we find that they had completed six mines in the most artistic manner—one of them from a distance of 200 feet under our principal defensive works, which were ready for loading, and the firing of which must have placed the garrison entirely at their mercy. The delay of another day, therefore, might have sealed their fate.

To force our way *through* the city would have proved a very desperate operation, if indeed it could have been accomplished.

After passing the bridge, therefore, which is at the entrance, General Havelock took his force by detours to the right, where but little means comparatively of opposition had been prepared, until he approached the front of the "Kaiser Bagh" (King's Palace), from whence a heavy fire was opened upon us, and from that point (through a limited extent of about a quarter mile of street then intervened before reaching the Residency), the troops were much exposed to the fire of the enemy occupying the houses on both sides, as well as to some of the besieging guns which had been turned against us, besides being obstructed by ditches which had been cut across the street—all which obstacles were overcome by the usual gallantry and dash of British troops, but at a heavy cost. The Residency was joined in the evening; and the cheers of our rescued comrades overcame for the time our regrets for the many who had fallen in their cause.

General Havelock's reports will acquaint Your Excellency with details; my own reports commencing from the following day, when, as the enemy had, during the night, continued to occupy his offensive position and to maintain his fire on the entrenchment, it became my first object to occupy or destroy his works; for, independent of the damage caused by his fire to the now crowded garrison, no communication could be held with the city. I, therefore, on the morning of the 26th, ordered the Captain Bazaar to be cleared, which has heretofore harboured the enemy in vexatious proximity to the garrison, and it was occupied by Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment under Brigadier Inglis, capturing five guns, with a loss of one officer (Captain Hughes, 57th Native infantry) and two privates killed and seven privates wounded, thus removing all obstruction from the riverside of our position.

On the 27th September, the palaces extending along on the line of the river, from the Residency to near the "Kaiser Bagh" ("Tehree

Kottee,"* "Chutter Munzul," and "Furhut Buksh"), were occupied for the accommodation of our troops. On the same day, at noon, a party consisting of 150 men made a sortie on another of the enemy's positions and destroyed four guns, at a loss of eight killed and wounded. At daylight, on the 28th, three columns, aggregating 700 men, attacked the enemy's works at three different points, destroyed ten guns, and demolished by powder explosions the houses which afforded position to the enemy for musketry fire. This has effectually destroyed his attacks, excepting on one point, where he has still three guns, which it is difficult to get at, but it is not likely the enemy will attempt to maintain that isolated position; and as there has been no fire from thence this morning, it is probable he may have abandoned it. This successful operation was attended by the serious loss of one officer and fifteen men killed and missing; one officer and thirty-one men wounded, the officer killed being Major Simmons, Commanding Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, most deeply regretted by the whole army.

Our present prospects have now to be considered. It was the urgent desire of the Government that the garrison should be relieved, and the women and children, amounting to upwards of 470 souls withdrawn.

The army of the enemy has been beaten in the open field without difficulty. The resistance was more obstinate in the suburbs, and at a great sacrifice the troops forced their way to the garrison of Lucknow. The sick and wounded had been left with the baggage in a strong enclosure, called "Alum Bagh," five miles from the Lucknow entrenchment.

In considering the heavy loss at which we forced our way through the enemy, it was evident that there could be no possible hope of carrying off the sick, wounded, and women and children (amounting to not less than 1,500 souls, including those of both forces). Want of carriage alone rendered the transport through five miles of disputed suburb an impossibility.

There remained but two alternatives, one to reinforce the Lucknow garrison with 300 men, and leaving everything behind, to retire immediately with the remains of the infantry upon the "Alum Bagh," thereby leaving the garrison in a worse state than we found it, by the addition to the numbers they had previously to feed the great amount of our wounded and the 300 soldiers, who would barely have sufficed to afford the additional protection that would have been required without adding such strength as would have enabled them to make an active defence, to repel attacks by sorties; or to prevent the enemy

* Tehri Kottee: the Crooked House.

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occupying the whole of their old positions; while it would have been impossible for any smaller force than the remainder of our troops, diminished by those 300 men, to have any hope of making good their way back, and that not without very serious loss. I, therefore, adopt the second alternative as the only mode of offering reasonable hope of securing the safety of this force, by retaining sufficient strength to enforce supplies of provisions, should they not be open to us voluntarily, and to maintain ourselves, even on reduced rations, until reinforcements advance to our relief.

Now that Delhi has fallen and released our forces, two brigades might perhaps be spared for this service. But I am satisfied that even one brigade, with two batteries of artillery, could make good its way to the "Dilkoosha" (a position three miles from hence on the Cawnpore side of the canal), the route to which, the rains now being over, will be practicable for artillery by the direct road from "Alum Bagh."

With such a force established at "Dilkoosha," we could without difficulty open out our communication, and withdraw the whole, or such portion of our forces as may be desired after re-establishing our authority at Lucknow.

Since my decision has been made, I have received a letter from the "Alum Bagh," in which it is stated that they are in great want of provisions, but upon returns of what they have, it is clear that they are not aware of their resources, which were sufficient for some days. I have, therefore, ordered back the cavalry to join them in the night by a circuitous route, with conditional orders to withdraw to Cawnpore, or to maintain their position, as may be found most practicable. Their only difficulty is provisions, as they are placed in a fortified enclosure, defended by two of our heavy guns, and two 9-pounders, besides other guns taken from the enemy, 250 European soldiers, and a number of convalescents fit to bear arms.

1st October, P. S.—The cavalry failed to make their way out last night; the enemy being found on the alert, and in such strength beyond our picquets, it was not deemed prudent to attempt to force a passage; consequently this despatch was brought back, and there will be no means of transmitting it at present.

(Signed) J. O.

A.

DIVISION ORDERS.

The relief of the Lucknow garrison having last night been accomplished by General Havelock and his brave troops, Major-General Sir J. Outram resumes his position as commander of the forces.

The Major-General heartily congratulates General Havelock and the troops whom that gallant and distinguished officer has so gloriously led to victory on brilliant successes over the hosts that have opposed them since the army crossed the Ganges on the 19th instant. He sincerely believes that, in the history of warfare, British valour was never more conspicuously displayed than on the 21st instant at "Mungulwar," on the 23rd at "Alum Bagh," and on the 25th, when his heroic comrades forced the city bridge and other formidable obstacles which interrupted their passage to the position held by the beleaguered garrison. The Major-General deeply laments the heavy cost at which the relief of our countrymen has been purchased, but the glorious devotion with which the gallant dead and equally gallant survivors staked their lives to rescue the Lucknow garrison will be deeply appreciated by our Queen and our country, and the safety of those whom we, under God's blessing, have been permitted to redeem from a dreadful fate, must be our consolation for the loss of so many of our noble comrades. The Major-General begs to return his most sincere and heartfelt thanks to the General and his gallant army for their glorious exertions, the only acknowledgment of their achievements which it is in his power to render. On General Havelock it will devolve, in his reports to the Commander-in-Chief, to do justice to the army which has so devotedly carried out his orders. But while fully aware, that every arm was stimulated by the same brave spirit, the Major-General deems it right to bear his personal testimony to the admirable conduct of such of the troops as acted under his immediate observation. He would especially note the behaviour of the 90th Regiment, who led the advance of the left attack at "Mungulwar"; that of the Volunteer Cavalry, who charged the artillery of the retiring enemy and captured two of their guns; that of the 84th and detachment of the 64th attached to it, who led the attack on the enemy's left at "Alum Bagh"; that of Captain Olpherts's Battery, who so bravely followed up their retreat on that occasion, and Major Eyre's battery, in opposing the many that afterwards bore on their position; that of the 5th Fusiliers and Captain Maude's battery, who led the column on the 25th instant under a most murderous fire; that of the 1st Fusiliers (Madras), who charged the bridge and battery at the entrance of the city, led by the gallant Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Havelock; and finally that of the 78th Highlanders, who led the advance on the Residency, headed by their brave commander, Colonel Stisted, accompanied by the gallant Lieutenant Hargood, Aide-de-Camp to General Havelock; Captain Grant, 1st Madras Fusiliers; Lieutenant Hudson, 64th Regiment; and Lieutenant Chamier, Aide-de-Camp.

SUPPLEMENTAL ORDER.

The Major-General regrets to find that, in noticing the services of the troops which came under his personal attention in Division Orders of 26th instant, he omitted to mention the Regiment of Ferozepore and its gallant leader, Captain Brasyer. The Major-General in that order merely referred to what he himself observed, but was well aware that this regiment was most prominently forward on every occasion. Though happening seldom to be in the same part of the field, he takes blame to himself for having inadvertently omitted to mention their advance with the 90th at "Mungulwar," which did come under his personal observation. The time has not yet come for the Major-General to notice the conduct of the troops subsequently to his assuming command, during which period the Sikh Regiment has been incessantly occupied on most important service; but they may rest assured that they, as well as all the corps who have like them highly distinguished themselves since, will be brought to prominent notice.

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY
The 26th September 1857.

(Signed) D. DODGSON,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

(Signed) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.,*
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

B.

From Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, G.C.B., *to Brigadier* J. INGLIS,—*dated north side of the River, 28th September 1857.*

The army crossed the river yesterday, and all the material being over, marches to-morrow, and, under the blessing of God, will now relieve you. The rebels, we hear, purpose making a desperate assault upon you as we approach the city, and will be on the watch in expectation of your weakening your garrison to make a diversion in our favour as we attack the city. I beg to warn you against being enticed too far from your works when you hear us engaged. Such diversion as you can make without in any way risking your position should only be attempted.

Names of officers killed and wounded with General Havelock's force since leaving Cawnpore to 29th September 1857, in addition to the names already published in Government General Order No. 1625 of 1857.

KILLED.

Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.

Lieutenant E. F. Haig.

Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

Lieutenant J. J. Nunn.

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Names of officers killed and wounded with General Havelock's force since leaving Cawnpore to 29th September 1857, in addition to the names already published in Government General Order No. 1625 of 1857.—(Concld.)

WOUNDED.

Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.

Lieutenant J. W. D. Adair.

Lieutenant W. M. Carter (since dead).

Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders.

Captain R. Bogle.

Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry.

Brevet-Major J. Perrin.

Captain A. A. Becher, 40th Native Infantry (since dead).

Lieutenant N. Grahame, since dead.

Nominal Roll of European officers killed and wounded, from the 29th September to the 21st October, in the Field Force.

Artillery ...	... Lieutenant Fraser ...	September 30th	... Slightly wounded.			
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	Major Stephenson ...	October 4th	... Do.	do.	
	Captain Fraser ...	Do. 5th	... Severely	do.	
	Captain Galwey ...	Do. 5th	... Slightly	do.	
	Lieutenant Græme ...	Do. 5th	... Mortally	do.	(since dead.)
	Lieutenant Barclay ...	Do. 21st	... Slightly	do.	
5th Fusiliers ...	... Captain Scott ...	Do. 6th	... Do.	do.	
78th Highlanders ...	Major Haliburton ...	Do. 4th	... Mortally	do.	(since dead.)
	Doctor McMaster ...	Do. 15th	... Slightly	do.	
84th Foot ...	... Lieutenant Gibaut ...	Do. 6th	... Mortally	do.	(since dead.)
90th Foot ...	Captain Denison ...	Do. 6th	... Severely	do.	
	Captain Bingham ...	Do. 6th	... Do.	do.	
	Captain Phipps ...	Do. 6th	... Do.	do.	
Regiment of Ferozepore	... Lieutenant Cross ...	Do. 6th	... Do.	do.	

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Governor-General of India and the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 1st October 1857, 2 P.M.

Baillie Guard* relieved on 25th by General Outram, and advances steadily progressing against the city; seven guns captured, and the eighth quarter in our possession on 29th, Maun Sing wounded amongst the rebels.

* The following note, besides many other most important suggestions, I owe to General Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B.—"Baillie Guard," the gateway of the Residency where the main body of the Resident's Guard was posted in old times, was called Baillie after a former Resident, Colonel Baillie. This gate was defended throughout the siege by Lieutenant Aitkins of the 13th Native Infantry, but long before this the term "Baillie Guard" had been applied by the men of our Native Army to the whole Residency, and Native soldiers in speaking of the Residency always called it "Baillie Guard." It is evidently in this sense that Mr. Sherer used the expression. He meant in fact that our troops had reached the Residency.

From Mr. SHERER,—*dated Cawnpore, 1st October 1857.*

I have not been able to get hold of the telegram till a late hour, but I hasten to forward you letters, which you will find very interesting.

We have received intelligence from Lucknow, dated the 29th. The Baillie Guard was taken on the 25th, but with considerable loss.

General Neill was killed; and the whole amount of casualties is estimated at between 400 and 500. Another letter indicates that on the 29th the whole of the right, or eastern part of the city, was in our hands; that we had taken seven guns, and were steadily possessing ourselves of all the batteries.

Maun Sing, who had taken an active part against us, was wounded in two places.

From Mr. SHERER,—*dated Cawnpore, 2nd October 1857.*

I beg to forward letters from Muir, which kindly despatch, after perusal, to the Governor-General. We have heard nothing more from Lucknow. I trust my telegraphic message of last evening will have reached you.

All we know is this:—

The attack on the city was made on the 25th. Havelock went rather to the right to avoid the main street; still the opposition to be encountered was very great. Junction with the Baillie Guard was effected as the evening fell. Two mines were discovered just ready to be discharged, which would have placed the garrison at the mercy of the rebels.

Names mentioned of those surviving (not intended to be complete) in the Baillie Guard:—John Anderson, Gubbins, the Taylors, the Coupers, Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Ommaney and family; General Outram apparently merely mentioning these as known to Lady Outram.

Killed on the 25th.—General Neill, Major Cooper, Artillery; Pakenham, 84th; Bateman, 64th; Wild, 40th Native Infantry; Warren, 12th Irregular Cavalry, and many wounded. The sick and wounded were left with a detachment at Alumbagh upon the attack.

Bugus Kuder, the natural son of the *ex*-king, had fled to Fyzabad.

Telegram from Major-General Sir J. OUTRAM, *to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Lucknow, 2nd October 1857.*

The insurgents are too strong to admit of withdrawing from this garrison. The sick, wounded, women and children, amount to upwards of one thousand. The force will retire, therefore, after making disposition for the safety of the garrison, by strengthening it with all but four

of our guns, and leaving 90th Regiment; then destroying all the enemy's works, exploding all the six mines, which have been found since our access to the exterior, and so disturbing the ground in front of each work as to render future mining a difficulty, and demolishing the houses in the neighbourhood which commanded the entrenchments. The remainder of our force, reduced by casualties, will make its way back to Cawnpore, and leave two or three days hence. Two additional brigades, with powerful field artillery, would be required to withdraw the garrison, or reduce the city. I hope these brigades may be speedily assembled at Cawnpore.

GENERAL ORDER by the Governor-General of India in Council,— dated Fort William, 2nd October 1857.

The Governor-General in Council rejoices to announce that information has been this day received from Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., showing that the Residency at Lucknow was in the possession of Brigadier-General Havelock's force on the 25th ultimo, and that the garrison is saved.

Rarely has a commander been so fortunate as to relieve by his success so many aching hearts, or to reap so rich a reward of gratitude as will deservedly be offered to Brigadier-General Havelock and his gallant band, wherever their triumph shall become known.

The Governor-General in Council tenders to Sir James Outram and to Brigadier-General Havelock his earnest thanks and congratulations upon the joyful result, of which a merciful Providence has made them the chief instruments.

The Governor-General in Council forbears to observe further upon information which is necessarily imperfect, but he cannot refrain from expressing the deep regret with which he hears of the death of Brigadier-General Neill, of the 1st Madras European Fusiliers, of which, it is to be feared, that no doubt exists.

Brigadier-General Neill during his short but active career in Bengal had won the respect and confidence of the Government of India; he had made himself conspicuous as an intelligent, prompt, self-reliant soldier, ready of resource and stout of heart, and the Governor-General in Council offers to the Government and to the Army of Madras his sincere condolence upon the loss of one who was an honour to the service of their presidency.

By order of the Governor General of India in Council.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL SIR JAMES OUTRAM'S DEFENCE OF RESIDENCY.

From Sir J. OUTRAM to *Captain* BRUCE,—*dated Lucknow, 2nd October 1857.*

Oblige me by conveying the following message to Brigadier Wilson :—

I request you to prepare a detachment of not less than 300 Europeans, and two guns, to advance to the relief of the retiring column; send rockets with the detachment to give us notice of its position when we are supposed to be in the vicinity. An experienced officer to command; I wish you could be spared for this command. If so, and you wish it, tell the Brigadier I wish it should be so arranged.

Draw from Futtehpore, Allahabad, and Benares, all men that can be spared to be sent to Cawnpore with all practicable despatch.

Request the authorities at Agra to make known to the General at Delhi the urgent necessity there is for reinforcements being pushed on to Cawnpore as speedily as possible, without which the Lucknow garrison cannot be withdrawn.

Delhi having fallen, it is to be hoped, at least, one strong brigade may be spared from there and another may be completed by the troops from the eastward.

Telegraph to the Commander-in-Chief that the insurgents are too strong to admit of withdrawing; besides this garrison, the sick, wounded, women and children amounting to upwards of 1,000.

The force will retire, therefore, after making every disposition for the safety of the garrison by strengthening it with all but four of our

guns, and leaving the 90th Regiment there, destroying all the enemy's works, exploding all the six mines which have been found since our access to the exterior, and so disturbing the ground in front of each work so as to render future mining very difficult, and demolishing the houses in the neighbourhood which commanded the entrenchment. The remainder of our force reduced by casualties will make its way back to Cawnpore leaving two or three days hence. Two additional brigades, with powerful field artillery, will be required to withdraw the garrison or reduce the city. I hope the brigades will be speedily assembled at Cawnpore by troops from Delhi and the eastward. In the meantime this reduced force will be strengthened by its detachments still in the rear and may, when completed, form a strong brigade. Telegraph to the Governor-General my hopes of a reaction in the city are disappointed; the insurgent sepoys have inspired such terror among all classes, and maintain so strict a watch beyond our pickets, that we have not been able to communicate with one single inhabitant of Lucknow since our arrival. Nothing but a strong demonstration of our power will be of any avail.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 7th October 1857, 11* P.M.

General Outram, dated 6th instant, orders me to inform Your Lordship that there are alterations in the position of his force since the message of the 2nd instant, and he urgently requires more troops to enable him to move the position of his force.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 8th October 1857, 4* P.M.

A messenger, with a letter from General Outram, written in Greek character, arrived late last night; it was directed to Captain Bruce, Superintendent of Police, and contains the below written order to me:—

LUCKNOW,
The 6th October 1857.

"If not already despatched, I request you will increase the detachment ordered to Alumbagh to whatever additional strength the reinforcements expected from Futtehpore and Allahabad could provide above the original strength of your post."

Another part of Sir James Outram's letter, wherein the impossibility of withdrawing his force without the support of two strong brigades is plainly stated; likewise that his communication with his rear at Alumbagh, four miles distant, is not preserved. Again, that the Alumbagh detachment should be gradually reinforced from Cawnpore as troops come in; that the whole strength of the enemy is in his vicinity and Residency, but that it is probable they may detach cavalry to his rear and occupy Bunnee and Busherutgunge, &c. It were needless for me to dilate on the perilous position General Outram's force is in. The Chief of the Staff will observe that his communication with his depot at Alumbagh, only four miles distant, is closed; between this and Alumbagh communication is precarious and uncertain; the roads and adjacent pathways are zealously guarded. A cossid may perchance carry a letter through from here safely, but to my knowledge none have.

I would request His Excellency's commands regarding the way reinforcements are to be forwarded when they do arrive. I am strongly against hazarding and jeoparding small detachments of 400 or 500 men; such dribblets, under existing circumstances, would run the chance of being destroyed in detail, and, even if they effect a junction, would be of no use for the General's main object. I would not myself forward a reinforcement of less than 1,500 European bayonets and six guns, and then only if a second reinforcement of similar strength could follow them in ten days. I most sincerely trust none of the mutinous brigades, let loose by the fall of Delhi, will retire through Rohilcund, *via* Anupshuhr, Ramghat, and join the Lucknow rebels. The Gwalior rebels threatened us with a visit, but I do not anticipate any likelihood of their doing so. It appears to me quite evident that in Oudh the aspect of affairs has extended far beyond that of mutiny with sepoys as revolt has plainly spread through the whole province.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, (*for Major-General Sir* J. OUTRAM), *to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 16th October 1857*, 11 A.M.

General Outram has issued proclamation to those men of the 7th Light Cavalry, 13th Regiment, Native Infantry, 48th Regiment, Native Infantry, and 71st Regiment, Native Infantry, who were granted furlough by the Chief Commissioner in Oudh in June, as well as those who went as usual on leave previous to June, to repair to the officer commanding at Cawnpore for duty, upon the understanding that if they afterwards proved to have joined in rebellion, they must stand the

consequence. General Outram orders me to organise this depot, and has desired me to ask Your Lordship if others who received similar leave under Mr. Colvin's orders are to be similarly embodied or not.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 17th October 1857.*

Inform Sir James Outram by cossid—your communication being made in Greek character—of Major Barnston's advance, and that Sir James Outram's letter of the 13th instant has been laid before the Commander-in-Chief. Much as the Commander-in-Chief may desire to meet Sir James Outram's wishes, he is obliged, from want of means, to declare the impossibility of carrying out Sir James' plan.

2. There are no troops of whom to form a line of posts across the province of Oudh, and there is no other available carriage than that now sent.

3. Even one brigade cannot be formed at Cawnpore, putting for the present Alumbagh out of the question, before the 10th of November at the earliest.

4. Let Major Barnston, after arrival at Alumbagh, wait there three or four days to rest his people and cattle, and communicate, if possible, with Sir James Outram; and let the latter understand that this is the only means of supplying Alumbagh and Lucknow at the disposal of his Excellency, *viz.*, to allow of the return of Major Barnston with his camels and elephants to Cawnpore, with a view to the subsequent march of a similar but stronger column, with a like object.

5. Tell him that every possible effort is being made to close the new arrivals up to Cawnpore; and His Excellency has a confident hope that the gradual, but never-ceasing concentration, at that place, will have a beneficial influence on the minds of the leaders by whom Sir James is now blockaded.

6. Instruct Major Barnston, when he commences his retreat to start in the middle of the night, and march at least twenty miles, so as to effect the passage of the nullah at Bunnee in the first stage. He will be able to do this by using his elephants and camels freely.

7. Let him leave his weakly men and bad marchers to reinforce Alumbagh.

8. He is also to communicate His Excellency's orders to the officer commanding at Alumbagh that the latter is personally to superintend the stores and economise the delivery as much as possible.

9. Let Major Barnston take a lakh of Enfield rifle ammunition with him, if possible; also let Sir James Outram know that the Commander-in-Chief will write fully by post.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Captain BRUCE, *for Major-General Sir* J. OUTRAM,—*dated Calcutta, 17th October 1857.*

The furlough men who received leave from Sir Henry Lawrence in June, or before that time, and who have been summoned to Cawnpore by Sir James Outram's proclamation, may be received there; but arms must not be put into their hands at present.

It is not likely that the proclamation can have penetrated to any distance from Lucknow; if it has not done so, those who act upon it will have been amongst the insurgents, and must not be too readily trusted.

Do not receive any other furlough men at Cawnpore.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, (*for Major-General Sir* JAMES OUTRAM), *to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 20th October 1857, 10* A.M.

A letter, dated 7th October, from General Outram, desires me to inform you that the force at Lucknow is now besieged by the enemy, and has grain, guns, bullocks, and horses upon which they can subsist for another month; but they have no hospital comforts and little medicine. Repeats that maintaining troops at Alumbagh, and gradually reinforcing that post must tell favourably ere long; adds, that a wing of infantry and two guns at Busherutgunge and Bunnee would secure the whole road for safe convoy of provisions to Alumbagh.

The loss in killed, wounded, and missing since the force crossed the Ganges has been very heavy,—256 killed and 700 wounded—and missing out of the former, sixteen officers.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, 20th October 1857, 12-2* P.M.

The party for Alumbagh will leave, if possible, to-morrow morning. Captain Bruce cannot just now be spared; His Excellency perhaps is not aware that the Intelligence Department, by General Outram's wish, is entirely in his hand, as also most of the magisterial and police work of the whole district. Intelligence is of the greatest importance now that the country is covered with Delhi fugitives. Captain Moir, an

experienced Bengal Artillery officer, is the party, and, if necessary, Mr. Ranson of the Civil Service can accompany, as both these gentlemen know the language well. Sir James Outram, in a subsequent letter to Captain Bruce, wishes him not to leave Cawnpore.

Telegram from Captain Bruce, (*for Major-General Sir* J. Outram,) *to the Governor-General of India in Council—dated Cawnpore, 21st October 1857,* 5 p.m.

Rajah Maun Singh has written to me, with enclosure for General Outram ; the purport of these is as follows :—

Says he never intended to go to Lucknow at all, had not the Ranee of the late Rajah Buktwar Sing been seized there by the rebels. He went with Mr. Gubbins' (of Benares) sanction to rescue her ; he could not get away until all the rebels opposed the British at Alumbagh. He seized this opportunity of rescuing her, making every arrangement to move back twenty koss from Lucknow. He swears on oath, up to this time, he did not connect himself with the rebels. It was willed his name now should be connected with the rebels, and himself fall under displeasure of Government thus. He suddenly heard the rebels were defeated, and the British attacking the place were about to disgrace His Majesty's seraglio. He at once marched to protect it, for he had eaten the King's salt. If the General views with justice his actions, he will see that he did not join the rebels. He protected the British authorities in his district and could not keep himself aloof from protecting the King's honour. Now he was ready to obey all Government orders, and if his Vakil's life be spared, he will submit the whole facts. He hopes the General will let him know his design that he may carry it out.

To this letter I sent the following reply :—"I have received your letter and enclosure for General Outram. The British do no injury to helpless women and children, however humble their rank, and you ought to have known that those of the King would not have been dishonoured. I have written to-day to General Outram, who is now in the Lucknow Residency, and in the meantime if you are really friendly to the British Government, you are desired at once to withdraw all your men from Lucknow and communicate with the Chief Commissioner. I have sent to tell your Vakil that if he likes to come in and see me, he will meet with no injury."

The Vakil has since come and, having expressed his master's willingness to comply with the terms of my letter, departed for Lucknow.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to Captain BRUCE *at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 22nd October 1857.*

Send my best regards by cossid to General Outram. Tell him I have never ceased my exertions to press every available soldier up to his support. My presence here has enabled me to ensure the execution of orders necessary to this effect. I believe in consequence, that after making due deduction for sickness, I shall have 2,500 British infantry by the 7th November, together with cavalry of the military train, two companies of sappers and a small detail of artillery at Cawnpore and Alumbagh together.

The Governor-General has written to desire that Colonel Greathed's column may be directed on Cawnpore, but for the present I have no power over that force. I trust it may arrive.

My intention is to throw forward to Alumbagh about 1,500 men of the above force as soon as practicable; the remainder of the force indicated will close up on Alumbagh as it arrives at Cawnpore.

Of course much must depend upon the collection of carriage and supplies. No effort is being left untried to insure a sufficiency of both.

Communicate this confidentially to Colonel Wilson.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 22nd October 1857, 4-30* P.M.

Received, as most urgent, under date 16th October, from Sir James Outram, who states that his Commissary has just informed him, after the most searching enquiry, that our attah and bullocks (and we have nothing else) will last only till the 10th proximo, on three-quarter rations for Europeans and only half for natives; no possibility of obtaining any supplies unless previously relieved. The column must push on to Alumbagh; spare no cost in sending to Greathed, urging his immediate advance, and let there be no delay in bringing up troops from Allahabad. Both these points I have communicated to Colonel Greathed.

16th October 1857.

Received by the same cossid from Sir James Outram:—As the troops of artillery despatched from Calcutta have no chance of being in time, Captain Moir's battery should be drawn from Allahabad, where the Naval Brigade will surely suffice for the present. I beg your particular attention to the above. Please telegraph this to the Commander-in-Chief.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Fort William, 1st November 1857.

I request that you will take the first opportunity that presents itself of conveying to Brigadier-General Havelock my hearty congratulations upon his being raised by the Queen to the honor of Knight Commander of the Bath, and to the rank of Major-General. I beg you to say that it is a very great pleasure to me to make this announcement to him, and that I wish him a long enjoyment of these well-earned distinctions most cordially.

Telegram from the Private Secretary to the Governor-General, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Fort William, 1st November 1857.

The Governor-General wishes to know whether you have received any intelligence of a sortie having been lately made from the Residency at Lucknow into the town, in which many officers were killed and wounded. If so, the Governor-General requests that you will communicate the particulars to him by telegraph.

You are also requested to keep the Governor-General informed of any news which may reach you from Lucknow; and, if Captain Bruce has left Cawnpore, His Lordship will thank you to take measures for the speedy transmission to Calcutta of any messages which may be addressed to the Governor-General by Sir James Outram or others.

Telegram from Brigadier WILSON, *to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 5th November 1857, 10-45* A.M.

By cossid from Alumbagh, 30th October—Major McIntyre writes as follows:—"Communication with General Outram very uncertain and at long intervals. All well at Alumbagh. This evening 440 European infantry and 100 Naval Brigade marched from Cawnpore to join Brigadier Grant's force, which is halted one mile-and-half beyond Bunnee Bridge by order of the Commander-in-Chief."

I have had no fresh communication with General Outram since my last telegram of the 2nd instant.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *for Major-General Sir* J. OUTRAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 12th November 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief marched with his force to Alumbagh this morning. There was some innocent firing at that post yesterday. His Excellency had been able to communicate with General Outram.

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Gwalior rebels are not yet reported to have reached the Jumna. The Nana's followers have crossed the Ganges into the Doab; he himself still in Oudh.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 16th November 1857, 11* A.M.

The Commander-in-Chief occupied the Dilkoosha and the Martiniére after a running fight of two hours yesterday at noon. The enemy came forward to attack at 3 P.M.; after a struggle of an hour he was beaten back, repulsed heavily. An advanced picquet having cleared some villages across the canal, we took post there for the night. Our loss was very trifling: Lieutenant Mayne, Horse Artillery, Quartermaster-General's Department, and Lieutenant Wheatcroft, Carabineers, killed.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Brigadier Campbell, Allahabad,—dated Calcutta, 17th November 1857.

Pray endeavour to send the following message to the Commander-in-Chief:—

"I have received your letter of the 10th. I earnestly hope it may be possible to avoid a total abandonment of Oudh and to retain a safe position at some point between Lucknow and the Ganges. A complete withdrawal will do us much mischief. I write to-day."

From Lieutenant H. W. NORMAN, *Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, No. 18-A,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp Cawnpore, the 5th December 1857.*

I have the honour by desire of the Commander-in-Chief to forward, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, the report by Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., dated 25th ultimo, of his operations subsequent to the 28th September last, and His Excellency would desire particularly to draw the attention of his Lordship to the skill displayed in the arrangements made for the defence of the position occupied by Sir James Outram's Force at Lucknow, and to the gallantry and endurance of the troops engaged.

2. Sir Colin Campbell would most especially refer to the valuable services of the late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, whose death His Excellency, in common with the whole army, deeply deplores, and of that talented and valuable officer, Colonel R. Napier,* of the Bengal Engineers, whose exertions were conspicuous and unceasing.

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* Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala.

From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, K.C.B., *Commanding Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Camp Alumbagh, 25th November 1857.*

I have the honour to acquaint His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with the proceedings of this force since the 28th of September, the date of my last despatch, and beg to refer to the documents enumerated in the margin. General Havelock has commanded the Field Force occupying the palaces and outposts, and Brigadier Inglis has continued in command of the Lucknow Garrison—an arrangement that has proved most convenient.

A. Report from General Havelock on operations of 16th November.
B. Brigadier Inglis's report of Garrison of Lucknow,; also Engineer operations, Commissariat, &c., &c.
C. Colonel Napier's despatch of 25th and 26th in bringing up siege train, sick and wounded, &c.
D. Colonel Napier's despatch reporting taking of Phillip's Garden Battery on 1st and 2nd October 1857.
E. General Havelock's letter forwarding Colonel Napier's report of operations in Palaces.
F. Brigadier Inglis's detailed Reports of Sorties Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4.
G. Report of Captain Crommelin, Chief Engineer.
H. Lieutenant Hutchinson's plan of Captain Lockhart's post.

The first work required was to open a road-way through the palaces for the heavy train, which had been brought into one of the gardens on the 27th September, and by the 1st October was safely parked within the entrenchment.

Contrary to the expectations expressed in my last despatch, the enemy relying on the strong position of their remaining battery, (the one known as "Phillips' Battery,") continued to annoy the garrison by its fire, and to maintain there a strong force. Its capture, therefore, became necessary, and this was effected on the 2nd October, with the comparatively trifling loss of two killed and eleven wounded,—a result which was due to the careful and scientific dispositions of Colonel Napier under whose personal guidance the operation was conducted. Three guns were taken and burst; their carriages destroyed; and a large house in the garden which had been the enemy's stronghold was blown up.

With a view to the possibility of adopting the Cawnpore road as my line of communication with Alumbagh, Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, commenced on the 3rd to work from house to house with the crowbar and pickaxe.

On the 4th, this gallant officer was mortally wounded; and his successor, Major Stephenson of the Madras Fusiliers, disabled. During the whole of the 5th these proceedings were continued; but on the 6th they were relinquished it being found that a large mosque strongly occupied by the enemy required more extensive operations for its capture than were

expedient; therefore after blowing up all the principal houses on the Cawnpore road, from which the garrison had been annoyed by musketry, the reconnoitring party gradually withdrew to the post in front of Phillips' Garden, which has since been retained as a permanent outpost, affording comfortable accommodation to Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, and protecting a considerable portion of the entrenchment from molestation, besides connecting it with the Palaces occupied by General Havelock. During the foregoing operations the enemy recovering from their first surprise, commenced to threaten our positions in the palaces and outposts by mining and assaults. As there were only a few miners in the garrison and none with the field force, the enemy could not be prevented from exploding three mines causing us a loss of several men; and on the 6th they actually penetrated into the palaces in considerable numbers.

But they paid dearly for their temerity, being intercepted and slain at all points. Their loss on that day was reported in the city to have been 450 men.

A company of miners formed of volunteers from the several corps was placed at the disposal of the Chief Engineer, which soon gave him the ascendancy over the enemy, who were foiled at all points, with the loss of their galleries and mines, and the destruction of their miners in repeated instances.

The Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment have zealously laboured at their own mines, and though separated only by a narrow passage (16 feet wide) from the enemy, have, under the guidance and direction of the Engineer Department, defended and protected their position.

The outpost of Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders under Captain Lockhart has also been vigorously assailed by the enemy's miners. Its proximity to the entrenchment made it convenient to place it under the charge of the Officiating Garrison Engineer, Lieutenant Hutchinson, under whose skilful directions the enemy have been completely out-mined by the soldiers of Her Majesty's 78th Regiment.

I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war: 21 shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces, and outposts; of these they exploded three, which caused us loss of life and two which did no injury: seven have been blown in; and out of seven others, the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession

of by our miners; results of which the Engineer Department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., and now submitted to His Excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defences and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; and notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances, from 70 to 500 yards. This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quartermaster-General's Department, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a most murderous fire.

But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier,—who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation,—whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers,—whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades, amidst their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours.

I now lay before His Excellency, Brigadier Inglis' report of the proceedings in the garrison, since its relief by the force under my command, since the capture of the enemy's batteries and the occupation of the palaces and posts.

The position occupied by the Oudh Field Force relieved the garrison of the entrenchment from all molestation on one-half of its *enceinte*, that is, from the Cawnpore road to the commencement of the river front; and the garrison, reinforced by detachments of the 78th and Madras Fusiliers, was enabled to hold as outposts three strong positions commanding the road leading to the iron bridge, which have proved of great advantage, causing much annoyance to the enemy and keeping their musketry fire at a distance from the body of the place.

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The defences which had been barely tenable were thoroughly repaired, and new batteries were constructed to mount thirteen additional guns.

The enemy, after the capture of the batteries, adopted a new system of tactics. Their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance, and disposed so as to act not against the defences, but against the interior of the entrenchment.

The moment they were searched out and silenced by our guns, their position was changed so that their shot ranged through the entrenchment; and but for the desultory nature of their fire might have been very destructive.

Under the care of the Superintending Surgeon, Dr. Scott, the hospital was securely barricaded without detriment to ventilation.

From the Rev. J. P. Harris, Chaplain of the garrison, the sick and wounded received the most marked and personal kindness. His spiritual ministrations in the hospital were incessant; his Christian zeal and earnest philanthropy I have had constant opportunities of observing since my arrival in Lucknow; and but one testimony is borne to his exertions during the siege and to the personal bravery he displayed in hastening from house to house in pursuit of his sacred calling under the heaviest fire. Daily he had to read the funeral service over numbers of the garrison, exposed to shot, shell and musketry.

Order was established in the Magazine under Captain Thomas, the Garrison Commandant of Artillery and Commissary of Ordnance; and under Dr. Ogilvie, Sanitary Commissioner, the Conservancy Department effected great and visible improvements in the condition of the entrenchments, besides removing the horrible collection of filth and putrid carcasses which had accumulated in the palaces taken possession of by the Relieving Force.

I cannot conclude this report without expressing to His Excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege,—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations,—denied all the little luxuries, (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco,) which by constant use had become to them almost necessaries of life,—smitten in many cases by the same scorbutive affections and other evidences of debility, which prevailed amongst the original garrison,—compelled to engage in laborious operations,—exposed to constant

danger and kept ever on the alert—their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and discipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing or more earnest.

Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty.

It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed and suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need.

But it was truly delightful and made one proud of his countrymen, to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne.

My cordial acknowledgments are due to Brigadiers Hamilton and Stisted, and to their Brigade Staff—Captains Spurgin and Bouverie—for the efficient disposition of their troops under General Havelock's orders and direction, and the vigilance with which they have guarded their extended position.

The glorious reputation which his defence of Lucknow has won for Brigadier Inglis leaves little room for further commendation for the able manner in which that defence has been continued,—the vigour with which the defences of his garrison have been improved and extended and the unceasing vigilance which rendered every effort of the enemy to assail him utterly hopeless. I cordially concur in and second his recommendation to the favourable notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the several officers named in his despatch.

To the gallant Brigadier Eyre, Commanding the Artillery, whose victories at Arrah and Jugdespore have already given him an European reputation; to the brave Captains Olpherts, of the Bengal Artillery; and Maude of the Royal Artillery, commanding batteries; to Lieutenant Thomas, Commissary of Ordnance; and to the officers and men of the combined force of Artillery, my hearty and sincere thanks are due. The duties which have fallen on them have been most arduous, and have been carried through with the zeal and gallantry which have ever distinguished their noble arm of the service.

Captain Crommelin, Commanding the Engineer Department, has had to undertake very important duties of a novel and difficult nature without trained sappers and without any establishment of trained subordinates, and with a very small staff. Under these disadvantages,

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combined with the very serious one of ill-health, Captain Crommelin, aided by the Executive Department, converted the open arcaded halls of the palace into secure barracks, and has kept aloof the enemy's miners.

To Captain Crommelin; to his gallant and energetic second-in-Command, Lieutenant Hutchinson; to Lieutenants Russell and Limmond, and the officers and men recommended by Captain Crommelin, I am very greatly indebted.

I have particularly to recommend to His Excellency's notice Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, Commanding Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, who throughout these operations has had charge of the advanced garden and its dependent posts which have been exposed to the unceasing attack of the enemy. For the very able manner in which these posts have been held, Colonel Purnell deserves the highest praise.

Captain Brasyer, Commanding the Regiment of Ferozepore, and Captain Lockhart, Commanding Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, have each maintained a difficult position with the most perfect success. These officers, to whom I must also add Captain Shute, Commanding Detachment, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, have gallantly led their men in every sortie.

To Captain Willis, Commanding Her Majesty's 84th Regiment; Captain Galwey, Commanding Madras Fusiliers; and Lieutenant Meara, Commanding Her Majesty's 5th Regiment (Fusiliers), I must tender my acknowledgments. Captain Barrow, Commanding Volunteer Cavalry; Captains Johnson and Hardinge, Commanding Irregular Cavalry, though precluded from acting in their proper capacity, have zealously volunteered for every service in which they or their men could be useful, and have maintained posts or furnished working parties with cheerful alacrity.

To Captain Garden, Assistant Quartermaster-General; to Captain Hardinge, Officiating Deputy Quartermaster-General; Captain Moorsom, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, my thanks are particularly due and also to Captains Alexander, Orr and Carnegy for their services at the head of the Intelligence Department;—notwithstanding the complete hostility of the country many trustworthy messengers have been furnished, by which communications have been safely carried to Alumbagh and Cawnpore. Captain Moorsom, of Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, having surveyed the city and environs of Lucknow previous to the outbreak of hostilities, has constantly been able to render most important service, and is a very bold and intelligent officer.

The commissariat arrangements have been most efficiently conducted under Captain Macbean, attached to the Oudh Field Force; and Lieutenant James, attached to the garrison; and I have to thank them for their valuable services.

I beg to recommend, to particular notice, the excellent arrangements made for the care of the sick by the Medical Department under Superintending Surgeon J. Scott, whose energy and zeal have been unremitting in the performance of his arduous duties.

I have further to recommend to His Excellency's notice Lieutenant Hudson, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; and Lieutenant Hargood, Madras Fusiliers, Aid-de-Camp on the staff of the late Sir H. Havelock; also the officers of my divisional and personal staff.

To Major North, General Havelock's Deputy Judge Advocate-General, and subsequently one of the Prize Agents, my thanks are due for the readiness and success with which he established and superintended the manufacture of Enfield rifle cartridges. This valuable service was rendered without any relaxation of his other duties, in the prosecution of which he met with a wound.

The pleasing duty now remains of acknowledging my obligations to my personal staff.

To Colonel Napier, Military Secretary, Chief of the Adjutant-General's Department, for the efficient support I have ever received from him throughout these operations, and whose gallantry in the field was as conspicuous as his able guidance of the engineering operations above detailed was valuable.

I have much pleasure in making favourable mention of the services of Captain Dodgson, Assistant-Adjutant-General, who has afforded me every assistance; also Captain Gordon, Deputy Judge Advocate-General.

My Aides-de-Camp—Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier—have rendered me most constant and zealous aid. I was unfortunately deprived of Lieutenant Sitwell's services on the 25th September, owing to a contusion received early in the day; and again, on returning from the garrison, from a severe wound on the 17th November. Lieutenant Chamier has attended at my side in the field throughout every operation.

My thanks are due also to my Private Secretary, Mr. W. J. Money, who has accompanied the army in the field in addition to his valuable services in his civil capacity.

I have to acknowledge the services of Captain Dawson and Ensign Hewitt, orderly officers.

I was glad to avail myself of the services of Mr. George Couper, C S., who volunteered to perform the duties of an Aide-de-Camp during our stay in the garrison and on the night of our retiring from it.

It is with the deepest regret that I have to record at the head of the gallant and distinguished officers who have so zealously and ably aided these operations, and whose loss their country has to deplore, the name of the lamented Sir Henry Havelock, on whose merits it would be superfluous for me to dwell. Worn out by toils and exposure, he lived but long enough to witness the end for which he had fought so nobly, and to receive the valued token conveyed to him of the approbation of his sovereign.

Colonel Campbell, of Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, who, in my former despatch, was returned as wounded, has since died. In him England has lost a most gallant and distinguished officer.

By the fall of the gallant officers Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th; Major Simmonds, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; and Major Stephenson, of the Madras Fusiliers, the country and service have sustained a very heavy loss.

I have also, with sorrow, to record the loss of the many other valuable officers and soldiers who have fallen in the performance of their duty during the course of these operations which have involved a total loss (subsequently to those reported in General Havelock's despatch of the 28th October,) of 6 European officers, 1 Native officer and 120 rank and file killed; 27 European officers, 7 Native, and 382 rank and file wounded; total, 551 killed and wounded.

From Major-General Sir H. HAVELOCK, *Commanding Oudh Field Force, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Chief of the Staff to Major-General Sir* JAMES OUTRAM, G. C. B.—*No. 33-B, dated Lucknow, 16th November 1857.*

I beg to report, for the information of Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the complete success of the operations in which the troops of my division were employed under his own eye this evening, in capturing a succession of houses in advance of the Palace of Furreed Buksh.

I have given in the margin the details of detachments employed.

5th Fusiliers ... ... Under Lieutenant Mears.	160
64th Regiment ... ... Captain Shute.	48
94th Regiment ... ... Captain Willis.	160
78th Regiment ... ... Captain Lockhart.	142
80th Light Infantry ... Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell.	181
Regiment of Ferozepore ... Lieutenant Cross.	100

Reserve 200 from 5th Fusiliers, 78th Highlanders, and Regiment of Ferozepore.

Each column being accompanied by a party of miners with tools and powder bags under command of an Engineer Officer.

The nature of the enterprise may be shortly described as follows:—

The progress of the relieving force

under His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was anxiously watched, and it was determined that as soon as he should reach the Sikunder Bagh, about three miles from the Residency, the outer wall of the advance garden of the Palace, in which the enemy had before made several breaches, should be blown in by mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries erected in the enclosure should then open on the insurgent's defences in front, and after the desired effect had been produced, that the troops should storm two buildings known by the names of the Hern Khana or Deer-house, and the steam engine-house. Under these also, three mines had been driven.

It was ascertained about 11 A. M. that Sir Colin Campbell was operating against the Sikunder Bagh. The explosion of the mines in the garden was therefore ordered. Their action was, however, comparatively feeble, so the batteries had the double task of completing the demolition of the wall and prostrating and breaching the works and the buildings beyond it. Brigadier Eyre commanded in the Left Battery; Captain Olpherts in the right; Captain Maude shelled from six mortars in a more retired quadrangle of the Palace. The troops were formed in the square of the Chutter Munzil, and brought up in succession through the approaches, which in every direction intersected the advance garden. At quarter-past 3 two of the mines at the Hern Khana exploded with good effect. At half-past 3 the advance sounded. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned.

Their cheers echoed through the courts of the Palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession, and have since been armed with cannon and steadily held against all attack. It will be seen by the enclosed return that the loss has been small.

I received, throughout the operations, the most effective aid from my staff—Lieutenant Hudson, Acting Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant Moorsom, 52nd Light Infantry, Acting Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Lieutenant Hargood, 1st Madras Fusiliers, my Aid-de-Camp; and Lieutenant C. W. Havelock, 12th Irregular Cavalry, my Orderly Officer.

The officers of Artillery—Brigadier Eyre, and Captains Olpherts and Maude—have earned my best thanks.

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I must commend all the officers in charge of detachments; but most prominently Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, 90th Light Infantry, whose conduct throughout the affair evinced the most distinguished gallantry united to imperturbable coolness and the soundest judgment; as well as to Lieutenants Russell, Hutchinson, and Limond, of the Engineers, and Captain Oakes (attached) who showed the way to the several points of attack.

Numerical return of killed and wounded of the troops composing Oudh Field Force, at Lucknow, on the 16th November 1857, under Brigadier-General HAVELOCK, C. B., *Commanding.*

Regiments.	Killed.											Wounded.											Remarks.
	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Second-Lieutenants.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Second-Lieutenants.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	
1st Madras Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	4	6	
" " 64th Foot ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	
" " 84th " ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	8	9	
" " 78th Highlanders ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
" " 90th Light Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	4	
Regiment Ferozepore ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	21	25	

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
The 17th November 1857.

(Sd.) J. HUDSON, *Lieut.*,
Actg. Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl., Oudh Field Force.

From Brigadier J. INGLIS, *Comdg. the Garrison of Lucknow, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Lucknow Garrison, 12th November 1857.*

I have the honour to request that you will do me the favour to submit to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., Commanding the Forces, the following record of events in this position since the arrival of the Army under his command,

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1. On the following morning I received instructions to place under the orders of Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, as strong a detachment as I could spare from the garrison, in order to strengthen the rear-guard which had been left at Mr. Martin's house, in charge of the heavy guns that had arrived with the force. I accordingly detailed a party of 100 men of the 32nd Foot, under the Command of Captain Lowe, who was accompanied by Captain Bassano, Captain McCabe, and Lieutenant Cooke, of the same corps. This detachment remained all day in position with the rear-guard, and on the following morning it covered the extreme rear, on the march into the "Fureed Buksh," whence Captain McCabe led a party of volunteers, composed of the 5th, 32nd, and 90th Regiments, into a garden, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. Early the next day, this detachment, having performed the arduous duties assigned them, returned to my garrison. In these operations the 32nd Regiment had one sergeant and one private killed, and two sergeants and two privates wounded. Captain Lowe also received a severe wound.

2. The report of the several sorties made under the direction of the Major-General Commanding the Forces, and in which detachments from this garrison have borne (I would fain hope) a distinguished part, have been so fully detailed by the officers who commanded on these occasions, that I need not enter further on the subject than to express my admiration of the gallant and devoted behaviour of both officers and men.

3. As soon as these operations were terminated, I turned my attention to the state of the batteries and defences of this position, many of which were in a very dilapidated state, as the Major-General is aware, especially the part called the brigade mess, at either flank of which was an open breach, neither of which we had ever been able to repair or strengthen, or ever adequately to defend. But the large number of doolie-bearers placed at my disposal by the Chief of the Staff, and the increased strength of the garrison, enabled me to carry on the works with vigour, and to materially strengthen all my critical positions.

4. Since the arrival of the force, a large mound and a musjid adjacent to Innes' post were taken possession of by the late Lieutenant Graydon, and have been made defensible, as they completely overlook and command the iron bridge, and approach therefrom. A description of the works that have been carried out is fully given in the appended memorandum by the Engineer Officer. Great praise is due to the great

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professional skill, the persevering energy, and the untiring personal activity displayed by Lieutenant Hutchinson, under whom the works have been carried out.

5. Owing to the extreme paucity of numbers attached to the garrison magazine, and the harassing duties which have devolved on this establishment during this very protracted siege, it has necessarily always been in a somewhat unsatisfactory state, and I gladly seized the opportunity to remodel it. With this end in view I directed Lieutenant Thomas, in charge of the magazine, to remove it to the Post Office compound, as affording the most convenient site for piling shot and collecting together the various materials appertaining to this department. This duty has been ably performed by Mr. Conductor Bewsey, Officiating Sub-Conductor, under the directions of Lieutenant Thomas, and I have now the pleasure to report that all the spare shot and shell has been collected, gauged and piled. The spare muskets and musket barrels have also been collected, and a large supply of cartridges, wads, fuzes, quick and slow matches, have been prepared. The establishment have besides been employed in repairing sponge staffs, grummetting shot and shell, and in collecting wood, iron, lead, and other materials from the Fureed Buksh and other places. The Ordnance drivers have also rendered assistance in removing guns and mortars, and in erecting and repairing batteries and issuing stores.

6. The buried treasure, amounting to nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees, is being exhumed, and placed again under the charge of the civil authorities.

7. The commissariat arrangements made in garrison, under the directions of Sir James Outram, G. C. B., have involved a considerable reduction in rations, and this deprivation, coming as it did upon the garrison at the end of so long a siege, in addition to the want of malt-liquor and spirits, has borne somewhat heavily on every one; but all have sustained the deprivation cheerfully, and none more so than the women, whose admirable conduct I have alluded to in a former despatch. An appended memorandum, furnished by the Garrison Commissariat Officer, enters fully into the Commissariat arrangements that have been made.

8. The great number of wounded which accompanied the Major-General's force into this position speedily increased the number of patients from 130 to 627; and as nearly all arrived without bedding, and as there was besides but a small supply of medicine, it became

necessary to make every arrangement to meet these wants. In order to provide the requisite shelter, two large double-pole tents have been pitched close to the hospital portico and a large room in the Begum Kotee made over for the accommodation of wounded officers. The buildings in the Central Sikh Square were also assigned to the remaining portion of the sick and wounded. Old tents have been cut up for bedding, and the patients have been made as comfortable as circumstances would admit; and I am sure that Sir James Outram, G. C. B., will have viewed, with the same satisfaction as myself, the excellent arrangements which have been made by that indefatigable officer, Superintending Surgeon Scott.

9. During the period which this report embraces the proceedings of the enemy have been marked by much less activity than heretofore. Several of their guns, however, have been moved across the river whence they have kept up a desultory cannonade, which has been silenced on most occasions by a few rounds of our heavy ordnance.

10. Their musketry fire has, however, occasionally been so heavy, especially by night, as to induce a belief that they intended an attack; but these demonstrations have rarely lasted for any lengthened period, though they have rendered it necessary that every man should be under arms for the time. Owing to the repairs made to our defences and the increased cover obtained thereby our casualties on these occasions have been but few.

11. Among the officers belonging to this garrison who have fallen since the advent of the Major-General's force, I deeply regret to have to record the loss of Captain Hughes, of the 57th Regiment, Native Infantry, doing duty with Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, who was mortally wounded at the attack of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts. Captain McCabe, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, a most distinguished officer, has also fallen; he received his death-wound while leading his fourth sortie. Lieutenant Graydon, too, of the 44th Regiment, Native Infantry, an officer of great merit, was mortally wounded while assisting in barricading his post.

12. Of the officers attached to this garrison who have had opportunities of distinguishing themselves, I would beg to bring to notice the gallant conduct of Captain Lowe and Lieutenant Lawrence, of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, who have each led a sortie; Lieutenant Hardinge, too, Officiating Deputy Quartermaster-General, who headed two sorties; also Lieutenant Aitken accompanied by Lieutenant Cubitt of the 13th

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Regiment, Native Infantry, who led a party of his regiment to a successful attack on a barricaded gateway held by the enemy; Major Apthorp and Captain Kemble, 41st Regiment, Native Infantry; Captain H. Forbes of the 1st Light Cavalry*; Lieutenants Huxham (wounded slightly in two places) and Ouseley, 48th Regiment, Native Infantry; Lieutenant Warner of the 7th Light Cavalry; Lieutenant Cooke, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot; Lieutenant A. S. Thain, 13th Native Infantry*; and Lieutenant Mecham of the Madras Army—also accompanied sorties and distinguished themselves.

13. Neither must I omit to record my appreciation of the gallant bearing of the Engineer Officers—Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson, and Innes—who accompanied the storming parties.

14. My thanks are due to the officers commanding outposts who have continued to evince the same vigilance and gallantry that has characterized their conduct throughout this memorable siege.

15. I have already expressed my inability to do justice to the behaviour of the troops, both European and Native, and I can therefore only say that they have continued to exhibit the same gallantry under fire, and the same patience under suffering and privation as heretofore.

16. The several officers who compose my staff have continued to render me every assistance and have given me every satisfaction in their several departments.

17. Lastly, I beg to express my grateful acknowledgments to the Major-General Commanding the Forces for the additional force placed at my disposal composed of detachments of the Artillery, Volunteer Cavalry, 1st Madras Fusiliers, and 78th Highlanders, all of whom have borne themselves as becomes British soldiers. I have also to add my deep sense of the valuable counsel and advice which I have received from yourself on all occasions.

* General Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council dated Fort William, 12th January 1858; No. 54 of 1858.—*Errata*—Brigader J. Inglis late commanding Lucknow Garrison, having brought to notice that the names of Captain H. Forbes of the 1st Light Cavalry, and Lieutenant A. S. Thain, of the 13th Native Infantry, were inadvertently omitted in the 12th paragraph of the Brigadier's despatch, dated 12th November 1857, published in the Extraordinary Gazette of the 23rd December 1857†, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council desires to rectify that omission, and that those officers' names be added to that paragraph,—Captain Forbes' name after that of Major Apthorp, and Lieutenant Thain's after that of Lieutenant Cooke. Order Books to be corrected accordingly.

† G. G. O. No. 1625 of 1857.

Nominal Roll of Officers attached to the Lucknow Garrison killed and wounded between the 25th September and the 10th November 1857.

ARTILLERY.

Killed.

Lieutenant D. C. Alexander.

H. M.'s 32ND REGIMENT.

Wounded.

Captain E. Lowe, severely.
" B. McCabe, dangerously (since dead).
Lieutenant J. Edmondstoune, slightly.
" Browne, very slightly (and again severely).
Assistant Surgeon E. Darby, severely.

13TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.

Lieutenant Cubitt, slightly, twice.

44th REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.

Lieutenant J. Graydon, mortally (since dead).

48TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.

Lieutenant G. C. Huxham, severely.
Ensign Dashwood, severely.

57TH REGIMENT, NATIVE INFANTRY.

Wounded.

Captain Hughes, dangerously (since dead).

CIVIL SERVICE.

Wounded.

J. B. Thornhill, Esq., mortally (since dead).
J. Boulderson, Esq., slightly.

(Sd.) T. F. WILSON, *Captain,*
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

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Numerical Return of killed and wounded of the troops composing the Garrison of Lucknow, from the 25th September 1857 to the 9th November 1857, under Brigadier J. INGLIS, *Commanding.*

Details.	EUROPEANS. Killed and died of their wounds.												EUROPEANS. Wounded.												NATIVES. Killed and died of their wounds.						NATIVES. Wounded.					
	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Surgeons.	Assistant Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Surgeons.	Assistant Surgeons.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Commissioned officers.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Commissioned officers.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.
Artillery	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	3	5	1	1	1	...	...	3	...	3	2	...	2	7
Engineers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7th Regiment, Light Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Her Majesty's 32nd Foot	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	3	1	14	23	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	3	2	1	27	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Detachment, 13th Regiment, Native Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	5	2	1	7	...	...	10
Ditto 41st ditto ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto 48th ditto ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto 71st ditto ditto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	2
Oudh Irregular Force ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	1	...	1	3
Detachment, Native Pensioners	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ditto New Levies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lucknow Magazine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	2
Civil and Uncovenanted Services	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	5	3	1	18	31	...	...	1	4	1	...	1	4	3	1	32	47	3	4	5	...	8	20	4	5	10	...	5	24

N. B.—One hospital apprentice of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment mortally wounded, since dead, is not included in the above.

(Examined.)

LUCKNOW,
The 12th November 1857.

(Sd.) T. F. WILSON, *Capt.*,
Depy. Asst. Adjt.-Genl.

(Sd.) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

From Major-General H. HAVELOCK, *Commanding Oudh Field Force, to Captain* DODGSON, *Assistant Adjutant-General,—No. 34-B, dated Lucknow, 19th November 1857.*

I beg to forward, for submission to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the accompanying report of Captain Crommelin, Field Engineer, with plans, and rejoice in this opportunity of testifying to the merits of this officer, and his untiring industry when the state of his health has permitted his exertions to be fully developed.

From Captain CROMMELIN, *Chief Engineer, Oudh Field Force, to Captain* HUDSON, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force,—dated Camp Alumbagh, 25th November 1857.*

In continuation of my letter dated 12th instant, I have the honour to report, for the information of the Major-General Commanding the Oudh Field Force, upon the "Final Engineering Offensive Operations" at the palace and gardens of the Chutter Munzil.

The Cavalier Battery, alluded to at the conclusion of my previous report, was completed during the night of the 13th instant, and was armed with the heavy guns on the morning of the 14th, *viz.*, the day originally appointed for the storming of the Hern Khana, engine-house, and king's stables.

During the night of the 13th, 29 charges of powder (each 25lbs. in weight) were laid in chambers that had been previously prepared for them, under the foundation of the east face of the advanced garden wall, and immediately in front of the Cavalier Battery. These charges were intended for the demolition of that part of the wall that screened the engine-house, stables, and the other adjacent buildings that were to be breached from the guns of the battery. I would here remind you that our attack was postponed from the morning of the 14th to that of the 16th. The charges of powder were thus exposed in common canvas bags, for more than forty-eight hours, to the damaging influence of a very damp sandy soil; so that when they were exploded, their effect, owing to the deterioration of the powder, was only sufficient to shake and split the wall in several places, and to form a small breach. The wall, however, was so much injured that the Artillery had an easy task in battering down as much as was necessary. The charges, I may mention, were half as large again as those recommended by Sir W. Pasley (our best practical authority on this as well as on most other points of engineering detail) and were such

as had been successfully used by myself at Peshawar in a precisely similar case.

During the night of the 12th and 13th, the trench (*d,d*) was widened for the passage of guns ; screens were also constructed in the advanced garden ; and other precautionary measures taken to protect our force against any musketry fire that might be poured in through the breaches in our own wall.

During the 15th the three mines that had been prepared for the formation of breaches in the Hern Khana were loaded and tamped. These mines were sprung on the afternoon of the 16th. That at the north-west corner of the building effected the breach by which the right and centre columns of attack entered. Lieutenant Hall, in his report, erroneously states that this breach was made by the 18-pounder gun at the barricade.

The centre mine failed to explode owing, I imagine, to some wet sand having been dislodged from the roof of the mine by the concussion of our artillery, and having fallen upon the powder house.

The left charge, which was the largest, exploded ; but it proved to be ten feet short of the building, and consequently effected no breach or injury. This error in the position of the charge is not to be wondered at, when it is considered—*1st*, that we would could not, by the most careful survey, satisfy ourselves as to the exact position of the Hern Khana ; and *2ndly*, that we could not survey the mine itself with the prismatic compass, as no lights would burn owing to the foulness of the air near the end of a gallery that had been carried to the (I believe) unprecedented length of 289 feet without the aid of air-pipes.

On the morning of the 16th every thing was ready for the attack upon the Hern Khana, engine-house, and stables. Copies of instructions, the details of which had been prepared by myself, from memoranda drawn out by Colonel Napier (Chief of the Staff), were handed over to each of the five officers commanding the storming parties, and to the engineer officers accompanying them ; and these instructions were further explained, by the aid of plans, to several of the commanding officers.

For an account of the operations of the storming parties I must refer to the enclosed reports (in original) of Lieutenants Hutchinson, Russell, Limond, and Hall, with the remark that the duties of the officers under my command appear to me to have been rapidly and efficiently carried out.

I must also refer to a separate report by Lieutenant Hutchinson, Directing Engineer, upon the engineering operations, from the 16th November to the hour of evacuation of the Baillie Guard Entrenchment and Chutter Munzil Palace—confinement to my quarters owing to an injury of the leg having prevented my superintending them personally.

It now remains for me to bring to the favourable notice of the Major-General Commanding those officers and men of the Engineer Department who have rendered good service; and in the first place, I trust it may not be considered out of order, that I here thankfully record my acknowledgment of the assistance that has always been afforded me by my experienced brother officer, Colonel Napier, Military Secretary and Chief of the Staff to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who, notwithstanding the pressure of his other important duties, was ever ready to aid me with his valuable counsel and advice, to meet my constant demands for workmen and materials, and to superintend and direct the works during the last month of our operations, when I was disabled from personally superintending them myself.

Lieutenant G. Hutchinson, of Engineers, deserves very great credit for the very able manner in which he discharged the duties of Directing Engineer of the works during the last ten days of our operations. His services as one of the engineers of the original garrison will be duly reported by the proper authority.

Lieutenant Russell, of Engineers, has rendered me very efficient aid as Brigade-Major of Engineers; his constant and unwearying exertions, both by night and by day, merit my best thanks and the highest praise.

Lieutenant Limond, the only other engineer officer under my command, has also proved himself a very able and energetic officer, and has rendered very excellent service. To him, and to Lieutenant Russell, was entrusted the general supervision of all the works from the time that I was disabled until the appointment of Lieutenant Hutchinson as Directing Engineer—a period of about three weeks.

The officers and volunteers that have acted in the capacity of Assistant Field Engineers have, without exception, given me their best and readiest assistance; but I may with justice more conspicuously notice the names of Captain Oakes, 8th Native Infantry; Lieutenant Hall, 1st Bengal Fusiliers; Mr. Goldsworthy, Volunteer Cavalry; and of Mr. Cavanagh, Superintendent of the Chief Commissioner's Office.

Sergeants Duffy and Connell, Assistant Overseers in the Department of Public Works, have proved most useful, and their duties in supervising workmen and collecting materials, &c., &c., have been most cheerfully and efficiently performed.

I cannot close this report, without noticing, in the most favourable manner, the important services performed by the undermentioned soldiers as superintendents of miners :—

Acting Sergeant Cullimore,
" " Banetta,
" " Farrer,
Corporal Dowling.
} Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.

Corporal Hosey, Madras Fusiliers.

Private Baylan, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.

Their duties have been of a very dangerous and arduous character, and have invariably been performed to my complete satisfaction.

From Lieutenant G. HUTCHINSON, *Engineers, Director of Works, to Captain* CROMMELIN, *Engineers, Chief Engineer—dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857.*

I have the honour to forward Lieutenant Limond's statement regarding the sortie party he led ; also that of Lieutenant Hall.

With reference to my own party, I have to state that starting from the Garden Picquet-house Captain Shute and myself led the party to foot of stockade which we scaled, and that then I turned off at once for the house called Captain Orr's, and in unison with Lieutenant Hall and Lieutenant Hay, who accompanied me, commenced carrying out our instructions. Up to this time not a man had been lost. Captain Shute led his men on beyond the Hern Khana, and took a garden and a gun.

Our mines exploded short ; but the mine from the Garden Picquet decidedly shook and damaged the wall.

Communication with the garden was completed during the night, and all barricades, loopholes, &c.

From Lieutenant M. HALL, *Assistant Field Engineer, to Captain* HUTCHINSON, *Directing Engineer,—dated Hern Khana, 21st November 1857.*

I have the honour to report, for the information of Captain Crommelin, Field Engineer, that in accordance with his instructions, I accompanied the right column of attack on the Hern Khana, under Captain Willis, 84th Regiment, on the 16th instant.

Immediately after the explosion of the barricade mine, we sallied out and made for the part of the building where it was intended the right breach should have been made. On arriving at the wall of the Hern Khana, we found the crater of the mine, which was about ten feet short of the wall which remained uninjured. We therefore turned to the left and entered the Hern Khana by the left breach, which had been made by the 18-pounder gun at the barricade at end of lane.

On getting into the Hern Khana we turned to our right, passed across the open square, and immediately commenced loopholing the wall which commands the street dividing our position from the Kaiser Bagh. On your arrival I reported myself to you.

From Lieutenant D. LIMOND, *Engineers, to Captain* CROMMELIN, *Chief Engineer, Oudh Field Force,—dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857.*

According to orders, Lieutenant Chalmers, Assistant Field Engineer, and myself accompanied the detachment of the 90th Regiment, Light Infantry, on the attack upon the engine-house. Keeping to the left on passing that building we found the rebels evacuating the same, and followed them up to the most advanced building, the "Overseer's House," which I at once directed to be barricaded. The enemy opened on it with guns from the Kaiser Bagh, and the house was then abandoned and burnt by Colonel Purnell's orders. The east wall of the Barahduree enclosure was at once loopholed, and the windows to the south blocked up with sand-bags. During the night a battery for three light guns was constructed at the southern extremity of the lane, between the king's stables and Barahduree enclosure. The doors and windows of the engine-house facing the river were also barricaded. During the night a trench-covered communication was opened to the advanced garden, none being necessary between the engine-house and king's stables.

From Lieutenant J. RUSSELL, *Brigade-Major of Engineers, to Captain* CROMMELIN, *Chief Engineer.*

I have the honour to report that according to order Captain Oakes, Assistant Field Engineer, and myself accompanied the detachment under command of Captain Lockhart, Her Majesty's 78th, on the 16th instant in the attack upon the "king's stables."

The detachment was drawn up in line in the front trench of the advanced garden, and on the order for the advance being given, we crossed the parapet of the trench, and the breach in our front, and doubled across the open to the "king's stables," on reaching which some confusion occurred, for the lower part of the breach that had been made by our guns was some four feet from the ground; and not seeing any easy mode of ingress, Captain Lockhart led the way into the enclosure of the steam engine-house on the left, and was followed by many of his men.

On his mistake being pointed out, however, he returned, and in company we entered the courtyard of the stables, which we found deserted. The men of the detachment followed us as quickly as they could.

Our orders were to man the walls of the stables on the side of the enemy; but the latter were retreating fast, pressed by our troops from the Hern Khana, on seeing which many of the detachment to which I was attached rushed across the road without orders and joined in the pursuit.

At Captain Lockhart's request I went to recall these men, and on my return I found that he had occupied the Barahduree and other buildings in rear of the king's stables. Measures were immediately adopted for securing our position; but in a short time the portion of Captain Lockhart's detachment was withdrawn, and the post left to the charge of a detachment of Her Majesty's 90th, under Colonel Purnell.

During the night of the 16th, Lieutenant Limond, of Engineers, and myself constructed a battery for three guns, which opened fire towards the Kaiser Bagh on the morning of the 17th.

From Colonel R. Napier, *Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir* James Outram, G. C. B., *Commanding the Forces,—dated Lucknow, 5th October 1857.*

On the 1st instant I received your orders to take the enemy's battery in the position called Phillips' Garden, near the Cawnpore road. For this object you placed at my disposal the following troops:—

Detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; 32nd, 64th, 78th and 90th Regiments, and the Hon'ble East India Company's 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th; Captain Shute, Her Majesty's 64th; and Captain Raikes, Madras Fusiliers, amounting to 568 men; Lieutenant Limond, Engineers, and Lieutenant Tulloh, Acting Assistant Field Engineer, attended the column, with a party

of five miners of Her Majesty's 32nd, and a party of artillery, under Sergeant Smith, with means of bursting guns.

In the afternoon of the 1st the column formed in the road leading to the Paen Bagh, and advanced through the buildings near the jail, occupied the mass of houses on the left and front of Phillips' Garden, under guidance of Mr. Phillips, the former occupant, and the enemy were driven from some houses and a barricade on the left of our advance by 50 men of the Madras Fusiliers, led by Lieutenant Groom, under a sharp fire of musketry in a very spirited manner.

The houses in front were strongly barricaded, and in many cases the doors were bricked up; it was, therefore, late before we had worked a way to a point from whence we could command the enemy's position. A party of the enemy was driven out, and a row of loopholes was commenced immediately, and the ground examined right and left. Attempts to penetrate the garden to the left were ineffectual; to the right an opening was obtained, which disclosed that the enemy's batteries were separated from us by a deep narrow lane, some 12 or 15 feet below the garden; the latter was surrounded by a deep mud wall, with buildings attached. The face of the battery was scarped and quite inaccesssible without ladders. A heavy fire was kept up from the face of the battery, and the lane was flanked by a strong barricade. As it was dark, and a direct attack would be certain to cost many lives, I determined to wait till daylight before assaulting the battery. The position was duly secured, and the men occupied the buildings for the night.

In the morning, after giving the men breakfast, and arranging with the artillery to open fire from the entrenchment, the troops advanced. A severe fire was opened from the barricade, flanking the lane on the right; but Major Haliburton detached Lieutenant Creagh, Madras Fusiliers, with a party to turn the barricade by the Cawnpore road, which was effectually done. The troops then doubled out through the lane, and forced a way through a stockade into the enemy's batteries; the 5th Fusiliers and Detachment 64th in advance, under Lieutenant Brown, supported by the Madras Fusiliers and Her Majesty's 23rd. The enemy was immediately driven from the battery, and Phillips' house occupied without further opposition. A picquet being left in possession, the troops advanced on the guns which had been withdrawn to the end of the garden and to the streets adjoining, and captured two 9-pounders and one 6-pounder gun, driving off the enemy who defended them with musketry and grape. The guns were immediately dragged to the

garden and burst, their carriages completely destroyed, and their ammunition sent to the entrenchment. Phillips' house was blown up by a party under Lieutenant Innes, Engineers, and at dark the troops withdrew to their position of the previous night.

In all the arrangements I was most fortunate in having the aid of that very able and brave officer, Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, who deserves particular notice.

I beg to recommend to your favourable notice Captain Shute, Her Majesty's 64th, and Lieutenant Brown, 5th Fusiliers, who led the party into the Battery, and were foremost in capturing the two 9-pounders. I also beg to recommend to your notice Private McHale, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, who was the first man at the capture of one of the guns.

Lieutenant Limond, of the Engineers, was very active in the duties of the Engineer Department, and in reconnnoitring the enemy's position. Captain Dawson and Lieutenant Hewett attended me zealously as field orderly officers throughout the operations; and Mr. Cavanagh,* Superintendent, Chief Commissioner's office, accompanied the party as a guide, and was always to be found at the front.

The guns were destroyed by Sergeant Smith with the party of artillery.

The position of this battery was so inaccessible, and the locality so little known, that the enterprise of taking it was considered by the experienced Chief Engineer of the garrison as one of very serious difficulty. Owing to our laborious investigation of its position which enabled us to obtain command of it from the adjacent mass of buildings, I was able to take it at the comparatively small loss of two killed and eleven wounded.

I have only to add, that although I have mentioned the names of those officers who had the good fortune to be at the points of attack, yet the conduct of the whole of the officers and men was in every way deserving of your commendation; they were most eager to assault the battery on the night of the 1st, but I restrained them, as I was convinced that I could effect the desired end without the serious loss that would have then been incurred.

Their attack when made was carried out with their unfailing gallantry.

It is impossible to estimate the loss of the enemy.

* Kavanagh.

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From Colonel R. Napier, *Military Secretary, to Major-General Sir* James Outram, g.c.b., *Commanding the Forces,—dated Lucknow, 16th October 1857.*

On the 25th ultimo Colonel Campbell reported to you that he, with a small party of the 90th, not exceeding 100 men and almost all the wounded, the heavy guns, and a large number of ammunition wagons, were in the walled passage in front of the Motee Munzil Palace, which position he should be obliged to hold for the night, as he was invested by the enemy, and could not advance without reinforcements.

On the morning of the 26th, a detachment of 250 men, under command of Major Simmons, 5th Fusiliers, and part of the Ferozepore Regiment, under Captain Brasyer, were sent by your orders to reinforce Colonel Campbell, under the guidance of Captain Moorsom.

They had judiciously occupied a house and garden between Colonel Campbell's position and the Palace; but as they were unable to move from their position, I received your orders to proceed to their assistance with a further reinforcement of 100 men of Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, under Colonel Stisted, and two guns of Captain Olpherts' battery and Captain Hardinge's sowars.

Captain Olpherts strongly objected to his guns being taken, and on considering the reason that he offered I took it upon myself to dispense with them, merely taking spare bullocks. Captain Olpherts accompanied me as a volunteer. As I had reason to believe that I could open a communication through the Palace, which would bring me near the position of the guns, I took Mr. Cavanagh,* an intelligent civilian acquainted with the locality, and examined the Palace as far as was practicable, and obtained sufficient knowledge of it to form my plan of operations.

I then led the party by one of the side outlets of the Palace along the river bank to Major Simmons' position, under a smart fire from the enemy, by which, however, we received little damage.

Under cover of the night, all the sick and wounded were quietly and safely transported along the river bank to the entrenchment, by a path practicable for camels and doolies but quite impracticable for guns. Captain Hardinge made several journeys to bring up fresh doolies, until every sick and wounded man was removed. He also took away the camels laden with Enfield ammunition. One of our 24-pounders,

* Kavanagh.

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which had been used on the previous day against the enemy but the working of which had ceased owing to the musketry fire which poured upon it, was left in an exposed position; it was extricated in a very daring and dexterous manner by Captain Olpherts, aided by Captain Crump (killed,) and Private Duffy, of the Madras Fusiliers.

At 3 A.M. the whole force proceeded undiscovered through the enemy's posts, until the leading division had reached the Palace; the heavy guns and wagons were safely parked in the garden which I had reconnoitred on the preceding day. The enemy were aroused too late to prevent the operation, but made an attack on the rear-guard which was ineffective.

I remained with Colonel Purnell to secure the position thus gained with trifling loss. A large body of sepoys was discovered in a walled garden connected with that which contained our heavy guns by men of Her Majesty's 90th, 5th Fusiliers, and 32nd, who gallantly charged in, led by Colonel Purnell, 90th, and Captain McCabe, 32nd, and almost annihilated them, securing the garden itself as the rear of our position. Measures were immediately taken to open a road for the guns through the Palace, and by the 1st instant every gun and wagon was safely lodged in the entrenchment.

It now remains for me to bring to your favourable notice the officers commanding corps and detachments—Colonel Stisted, 78th; Captain Brasyer, Sikhs; Captain Lowe, 32nd. The late lamented Major Simmons gave me very valuable aid.

To Colonel Purnell's lot fell the more difficult duty of commanding the rear-guard and of securing the position when gained. In the whole of the operations his assistance and support were of the greatest value.

Lieutenant Fraser, of the Artillery, was left on the 26th by the fall of Brigadier Cooper in charge of the heavy guns, and though wounded his exertions assisted greatly in extricating the unwieldy train. I must beg most particularly to bring to your notice Captain Olpherts, of the Bengal Artillery. Without his unfailing determination, skill, and fertility of resource, we should never have been able to withdraw the 24-pounder, but at the cost of a very heavy loss of life. From first to last his assistance has been invaluable, and cannot be too highly praised.

To Captain Hardinge's continued exertions is due the safe removal of the wounded and camels with rifle ammunition.

My Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Dodgson, gave me every assistance. Captain Moorsom was here, as everywhere, a sagacious and daring guide. Captain Sitwell attended me zealously through the night.

Captain Olpherts recommends Private Duffy for the Victoria Cross for his gallantry in extricating the 24-pounder gun under a very heavy fire of musketry, and I beg strongly to second his recommendation.

I have deeply to lament the loss of the gallant Captain Crump, Madras Army, killed whilst extricating the 24-pounder.

The loss was as follows:—

Corps.	Wounded.			Killed.		
	Captains.	Sergeants.	Privates.	Captains.	Sergeants.	Privates.
Artillery	...	...	...	1	...	...
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers	...	...	4	..	...	1
,, 32nd Foot	1	2	1	...	1	...
,, 78th Highlanders ...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Total ...	1	2	7	1	1	1

(Sd.) R. NAPIER, *Colonel,*
Military Secretary.

NOMINAL ROLL of killed and wounded in the attack and capture of "Phillip Garden Battery," under Colonel R. Napier, on the 1st and 2nd October 1857.

No.	Rank.	Names.	Corps.	Remarks.
1	Private ...	J. Whelan	5th Fusiliers	Wounded.
2	Do. ...	C. Scollan	Ditto	Ditto.
3	Do. ...	M. Sheady	Ditto	Ditto.
4	Do. ...	W. Deacon	Ditto	Ditto.
5	Do. ...	H. Murray	Ditto	Ditto.
6	Do. ...	J. Foster	32nd Regiment ...	Ditto.
7	Do. ...	J. Healy	64th Ditto	Killed.
8	Do. ...	J. Mulcahy	Ditto	Wounded.
9	Corporal ...	J. Fraser	78th Highlanders ...	Killed.
10	Private ...	A. Brag	Ditto ...	Wounded.
11	Do. ...	W. Rankin	Ditto	Ditto.
12	Do. ...	J. Spincks	Ditto	Ditto.
13	Do. ...	J. McKay	90th Ditto	Ditto.

LUCKNOW, } *28th October 1857.*

1 Corporal, killed.
1 Private do.
11 Privates wounded.

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(Sd.) R. NAPIER, *Colonel,*
Military Secretary.

From Major-General H. HAVELOCK, *Commanding Oudh Field Force, to Captain* DODGSON, *Acting Military Secretary,—dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857.*

I have much pleasure in forwarding, for submission to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the accompanying report from Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff, detailing the late operations at the advanced posts in the Palace of Fureed Buksh.

From Colonel R. NAPIER, *Military Secretary, to Captain* HUDSON, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force,—dated Lucknow, 20th November 1857.*

The Chief Engineer of the Oudh Field Force being wounded at the time of our arrival at Lucknow, and further prevented, until the 8th ultimo, from personally attending to his duties, by an accidental lameness produced by his arduous exertions in constructing the bridge at Cawnpore for the passage of the force across the Ganges, there devolved upon me many duties not pertaining to my office, which it is proper that I should report through you, as I believe no officer except myself is acquainted with all that has taken place, and the course of those duties gave me an opportunity of noticing the valuable services of officers which could not otherwise be brought to Major-General Havelock's knowledge.

On the morning of the 27th ultimo the escort with the heavy train occupied the range of palaces called the Chutter Munzil and Fureed Buksh.

Major-General Havelock is aware that these palaces afford the only shelter that our troops could have occupied, and that as mere shelter they give excellent accommodation ; as a military position they have very great disadvantages. The northern face is well protected by the River Goomty ; but the east and south-east faces are surrounded by buildings and in contact with the city.

Captain Crommelin's plan, which he will submit with his report of the engineer operations, illustrates the preceding remarks.

The position was too extensive for our Force, nearly all of which was occupied in guarding it ; but it was susceptible of no reduction, so that most desirable as it was that we should have occupied some of the exterior buildings as flanking defences, we were unable to do so, but were obliged to confine ourselves to the palaces and gardens and to erect precautionary defences against any means of annoyance the

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enemy could devise. Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, of Her Majesty's 90th, being in command of the rear-guard on the 27th, I requested him to assume command of the Palace Garden and buildings adjacent to it. On the 28th the Palace buildings extending in the direction of the Khas Bazaar were explored by Captain Moorsom, who, with a party of 50 men of the 90th and 5th Fusiliers, gallantly drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet, killing a considerable number with the loss of one man of Her Majesty's 90th. Captain Moorsom then placed a picquet in a house commanding the Cheena and Khas Bazaars. On the 3rd instant the enemy sprang a mine under the Garden wall, which merely shook it without bringing it down. On the 5th they exploded a second mine which effected a considerable breach, and appeared in some force with the intention of making an assault; but on the head of the column showing itself on the breach, a well-directed fire from Her Majesty's 90th caused it to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss. The enemy also burned down one of the gateways of the garden, making a second practicable breach, at which they occasionally appeared to fire a shot or two. Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell had retrenched both these breaches, which it became evident that the enemy had no real intention of assaulting; but they exposed the garden to a severe musketry fire from commanding buildings on the right, called the Hern Khana; it, therefore, became necessary to open trenches of communication, which were commenced by Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and his officers. On the 6th the enemy blew up the picquet overlooking the Cheena and Khas Bazaars, causing us a loss of three men, and in the confusion that ensued, penetrated in considerable numbers into the Palace where many of them were destroyed. They are said to have lost 450 men. The remainder were driven back, but continued to occupy a part of the Palace buildings which had been in our possession. Of these the nearest to us is a mosque commanded by our buildings, but giving several easy means of access to our position. On the 8th the enemy attacked from the mosque our nearest picquets; but were repulsed with loss. In order to prevent a repetition of this annoyance, I examined carefully, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and Captain Moorsom, the buildings connecting us with those of the enemy, and we succeeded in penetrating to a vault under their position, where, screened by the obscurity, we could see the enemy closely surrounding the entrance, and hear them in considerable numbers overhead. A

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charge of two barrels of powder was lodged in the vault, and was fired by Lieutenant Russell, of the Bengal Engineers. The effect was complete; many of the enemy were blown up and their position greatly injured, whilst we obtained a command over the streets leading to the Khas and Cheena Bazaars, better and more secure from molestation than our previous one. This post was immediately and securely barricaded by Captain Crommelin, of the Engineers, who this day resumed his duties as Chief Engineer, and the value of his services was immediately apparent. Though our position was improved by this explosion, the possession of the mosque was absolutely necessary to our security. I accordingly determined to re-capture it and on expressing my wishes to Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, that officer himself accompanied me with a small party of the 90th and Madras Fusiliers. The enemy, 50 or 60 in number, were surprised and rapidly driven out with very trifling loss on our side, and the position immediately barricaded and secured by Captain Crommelin; it has ever since formed a good connection between the picquets of the advanced garden and the quarters of Brasyer's Sikhs, and all attempts of the enemy to molest it have been ineffective. It falls within Captain Crommelin's province to report in detail the various operations by which our difficult position, in close contact with the city, occupied by a numerous and persevering enemy, has been defended and protected.

I beg to bring to the notice of Major-General Havelock the excellent services performed by Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, who has commanded in the advance garden and its outposts since their occupation. Much of the trench work by which it was rendered unassailable has been executed by his men and under his superintendence, directed by the Engineer Department. On all occasions he has given the cordial and able co-operation of a most brave and accomplished officer. Captain Grant, of the Madras Fusiliers, has commanded the post of the mosque, from the 11th October to the 2nd November, when he was severely wounded. He maintained the post under a constant and close musketry fire, and repeated attacks by mining, with cool courage and judgment; both these qualities were required to avoid real and to disregard the imaginary dangers of mines, and Captain Grant has displayed them in an eminent degree.

The daring and intelligent Captain Moorsom has been engaged in most of the above operations, and has given very valuable assistance.

Captains Rattray and Wade have shown themselves excellent commanders of outposts.

From Brigader J. Inglis, *Commanding the Garrison, to Colonel* Napier, *Military Secretary,—No. 116, dated Lucknow, 22nd October 1857.*

For the information of Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., Commanding the Division, I have the honour to enclose two reports from officers commanding sortie-parties, giving an account of their proceedings whilst so employed.

Both these officers carried out my orders in a most satisfactory manner and were most successful in the performance of the duties entrusted to them.

From Lieutenant B. M. M. Aitken, *Commanding Treasury Guard, to Captain* Wilson, *Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow,—dated Lucknow, 21st October 1857.*

I have the honour to state, for the information of Brigadier Inglis, Commanding the Garrison, the proceedings of a party of the regiment under my command on the night of the 25th and morning of the 26th September, which ended in the capture of the Tehree Kotee.

On the evening of the 25th after the first column of the Relieving Force arrived, I heard the shouts of the second column in the city in the direction of the jail, and thinking they might get entangled in the lanes and might suffer from the guns under the Clock Tower, I took twelve armed sepoys of the regiment, with pick-axes and shovels, for the purpose of clearing away, if possible, the battery under the Clock Tower. We got over without opposition, as the head of the second relieving column was by this time in the lane and close up to the guns. As I thought this a good opportunity to occupy at least a portion of the Tehree Kotee, I took upon myself the responsibility to take the sepoys through a door made in the wall by the insurgents. We advanced some distance quietly without meeting any one. At last in a court-yard we came upon a small body, eight in number, and took them prisoners, without firing a shot. I left the sepoys in charge of a Havildar in this court-yard for the night, and reported the circumstance for the information of Brigadier Inglis, who ordered me to occupy the Tehree Kotee with a stronger body in the morning.

Early next morning, we advanced to the bank of the river, and shot a few of the insurgents who attempted to swim the river. At this time I observed a body of men on the top of a building with a gateway. We attempted to get in by breaking in the principal gate, which was barricaded; but found this impossible. Havildar Ramnarain Pande,

however, succeeded in breaking down one of the small doors at the side of the gate, and was the first man who made an entrance. We killed some five or six men in the gateway, the others having got into the rooms above, and on the terraces which run towards the Fureed Buksh. A party of the 32nd came up at this time under a Sergeant, and some 25 men altogether were shot and bayoneted. We had two sepoys wounded, and one man of the 32nd was killed. I ought to mention that Captain Lowe, of Her Majesty's 32nd, arrived with some men after we had got into the rooms, he having been employed in driving the insurgents out of the Captain's Bazaar. All the sepoys behaved well, and I beg to bring to the notice of the Brigadier the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Cubitt, who was most forward throughout the affair.

Unfortunately three of our sepoys were wounded by the Europeans of the second relieving column on the night of the 25th after we got over the battery under the Clock Tower, they having been mistaken for insurgents.

From Captain E. W. D. Lowe, *Commanding H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, to Brigadier* J. Inglis, *Commanding Lucknow Garrison,—dated City Residency, Lucknow, 27th September 1857.*

I have the honour to acquaint you that, agreeably to your instructions, I proceeded yesterday morning in command of 150 men of the 32nd Regiment for the purpose of clearing the Captain's Bazaar and adjoining posts occupied by the enemy.

The party was in three divisions—the first, under Captain Bassano, on the right; the second, in reserve, under Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry, (attached to the regiment); and the third, under Lieutenant Lawrence. The first and second advanced under cover of the thick bushes between our trenches and the road, whilst the third, passing through Innes' Outpost, came out on the road through the houses in front, taking two small guns as they entered it, and which they dismounted from their carriages. The enemy were taken quite by surprise, and fled precipitately to the river, leaving a 6-pounder gun in the road. They were pursued by our men, and were nearly all shot or drowned in endeavouring to swim the river. Lieutenant Lawrence then led his party towards the iron bridge, and most gallantly succeeded in capturing a 9-pounder gun, just as a second round of grape was about to be fired at them. This gun having been brought away they returned and we took possession of the ruined mosque, and clearing the Captain's Bazaar, killed some of the enemy there, and captured an 18-pounder gun and four small guns (two of them without carriages).

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I then proceeded to the Tehree Kotee with part of the men ; but found it unoccupied. A gate by the river leading into the Furah* Buksh Palace was then forced, and several of the enemy inside killed. We were here met by a party of the 13th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Aitken, who had come in by another entrance. Having your orders not to proceed further in this direction I withdrew the men.

Captain Hughes had in the meantime led a party again towards the Iron Bridge, and killing a great number of the enemy in the houses about spiked two large mortars which however he was unable to bring away. He was I regret to say dangerously wounded whilst forcing the door of a house. As the party retired they blew up a large magazine of the enemy's powder.

The objects contemplated having been obtained not without loss, as the adjoining return will show, I withdrew the party to the Residency leaving guards at the ruined mosque and Tehree Kotee.

In conclusion, I beg to bring prominently to your notice the great zeal and gallantry displayed by all engaged—both officers and men so equally that it would be invidious to particularise any one ; but Lieutenant Lawrence has however begged me to report the distinguished bravery of Corporal Samuel Cole and Private Miehael Power in charging and capturing the 9-pounder gun.

Lieutenant Innes of the Engineers accompanied the party throughout and afforded me every assistance.

Return of killed and wounded of a party of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment under command of Captain E. W. D. LOWE, *on the morning of the 26th September 1857*.

Distribution.	Killed.					Wounded.					Remarks.
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Total.	
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.	...	...	...	2	2	1	...	...	8	9	Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry, doing duty, severely wounded. 1 Volunteer (Mr. Sinclair) severely wounded.
Total ...	...	...	...	2	2	1	...	...	8	9	11 Grand Total.

(Sd.) E. W. D. LOWE, *Capt.*,
Comdg. H. M.'s 32nd Regiment.

* Farhat.

Return of Casualties.

Killed.			Wounded.					Remarks.
Officers.	Privates.	Total.	Officers.	Privates.	Volunteers.	Total.	Grand Total.	
...	2	2	1 Captain Hughes, 57th Native Infantry (doing duty).	8	1*	10	12	* Mr. Sinclair, (Merchant).

Return of Guns brought in.

One-18-pounder gun.
One 9-pounder ,,
One 6-pounder ,,
Two small guns with carriages.
Two do. do. without carriages.

(Sd.) E. W. D. LOWE, *Capt.*,
Comdg. H. M.'s 32nd Regt.
(Sd.) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

From *Captain* M. Galwey, *Commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General,—dated Lucknow, November 1857.*

No. 147.
Directing a report to be made of a sortie by the troops under command of Major Stephenson, Madras Fusiliers, on the 27th September 1857.

In reply to your letter dated 4th November 1857, number and subject as per margin, I have the honour to state as follows.

About 2 P.M. on the 27th September 1857 the Madras Fusiliers were ordered to parade for a sortie under command of Major Stephenson commanding the same regiment for the purpose of taking some guns in the enemy's Cawnpore Battery.

The regiment was told off in three divisions, the strength of it not admitting of a larger number. Captain Fraser had command of No. 1, Captain Galwey of No. 2, and Captain Raikes of No. 3 division; Lieutenant and Adjutant Gosling, Lieutenants Beaumont and Cleland, and Lieutenant the Hon'ble J. Fraser, 1st Bengal Native Infantry, *d. d.* with the Fusiliers fell in with the regiment. A few men of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment under Lieutenant Warner, 7th Bengal Cavalry, Captain Kemble, 41st Bengal Native Infantry; Lieutenant Huxham, 48th Bengal Native Infantry; Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal Engineers; and Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, accompanied the party.

The party proceeded in strict silence out of the Bailey Gate* to the garden opposite, and passed through a door to the right, about half-way down to the garden, which led through bye-paths till it reached the road, at which place there was a considerable street fire from loopholes and from the top of houses, and from the guns of the enemy in position. A charge was made at the nearest gun, through long grass ruins, small breaches in walls, and a broad ditch. Our men entered by the embrasure, and the enemy immediately abandoned this gun. A considerable delay occurred in making preparations for bursting this gun, which, however, ultimately proved a failure, as some person had spiked it previously and in the hurry of the moment. During this time a party of No. 1 Division, under Captain Fraser, proceeded to reconnoitre a little further, when they came on another battery of the enemy, consisting of a 24-pounder and an 18-pounder gun. These were abandoned; but the enemy being all round, and keeping such a fire on his party, Captain Fraser sent back to Major Stephenson to say he required a reinforcement. On this Captain Galwey, of No. 2 Division, proceeded with a few men. On reaching the spot, he found that from the number of the enemy (which he calculated from their heavy fire) the position could not be held without a further reinforcement. The battery was surrounded with high walls, and apparently with no outlets. Captain Galwey returned, and reported this to Major Stephenson. It was now discovered that there were with us no means by which we could destroy or dismantle the guns, so Major Stephenson directed the advanced party to fall back on him, which, however, they did not then do. Captain Fraser spoke in the highest terms of the gallantry of Sergeant Lidster, Madras Fusiliers, who spiked the 24-pounder and of Corporal William Dowling, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, who spiked the 18-pounder gun, being at the same time under a most heavy fire from the enemy.

Finding it impossible to burst the first gun, Major Stephenson left a party to protect that gun under a subaltern, and proceeded with Captain Raikes' division, No. 3, which he had kept with him to the advanced battery, which, as before stated, was surrounded with high walls. At this time Sergeant Lidster, previously mentioned as having spiked a gun under heavy fire, was killed. Major Stephenson called on some of the volunteers or guides to point out the way to the next battery; but no one knew the way, or seemed at all aware of our locality, and at this

* Baillie Guard gate.

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time firing being heard in our rear, Major Stephenson was compelled to retire by the way we came, it being quite impossible to go forward without guides. The three guns were left spiked, owing to want of means to destroy them. On the return of the party, it was exposed to a very destructive fire from the enemy, from the tops of houses and loopholes; and from want of means it was most difficult to take away our killed and wounded. One sergeant, severely wounded and since dead, must have been left on the ground, had not a private of the 32nd Regiment in the most gallant manner, with the assistance of Captain Galwey, taken him up and carried him to a place of safety. Lieutenant Huxham, 48th Bengal Native Infantry, was wounded.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded of the 1st Madras Fusiliers on this occasion.

Nominal Roll of killed and wounded of the 1st Madras Fusiliers during the attack on the enemy's batteries on the 27th September 1857.

KILLED.

Company.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
6th ...	Sergeant Thomas Lidster.	
2nd ...	Corporal Michael Shannahan.	
9th ...	" John Barrett.	
3rd ...	Private William Gibbons.	

WOUNDED.

Company.	Rank and names.	Remarks.
10th ...	Sergeant Edward Edwards	Severely. Died 6th October 1857.
2nd ...	Corporal Frederick Flegg	Ditto.
1st ...	" John Traynor	Slightly.
5th ...	Private Charles Brown	Severely.
3rd ...	" Thomas Quinlan	Slightly.
8th ...	" Timothy McCarthy	Severely.
2nd ...	" Joseph Hayes	Severely. Died 29th September 1857.

LUCKNOW,
The 5th November 1857.

(Sd.) M. GALWEY, *Capt.*,
Comdg. 1st Mad. Fusiliers.

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From Lieutenant A. C. WARNER, *Adjutant, 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain* WILSON, *Officiating Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison, dated Lucknow, 7th November 1857.*

Agreeably to instructions received, I have the honour to report as follows.

In consequence of there being no available officers with Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, I was selected to command a party of that corps on the 27th September in a sortie for the purpose of capturing some of the enemy's guns in a battery opposite to our Cawnpore Battery.

We paraded about 2 P.M. with the Madras Fusiliers and marched out of the Bailey Guard Gate, my party in advance, the whole under command of Major Stephenson of the Madras Fusiliers. We proceeded through the "Tehree Kotee" across the road in rear of the Clock Tower, and then took ground to our right. Immediately we had crossed the road, we became exposed to the enemy's fire, and made a rush across a large courtyard through a doorway to our right. After passing through a succession of narrow streets and holes in the walls, we arrived at the Cawnpore road. We then came on one of the enemy's guns, which was firing grape down the Cawnpore road. I took my party to one side of the embrasure, and on receiving the word of command, we rushed in, headed by Major Stephenson. The enemy abandoned their gun, and a naick of the 13th Regiment, "Kalka Tewaree" spiked it. We then endeavoured to burst it, but owing to the absence of water and other materials failed.

While we were attempting to burst this gun, a party of men under Captain Fraser of the Madras Fusiliers went on to another battery of the enemy's which was further in advance.

Shortly after this, the party under my command went with Captain Galwey and some of his men to reinforce Captain Fraser. On arriving near his position, we found the enemy in great force on all sides of us, keeping up a very heavy fire. We then retreated, by order of Major Stephenson, on the main body. One of the Madras Fusilier Sergeants being badly wounded, Captain Galwey, Lieutenant Mecham, 27th Madras Native Infantry, Private Smith, Her Majesty's 32nd, and myself, with great difficulty, managed to get him back to the main body. This private was, I regret to say, killed in the retreat. Major Stephenson then ordered us to retreat, which was done by the same route by which we had advanced. During the retreat, we were exposed to a heavy fire from the houses. The conduct of Corporal Cooney and Private Smith, of the 32nd, who were both killed, was most noble.

I enclose a return of the killed and wounded of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment on this occasion.

Return of men of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment killed and wounded in a sortie made near the Cawnpore Battery on the 27th September 1857.

Distribution.	Killed.					Wounded.					Remarks.
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.	Total.	
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.	...	...	...	3	3	...	1	...	4	5	
Total ...	...	...	...	3	3	...	1	...	4	5	8 Grand total.

A. C. WARNER, *Lieut.*,
7th Light Cavy.,
Comdg. Party of H. M.'s 32nd Regt.

(Sd.) E. W. D. LOWE, *Capt.*,
Comdg. H. M.'s 32nd Regt.

Memorandum regarding the sortie of the 27th September, dated Chutter Munzil, 8th November 1857.

On the 26th September I was warned by Brigadier Inglis to lead a party from the Brigade Mess, and having taken the guns in its front to circle leftwards, taking or destroying all the guns on the way till we should reach our own position at the jail or Tehree Kotee. The party, however, that was told off for this purpose on the 26th was required to help in the heavy guns and rear-guard from the Motee Mehal, and the sortie was therefore temporarily deferred.

2. Having next morning mentioned the proposed sortie to Lieutenant Anderson, Garrison Engineer at the Fureed* Buksh, he stated his opinion of the advisability of the sortie debouching from the jail and going in rear of the Square House and proceeding thence in a direction parallel to the road, by which plan we would start fair from our own ground, probably hit on the enemy's usual route, and take the guns in rear.

* Farhat.

3. The sortie having been re-arranged for the afternoon of the 27th, Lieutenant Anderson proposed to guide it himself. The party was (as I learnt on reaching the first house attacked) commanded by Major Stephenson, of the Madras Fusiliers, and the party to explode the guns consisted of artillerymen under the command of Captain Evans. Two sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry accompanied us, under my orders with picks, to help in knocking down obstacles, should it be necessary.

4. Lieutenant Anderson led the party out by the Teree Kotee and jail and rear of the Square House to the building now forming the left of the Highlanders' position. The enemy being in possession of it, it was attacked; but the party never appeared to enter the rooms and clear them: it only remained in or rushed through the courtyard and passages shooting or bayoneting such of the enemy as voluntarily came out.

5. The correct place for debouching from the house was on the same side, only further advanced, as that at which we had entered it, and as I afterwards found, Lieutenant Anderson was waiting there to lead the men out, as soon as they should have taken possession of the house. But waiting for no guidance, they left the house at the point which they reached on rushing through it, and immediately found themselves on the road. Hearing a call for an Engineer Officer, I went forward, and found the party on the road in front of an embrasure, which was shortly afterwards charged and the gun taken. Not forty men were present for the first ten minutes, and although Captain Evans and my two sepoys were there, the rest of the explosion party were among the absentees. After waiting ten minutes, and Major Stephenson getting impatient, Captain Evans hopeless of the arrival of the bursting party and material spiked the gun. This was no sooner done than they arrived, and the subsequent attempt to blow up the gun was a failure, from the vent being filled up by the spike. During the attempt to burst the gun, an officer (Captain Galwey I believe) came to report the capture of two other guns, the spiking of one of them, and the necessity for reinforcement. Major Stephenson having advanced towards them, asked me where we were, and what was to be done. As to what was to be done, on enquiry from Captain Evans it appeared that the men had drunk all the water reserved to moisten the clay to tamp the guns, that in fact he could not burst them, and there were no spikes present with which to spike them. I therefore said that, wherever we might go, we could destroy no more guns, and that consequently to return to the entrenchment seemed to me advisable. As to the where we were, I said I thought we were at the

battery on the left of the Cawnpore road, which opinion was also expressed by Mr. Cavanagh.* Mr. Phillips, our real guide, could give no opinion at all. To make certain of the locality, I told Major Stephenson I would cross the road and reconnoitre, which I accordingly did and found that my conjecture had been correct. On my returning, the party had commenced its return to the entrenchments, which it effected by nearly the same route as that by which it had advanced.

The party which remained with Lieutenant Anderson at the house first attacked prevented the enemy still on it from doing us much injury on our return, otherwise our loss might have been most serious. The separation of the whole party into the two bodies, which was the previous cause of the failure in destroying the guns, is entirely attributable to an advance having been made from that house without the direction of the proper guide.

(Sd.) J. McLEOD INNES, *Lieut.*,
Engineers.

NOTE.—This sortie was designed to attack the Garden Battery, and it appears from the experience gained in a subsequent attack (1st, 2nd and 3rd November) that the strength of the party was quite inadequate to accomplish the object required. The real cause of the failure in bursting the guns instead of spiking, that was taken possession of, appears to have been the delay in bringing up the bursting party.

Had the house alluded to by Lieutenant Innes been taken possession of, instead of being merely passed through, and measures taken to reconnoitre the ground in advance before the party proceeded, it is probable that the result would have been more satisfactory, and that at all events the captured guns would have been effectually destroyed, but without a much larger body of men, the complete conquest and destruction of the whole Garden Battery could not have been accomplished.

(Sd.) J. C. ANDERSON, *Lieut.*,
Garrison Engineer.

From Major C. APTHORP, *Commanding the Reserve, to Captain* ANDERSON, *Engineers,—dated Lucknow, 20th October 1857.*

Agreeably to your request, I have the honour to forward a report of the proceedings of the party as per margin, under my command, during the sortie of the 29th ultimo. We assembled in the third Sikh Square, a little before daybreak, as a reserve to an attacking party, under command of Captain Hardinge, who, when he had taken the guns in front of the Brigade Mess, advanced to

1 Major.
2 Captains.
3 Lieutenants.
100 men, 1st Madras Fusiliers.

* Kavanagh.

his right to take a gun situated in a strong position in the middle of a lane, to the left front of Mr. Gubbins' house. He placed his men in a flanking position, and came to me for a party to advance and take some houses to the right and left of the lane, from which there was a heavy fire. I advanced through the breach in the Sikh Square, with Lieutenant Ouseley, 48th Regiment, Native Infantry, Lieutenant the Hon'ble J. Fraser, and 35 men, and led them up the lane to the front of the enemy's stockade. I took up a position with four or five men, and fired on several of the enemy who were trying to escape. Lieutenant Ouseley, the Hon'ble J. Fraser, and several men got over the stockade, and the party under Captain Hardinge came forward, and the gun, a 6-pounder, pointed towards him, was taken possession of. One of our men was killed as we reached the stockade, and one wounded a short time after. Fourteen or fifteen of the enemy were killed, nine of them in two huts to the right and left of the lane. I left this party of the reserve under command of the Hon'ble J. Fraser, and went back to the remainder of the reserve, which I found had advanced from the Sikh Square, under Captain Galwey, and we proceeded down the lane and took up forward positions in a house which Captain Forbes, 1st Light Cavalry, and his Sikh orderly had examined and reported empty. There was a strong party of the enemy to our left front, who kept up a heavy fire. I placed part of the men under Captain Galwey in front of the house; another party, under Captain Forbes, took possession of the upper story of the house; and I detached a third party to take possession of a barricade across the street a little to our right front. Our loss here was one killed and one wounded. Five or six of the men from this position got into a large house still further in advance, and I went and examined the house, and found, after getting into the lower story, that the enemy had begun two mines the shafts of which were sunk to a considerable depth. I reported this to Lieutenant Innes, the Executive Engineer, who, on examination, decided on blowing them up. Being short of men, I ordered a party of ten, under Sergeant-Major Donovan, to come down our centre bastion and occupy the house where the mines were. He remained in charge till the mines were blown up. During the time I was thus occupied, Lieutenant Ouseley rendered great service by capturing a gun, which had checked the advance of the party to which he was attached by being planted at the end of a very narrow lane, about 60 or 70 yards long. Lieutenant Ouseley, accompanied by Sergeant Higgins and four men of

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the 1st Madras Fusiliers, went through a number of houses and narrow passages to the right of the lane, and finding their further progress stopped by a very high and steep bastion, where they distinctly heard the voices of the enemy, they ascended it, led by the above-named officer; found it unoccupied, and rushed across it into a house, from which they fired down upon and killed two out of some forty men assembled below them; and raising a cheer, routed the enemy, and took possession of the gun without losing a man, or giving the enemy the power of discharging the piece, to which drag-ropes were attached to enable the enemy to pull it round the nearest corner should we attempt to charge it. A party of eight or ten men from Captain Galwey's position, under Lieutenant Cleveland, reinforced Lieutenant Ouseley, and after the gun had been removed they retired, and the bastion was blown up. Afterwards two small guns were found in a lane close to this battery and taken possession of by Lieutenants Ouseley and Aitken, 13th Regiment Native Infantry. The three were dismantled from their carriages and were sent into the garrison, and the carriages broken up and burnt. Our loss at this point was one killed and two wounded—one of the latter, Mr. Lucas, whose zeal and gallantry on every occasion during the siege every one has heard of. About 11 o'clock we returned into garrison, having examined and cleared the guns from the whole of the front of Mr. Gubbins' house. We had not time or men to examine the houses in front of our centre bastion, which I much regret, as there are constant reports from the men that mining is going on; but I have no good reason to suppose so, as I have invariably when called found the houses unoccupied, and heard no noises that would lead me to suppose that mining was going on.

From Lieutenant J. C. ANDERSON, *Garrison Engineer, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Military Secretary,—dated Lucknow, 19th October 1857.*

Sortie on the 29th September, from the left Square, Brigade Mess, for the object of destroying the enemy's guns left in front of Brigade Mess, in front of Cawnpore Battery, and on the left of Cawnpore Road.

This sortie proceeded simultaneously with two others—one from the Sikh Square to the right of the Brigade Mess, and another from the Redan towards the iron bridge, led by Captain McCabe, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, with a few of the men of his regiment, who had during

the siege been on duty on the posts opposite the position to be attacked. The whole strength of the sortieing party was 200 men, with a reserve of 150 men.

At daylight the party issued from an opening in the Brigade Mess wall and formed up under cover of a wall which runs parallel to the other at the distance of a few paces. The advance was then made in file, the men having to scramble over the debris of a house which had been blown down on a former occasion, and a rush made direct on the enemy's gun, 18-pounder, which lay behind a breastwork, at the distance of 80 yards from the Brigade Mess. The gunners fired two rounds at us when we made our appearance, but before they could fire again we had scaled their battery and driven them to flight. We then proceeded to force a building immediately to the left of the gun. The lower story was quickly occupied. Captain McCabe, the gallant leader of many former sorties, was mortally wounded in the operation, and some delay having in consequence occurred, a few of the enemy in the upper story had time to kill and wound several of our men before they were attacked and bayoneted. After the house had been taken possession of, a picquet of 25 men was left to hold it while the main body of our men proceeded along a narrow lane under command of Major Simmons, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, to occupy two large buildings about 60 and 80 yards, respectively, in advance of the first, with several other smaller buildings adjoining; the loss to the enemy in all being probably above thirty men. On our side we had the misfortune to lose Major Simmons, who was killed by a musket shot while leading his men into the most advanced building. We had now progressed to a position from which we had a view of the enemy's 18-pounder gun in front of the Cawnpore Battery. It lay in a lane running towards the Cawnpore road, the end of which was barricaded and loopholed, and directly in line with it; on the opposite side of the road the enemy occupied a house from which they kept up a hot musketry fire on our position.

I then sent for the reserve, and desired that an officer of rank might be sent to command the whole party. General Sir James Outram having become acquainted with our progress sent word that unless further advance could be made without danger of considerable loss, the design of proceeding against the enemy's gun now in our view should be abandoned, and that the party should retire after destroying in succession the houses we had taken possession of. After consulting

with Captain Evans, (attached to the Artillery,) who had meanwhile destroyed the enemy's gun which we left at the first house and also a 6-pounder gun in its neighbourhood, I returned a reply to the General that further advance could not be made without considerable loss, and I proceeded to demolish the three large houses we held, commencing with the one furthest in advance, and withdrawing the party gradually to the rear. This operation, in which thirteen barrels of powder were expended, destroyed the principal musketry cover of the enemy against our defences between the Brigade Mess and Cawnpore Battery, and the destruction of the guns in front of the latter, together with that effected by the sortieing parties acting in conjunction with us to the right, has relieved a considerable portion of our work from serious annoyance. The party returned about 9½ A.M.

From Lieutenant J. C. ANDERSON, *Garrison Engineer, to Captain* WILSON, *Deputy Adjutant-General, Lucknow Garrison,—dated Post Office, 28th October 1857.*

I have the honour to forward, for the Brigadier's information, and for transmission to Colonel Napier, reports of the three sorties which took place on the 29th ultimo.

These reports were prepared by Colonel Napier's order conveyed in a demi-official note.

Return of casualties—sortie from left Square, Brigade Mess, on 29th September 1857.

	Killed.	Wounded.
Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers.		
Major Simmons	1	......
Rank and file	......	6
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment.		
Captain McCabe	......	1 Since dead.
Rank and file	1	2 Ditto.
Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry	......	....
Total ...	2	9

LUCKNOW,
The 19th October 1857.

(Sd.) J. C. ANDERSON, *Lieut.,*
Garrison Engineer.

(Sd.) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.,*
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

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Return of the number of casualties which occurred in the party of the 78th Highlanders, commanded by Captain G. A. LOCKHART, *on the 29th ultimo, against the right front Brigade Mess.*

Lucknow, 21st October 1857.

Rank.	Names.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
Captain ...	G. A. Lockhart	......	Wounded.	
Private ...	James Scott	Killed.	......	
Sergeant ...	James Young	......	Do.	
Corporal ...	Joseph Andrews	......	Do.	
Private ...	Robert Kerr	......	Do.	
Do. ...	Francis Morris	......	Do.	
Do. ...	David Rewitt	......	Do.	
Do. ...	James Callighan	......	Do.	

1 Officer wounded.
1 Private killed.
1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, and 4 Privates wounded.

(Sd.) W. HUNTERS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. 2nd Brigade.

(Sd.) G. A. LOCKHART, *Capt.*,
Comdg. 78th Highlanders.

Return of killed and wounded of the 1st Madras Fusiliers on the 29th September 1857, during the attack on the enemy's guns in front of the Brigade Mess, under command of Captain HARDINGE, *3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry.*

KILLED.

Company.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
5th ...	Sergeant	Patrick Drury	
2nd ...	Private	William Peard	
8th ...	Do.	James Sowden	

WOUNDED.

Company.	Rank.	Names.	Remarks.
3rd ...	Private	William Young ...	Severely. Died same day.
7th ...	Do.	William McGill ...	Ditto.
7th ...	Do.	Robert Parker ...	Ditto. Died 4th October 1857.

LUCKNOW,
The 21st October 1857.

(Sd.) L. STEPHENSON, *Maj.*,
Comdg. 1st Madras Fusiliers.

(Sd.) H. STISTED, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. 1st Brigade.

From Lieutenant G. HARDINGE, *Commanding Irregular Cavalry, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Lucknow, 22nd October 1857.*

Agreeably to your orders, I have the honour to report that the undermentioned parties were made over to me to take the guns to the front and right of the Brigade Mess and Sikh Square :—

	Men.
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, under Lieutenant Cooke ...	20
Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, under Captain Lockhart ...	140
1st Madras Fusiliers, under Captain Galwey	90
Total ...	250

We fell in and filed out of the breach in the Sikh Square at day-break of the 29th September 1857.

The advance consisted of Her Majesty's 32nd, Main Body, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, Reserve of 1st Madras Fusiliers, the Engineers under Lieutenant Innes, Artillery under Lieutenant J. Alexander, Major Apthorp (whose report I enclose), Captain Forbes, and Lieutenant Ouseley, knowing the ground, accompanied the reserve.

We formed silently under cover of some broken ground. The first gun, a brass 12-pounder, was taken by Her Majesty's 32nd with a cheer. By keeping to the right of the embrasure, we avoided the discharge. Lieutenant Cooke and Private Keilly were first at the gun.

The 32nd occupied a house in rear of the gun, and enabled the Artillery to burst it unmolested.

The 78th Highlanders, led by Captain Lockhart, who was slightly wounded, then charged a gun to the right. The covering party of the first gun, and a considerable body of the enemy, rallied round this gun. Sergeant James Young, 78th Highlanders, the first man at the gun, bayoneted one of the enemy's gunners while re-loading, and was severely wounded by a sword-cut.

I ordered up a party of the 1st Fusiliers, under Lieutenant the Hon'ble J. Fraser, to take the enemy in rear, and a number of them were killed here and in the houses in the neighbourhood. Hand grenades were used with good effect.

Proceeding further to the right, opposite Mr. Gubbins' house, our further progress was stopped by a small gun and some wall-pieces at the end of a narrow lane.

Lieutenant Ouseley, 48th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Aitken, 13th Native Infantry, took these pieces in flank after a difficult detour,

by getting into a house above them, and with a cheer and volley routed the enemy. This manœuvre was most skilfully and gallantly executed. Sergeant Higgins, with four men of the Madras Fusiliers, and Private Browne, 32nd, are stated to have been the first men at the gun. Mr. Lucas, a volunteer, well known for his bravery, was mortally wounded here.

Major Apthorp and Captain Forbes, with the Fusiliers under Captain Galwey, occupied the houses commanding the pieces which were brought away. Two shafts of a mine were here discovered and blown up.

The batteries and barricades were completely burnt and destroyed. Working parties of the Sikh Cavalry, under Lieutenant Graham, and sepoys of the 13th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Aitken, did good work.

I enclose Lieutenant Innes's report. Under cover of the houses blown up, the party fell back unmolested.

One heavy gun was burst, three smaller ones and some wall-pieces brought in.

Our loss was 4 killed and 11 wounded, including Mr. Lucas and Captain Lockhart.

(Sd) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

Memorandum of demolitions effected by the party under Captain HARDINGE *on the 29th September 1857.*

The party for demolition consisted of six miners of Her Majesty 32nd Regiment, with a fatigue party of six men supplied from the troops under Captain Hardinge's guidance. It carried six barrels of powder, with the requisite supply of hose, port-fire, and slow-match.

2. The house that covered the first gun taken was the first selected for demolition. I accordingly laid in it a charge of two barrels. This done, Captain Hardinge pointed out the two next places which he proposed to destroy. They were houses in which the enemy were said to be, and to eject whom would have been attended with no benefit but probably with a considerable loss of life. One house being in a dilapidated condition, I laid one barrel of powder against the middle of its outer wall; the other was strong, and I therefore lodged two barrels against its wall in a similar position.

3. These charges being laid, it was decided to defer the explosions till the time should arrive for retiring, when they should be fired in a reverse order to that in which the charges were laid.

4. On the capture of the guns by the reserve, I lodged a barrel of powder at the stockade where they had been, and fired it. The demolition was successful.

5. I had thus laid out all the six barrels, when Major Apthorp, in command of the reserve, reported the discovery of a house with mines in it, leading probably to the bastion and out-houses at Mr. Gubbins' compound. I mentioned the want of powder; but Lieutenant Graham arriving and reporting that more powder had been placed at my disposal, I requested to have four barrels sent me. On proceeding to examine the house and mines, I found that there were two shafts, but no galleries. No *mines* then had to be destroyed, only the house, in which therefore, I lodged and fired two barrels of powder, bringing down the side of the house facing the entrenchments.

6. The time for the party to retire having now arrived, I fired the mines mentioned in paragraph 2, in a reverse order to that in which the charges had been laid. As the explosion did not occur till the rear-guard was on the entrenchment side of the buildings successively demolished, the inspection of the results could not be made on the site of the building destroyed; but as well as observation from a tolerably short distance could enable a decision to be arrived at, all the demolitions were successful.

LUCKNOW,
The 21st October 1857.

(Sd.) J. McLEOD INNES, *Lieut., Engrs.,*
In charge, demolition party.

(Sd.) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.,*
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

Report of a sortie made on the 29th September 1857 towards the iron bridge.

STRENGTH OF CAPTAIN SHUTE'S COLUMN.
Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. 1 officer and 12 men.
Her Majesty's 64th Regiment. 2 officers and 21 men.
Her Majesty's 84th Regiment. 3 officers and 110 men.
Total—6 Officers and 143 men.

On the morning of the 29th ultimo, I was directed by Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., to proceed as guiding officer with a column (strength as per margin) under the command of Captain Shute, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment.

2. The principal object of the expedition was to destroy a 24-pounder gun situated on a mound about 200 yards from Mr. Hill's shop which had been doing immense injury in the garrison during the siege.

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3. The party started from Innes' outpost about daybreak, and took and spiked two mortars and four zemindaree guns of small calibre, destroying the carriage of the latter. The guns were placed on the roads leading towards the iron bridge and past Mr. Hill's shop, and the column had to traverse a distance of 1,200 yards from the outpost before reaching the last gun. The party then returned about 300 yards, and quitted the road to reach the 24-pounder gun abovementioned. It was taken possession of and the houses near having been occupied, it was destroyed successfully.

I regret, however, to add that the column sustained considerable loss in consequence of an order with reference to occupying the houses in its rear leading to the iron bridge not having been carried out.

LUCKNOW,
The 22nd October 1857.

(Sd.) J. GRAYDON, *Lieut.*,
44th Regt., Nat. Infy.,
Guiding officer to Capt. Shute's column.

(Sd.) J. INGLIS, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

Casualty return of a party of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment under Lieutenant EDMONDSTOUNE, *on the 29th of September 1857.*

1 Officer, Lieutenant Edmondstoune, wounded.

1 Corporal, wounded (since dead).

Total—1 Officer wounded, 1 corporal wounded.

LUCKNOW,
The 30th September 1857.

(Sd.) E. W. D. LOWE, *Capt.*,
Comdg. 32nd Regt.

Return of the number of casualties which took place in H. M.'s 84th and 64th Regiments in the sortie of the 29th September 1857.

Captain Shute's (against the iron bridge) ...	*H. M.'s 84th Regiment.*		
	Killed.		Wounded.
	8	...	8
	H. M.'s 64th Regiment.		
	Killed.		Wounded.
	2	...	13

LUCKNOW,
The 21st October 1857.

(Sd.) F. A. WILLIS, *Capt.*,
Comdg. H. M.'s 84th Regt.

(Sd.) H. STISTED, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. 1st Brigade.

From Lieutenant G. HARDINGE, *Commanding Irregular Cavalry, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Lucknow, 5th November 1857.*

Agreeably to your order I have the honour to report that on the 2nd ultimo the undermentioned party was put under my command for taking the guns to the right of the Cawnpore road :—

		Men.
Her Majesty's 32nd, Lieutenant Cooke	...	68
" 84th Regiment ...	...	12
Madras Fusiliers	...	15
Artillery	...	7

On coming up to the batteries, we found the enemy had deserted them and withdrawn one or two guns. They had burst a very heavy gun on the Cawnpore road, and another, an iron 18-pounder, had the muzzle blown off. I had this destroyed after burning the batteries and blowing up a large mosque, in which four barrels of powder were placed.

I withdrew the party unmolested, the enemy only firing from some distant houses. One man of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment was wounded.

Lieutenant Graham and 20 Sikh Cavalry formed the working party.

From Lieutenant G. HUTCHINSON, *Engineers, Director of Works, to Colonel* R. NAPIER, *Engineers, Military Secretary,—dated Lucknow, 21st November 1857.*

I have the honour to forward a plan and memorandum showing Captain Lockhart's post, and work done by the Engineer Department at that post.

Memorandum of work executed at Captain LOCKHART'S *post from the first possession of it until the 21st of November 1857.*

Barricades, &c.

Barricades were at once and primarily erected at all outlets and loopholes cut along all the walls.

Doorways of communications opened between the three main houses, which originally were distinct buildings, and such arrangements made as enabled us to command to the utmost the ruins on the right and left of position.

A cannon-proof barricade was erected across the Khas Bazaar, communicating with 84th post, and an embrasure opened through it for a gun; a second barricade was afterwards placed across the Cawnpore road.

Mines.

The enemy commenced mining against us at H on the left of our position, about six days after our occupying the post. We sunk a shaft preparatory to driving a gallery to meet them; but before we could complete the shaft, the enemy exploded a very large charge of powder, some ten feet short of our outer enclosure wall, which had the effect of shaking down the wall and filling up our shaft, by the masses of earth thrown into the air and descending into our shaft. I regret to say we lost one man in this shaft. By some fatality, though the men on duty and at the mine saw the enemy's train burning, and volumes of smoke issuing out of the houses, from which they knew the enemy were mining, they did not move from the spot, but merely sent to report to their officer. We were prepared for the explosion, and had the enclosure all ready barricaded off, so that the enemy gained nothing by the mine.

From this time up to within the last six days, we have been almost constantly at work day and night, countermining against them.

Our general success has been very good, having held our ground with an expenditure of but 200lbs. of powder, and resisted numerous attacks of the enemy's miners.

On two particular occasions our success was more than usual.

First occasion of more than usual success on our part.

A gallery, driven from our shaft C, intercepted a gallery of the enemy's and our explosion completely cut off some twelve feet of it; so that the next morning, on breaking into the portion so cut off, we dug out, or rather dragged out four dead bodies, the enemy's miners having been completely cut off in a tomb as it were, for the gallery they were in was not broken down, but stopped up by our explosion.

Second occasion of more than usual success.

In this case our operations commenced from shaft D.

We broke into their gallery some twelve feet from our wall about 12 o'clock at night, and Sergeant Day, our superintending miner, remained below, assisted by others, holding the entrance to their gallery until I arrived.

On entering the enemy's gallery, I took Corporal Thompson of the 78th Highlanders with me, and observing the apparently great length of the enemy's mine proceeded cautiously to extinguish the lights, so as to keep ourselves in darkness as we advanced. At this time the enemy were in the mine at or near their shaft, which, contrary

to their usual practice, they evidently wished to hold uninjured. They severally fill them in at once when we take their gallery.

I proceeded, extinguishing the lights, until I distinctly saw the enemy at the far end, and to advance further, would be to advance in a blaze of light. I therefore laid down and waited, as our preparations above, carried on under Lieutenant Tulloch, were not yet ready. Whilst lying there, I saw a sepoy with musket at trail advance down the mine, and when within 40 feet of him fired at him. My pistol missed fire, and before Corporal Thompson could hand me his pistol the sepoy had retreated. After remaining some time longer, I placed another man with Corporal Thompson, and went up to get an officer down, as I felt it required a very steady man down there to support us. While we were laying the charge, and making various arrangements, which utterly precluded our watching against an enemy's advance at the same time, Lieutenant Hay of the 78th Highlanders then commanding the picquet, kindly volunteered and took up my old post. Lieutenant Tulloch and Sergeant Day quickly got the powder down, and all arrangements ready, when we then withdrew Lieutenant Hay behind the partial barricade we had formed; and whilst here, still watching with Corporal Thompson, he got two shots at another man who attempted to come down the mine, and apparently wounded him. The enemy made no more attempts to come down the mine, but went outside their building and came over our heads, apparently with the intention of breaking through. After some quarter-of-an-hour's walking overhead, they, I conclude, could not find the direction of the mine, and retreated into the house.

Our charge of 50lbs. which I had laid outside our barricade, and 82 feet up the enemy's gallery, was soon tamped, and the charge fired by Lieutenant Tulloch. The charge being laid with nine feet of sand-bag tamping behind it, and none in front, the main force of the powder acted towards the enemy's shaft, but it took down 40 feet backwards towards us, leaving us 40 feet to use as a listening gallery. I deduce the enemy's mine to be 200 feet long and upwards, from the reconnoitring of Lieutenant Hay and myself before we commenced laying our charge, and from the position of the house it came from. The gallery had numerous air-holes and was thoroughly ventilated.

Eighty-two feet I fixed on as giving us the best amount of gallery, and no more than we could well defend.

I was much indebted to Lieutenant Hay and Corporal Thompson in this business, and also to Lieutenant Tulloch who himself also fired the mine—a somewhat difficult task, as our bore being short, he had to retreat some 60 feet through the enemy's gallery and ours, and then of the shaft. Such is a brief account of our mining operations.

Lieutenant Hay, 78th Highlanders, and Corporal Thompson gave assistance.

The total length of gallery work run is 500 feet, and five shafts, averaging twelve feet deep, with a drain of five feet each.

The 9-pounder gun I placed in position in the house on the left of our position, as shown in plan, and it was useful in silencing the fire of a gun of the enemy's firing from a stockade up the lane.

In concluding this report, I would respectfully bring to your notice the valuable assistance rendered by Sergeant Day, of the 32nd, who was in charge of the mines, and until Lieutenant Tulloch was posted to the position, acted direct under my orders. His zeal and quiet steady management of the raw recruits under him has been most commendable.

I would also bring to your notice the unremitting zeal and attention to his work manifested by Lieutenant Tulloch since he has been in charge of the post; and during the period of my acting here, Lieutenant Tulloch has almost entirely—unassisted by me—carried on our system of mines most successfully.

(Sd.) G. HUTCHINSON, *Lieut., Engrs.,*
Director of Works.

GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council.

No. 1625 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the accompanying despatches* relating to the first relief of the garrison of Lucknow, which have lately reached Government.

These despatches contain an account of the proceedings of the Force under the command of the late Major-General Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B., before he forced his way into the city,† as well as of the

* Printed above.

† See pages 220 to 225.

various operations carried on under Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., after a junction had been effected with the garrison of the Residency on the 25th of September until the arrival of the Relieving Force under His Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell.

They show how thoroughly this gallant band has sustained the reputation of British soldiers for courage, discipline, and determination, whether in the plain, in the hand-to-hand struggle of the street-fighting, or in the more wearying labours of the siege.

The Governor-General in Council has already had the satisfaction of acknowledging the obligations of the Government of India to Sir James Outram; but His Lordship in Council cannot deny himself the pleasure of expressing again his appreciation of Sir James Outram's eminent services, and his respect for the generous and soldier-like feeling which prompted Sir James to abstain from assuming the position due to his superior rank, and to leave in the hands of Sir Henry Havelock the completion of the undertaking which the latter had succesfully begun.

To Brigadier Inglis, the Governor-General in Council can give no higher praise than to say that during the continuance of the siege after Sir James Outram had assumed the chief command in the Residency his ability, energy, and vigilance were worthy of the lasting reputation which his conduct of the defence has secured to him.

Sir James Outram has acknowledged the efficient co-operation which he had from Brigadiers Hamilton and Stisted. To these officers, as well as to Captain Bouverie and Captain Spurgin, serving on the Brigade Staff, the Governor-General in Council desires to offer his hearty thanks for the good service they have done.

His Lordship in Council conveys to Major Eyre, who had already established a claim on the gratitude of the Government; to Captain Maude, Royal Artillery; to Captain Olpherts, Bengal Artillery; to Lieutenant Thomas, Commissary of Ordnance; and to the officers and men of the combined force of Artillery, the assurance of the satisfaction with which he has received the evidence of their zeal and gallantry.

The labours that devolved upon the Engineer Department have been of a most important and difficult nature, and the Governor-General in Council begs to assure Captain Crommelin, Commanding the Engineers, Lieutenant Hutchinson, Second-in-Command; Lieutenants Russell and Limond; the officers and men attached to, as well as those who

volunteered to work with, the Department his appreciation of the courage, skill, and energy with which they bore their very arduous part in the siege.

Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, Commanding Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, deserves praise for the able manner in which he held an advanced post, exposed to the unceasing attacks of the enemy; and to Captain Brasyer, Commanding the Regiment of Ferozepore; to Captain Lockhart, Commanding Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders; to Captain Shute, Commanding a detachment of Her Majesty's 64th, who have each maintained a difficult post with complete success; to Captain Willis, Commanding Her Majesty's 84th; to Captain Galwey, Commanding Madras Fusiliers; and to Lieutenant Meara, Commanding Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, the Governor-General in Council tenders his hearty thanks.

His Lordship in Council acknowledges with pleasure the cheerful alacrity with which Captain Barrow, Commanding Volunteer Cavalry, Captains Johnson and Hardinge, Commanding Irregular Cavalry, have come forward to volunteer their services on every opportunity, the latter officer having also rendered good service as Deputy Quartermaster-General.

The thanks of Government are due to Captain Garden, Assistant Quartermaster-General; to Captain Moorsom, Her Majesty's 52nd Regiment, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, for the zeal they have exhibited in their various departments; as also to Captains Alexander, Orr, and Carnegy, for their able services at the head of the Intelligence Department; and to Captain Macbean and Lieutenant James for the efficient manner in which, under their superintendence, the commissariat arrangements have been carried out.

The Governor-General in Council has great satisfaction in acknowledging the excellent provision made for the care of the sick by the Medical Department under Superintending Surgeon J. Scott; and His Lordship in Council desires especially to tender his warm thanks to the Rev. Mr. Harris for the personal courage displayed by that gentleman in the discharge of his sacred duties, and for the unremitting assiduity with which he, throughout the siege, has sought to allay the sufferings and provide for the comfort of the sick and wounded.

The Governor-General in Council offers to Major North, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General; to Captain Hudson (Her Majesty's 64th), Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; and to Lieutenant Hargood (Madras

Fusiliers), serving on the staff of the late Sir Henry Havelock, the thanks they have merited by the efficient discharge of their respective duties.

The support rendered to the force both in the field and throughout the very intricate and difficult engineering operations of the defence, by Colonel Napier,* Military Secretary and Chief of the Adjutant-General's Department, has been most valuable, and His Lordship in Council desires to assure Colonel Napier that his ability and exertions are fully appreciated by Government.

The Governor-General in Council has much satisfaction in acknowledging the services of Captain Dodgson, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain Gordon, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General; Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier on the Personal Staff of, and Mr. Money, Private Secretary to Sir James Outram; of Captain Dawson and Ensign Hewitt, orderly officers, and of Mr. G. Couper, of the Civil Service, who volunteered to perform the duties of Aide-de-Camp.

In addition to those whose names have been more prominently brought to notice, the Governor-General in Council desires to convey his hearty thanks to all officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who have been engaged in the operations referred to in these despatches, for the valour they have displayed in the field, for the firmness with which they have maintained their position in the city, and for the cheerful, willing, and earnest manner in which they have discharged all the various duties and borne the privations imposed upon them, under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty and hardship.

It will be a gratification to the Governor-General in Council to bring the eminent services of Major-General Sir James Outram's Force, officers and men, to the favourable notice of Her Majesty's Government and of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, by the first opportunity. Meanwhile, the Governor-General in Council directs, by a separate order of this date, that the donation batta already granted to the garrison under Brigadier Inglis shall be extended to Major-General Sir James Outram's Force.

The Governor-General in Council cannot conclude this notice of the events connected with the Relief of Lucknow without expressing his deep regret at the heavy loss which England has suffered by the fall of so many able officers and gallant men.

His Lordship in Council has already recorded his sense of the high worth of those true soldiers, Sir Henry Havelock and Brigadier-General

* Field Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala.

Neill. Their names will be cherished with honour by their fellow-countrymen.

He now has to lament the untimely death of Colonel Campbell, Her Majesty's 90th Light Infantry, than whom the Queen's service possessed no more gallant or promising officer.

Major Haliburton, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders; Major Cooper, Artillery; Major Simmons, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers; Major Stephenson, Madras Fusiliers; and many other brave men amongst their comrades have died in the discharge of their duty; and in memory of these the Governor-General in Council desires to record his tribute of sorrow and gratitude.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 22nd December 1857.

(Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

No. 1626 of 1857.

With reference to G. G. O. No. 1625 of this date, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that every officer and soldier, European and Native, who formed part of the force under command of Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., shall be allowed a donation of six months' batta, as already authorized for the troops composing the late garrison of Lucknow.

R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief,

W. MAYHEW, *Lieut.-Col.*,
Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council to Brigadier INGLIS, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 3rd December 1857.*

I have heard of your arrival at Cawnpore with the greatest pleasure, and I beg you and your gallant band to accept my hearty congratulations. I thank you for your admirable report of the 27th of September, and for your letter. The report will be gazetted in time for the English mail. I shall be glad if a return of casualties can arrive before that, but the publication of the report shall not be delayed.

Be sure that justice shall be done by me to your truly heroic companions and to yourself.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 5th December 1857, 8-30 P.M.*

I am desired by Sir James Outram to ask your Lordship whether he shall endeavour to effect an exchange between the State prisoners now in our hands and our unfortunate countrymen and women who are at present in the hands of the rebels.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General SIR JAMES OUTRAM,—*dated Calcutta, 6th December 1857, 8 P. M.*

I do not know who the State prisoners are, no report of them having been received; but whoever they may be, you cannot do wrong in giving them up to save English lives.

Do your utmost to accomplish this, and do not be particular as to the rank or number given in exchange, provided you can rescue our fellow-countrymen.

GENERAL ORDER *by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 12th January 1858.*

No. 49 of 1858.—With reference to Government General Order No. 1625, of the 22nd December 1857, the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the accompanying letter No. 44, dated 28th December 1857, from Brigadier Inglis, late commanding the Lucknow Garrison.

His Lordship in Council has much satisfaction in acknowledging the services of Captain Wilson, Deputy Asistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Birch, Aide-de-Camp, and Captain Barwell, Fort Adjutant.

From Brigadier J. INGLIS, *late Commanding Lucknow Garrison, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 44, dated Cawnpore, 28th December 1857.*

In my report to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., of the operations which took place in the garrison of Lucknow after the 25th of September until the 23rd November last, when we were finally relieved by the force under the personal command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, I unfortunately omitted the names of Captain Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lieutenant Birch, Aide-de-Camp, and Captain Barwell, Fort Adjutant. I have consequently observed with much regret that these officers have not received notice in the G. O. by the Governor-General in Council under date the 22nd instant.

I have in my former report endeavoured to do justice to the merits of these officers, and as they have continued to render me valuable service, I feel assured that they would have been prominently brought to the notice of the Governor-General by Sir James Outram, G. C. B., but for my inadvertence, which I trust it is not too late to have corrected.

My anxiety that no time should be lost in rendering justice to the officers above alluded to will, I trust, be deemed sufficient excuse for my having addressed you direct.

GENERAL ORDERS by the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council, dated Fort William, 27th July 1858.

No. 1123 of 1858.—The Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council has much satisfaction in now publishing the following letters from Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., bringing to notice certain omissions in his previous* despatches.

* See G. G. O. No. 1625 of 1857.

No. 367-A.

From Major. H. W. NORMAN, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Futtehgarh, 31st May 1858.*

By desire of the Commander-in-Chief I have the honour to forward, in original, for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, two letters from the Hon'ble Major-General Sir James Outram, G. G. B., bringing to notice certain omissions in his previous despatches.

From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., *late Commanding 1st Division in the field, to Major* NORMAN, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army,—dated Calcutta, 24th May 1858.*

I have the honor to request that you will do me the favour to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief certain unintentional omissions of which I find I have been guilty in my despatches—omissions which I know have hurt the feelings, and which I fear may have proved injurious to the interests of meritorious officers.

When, on the 25th November, I detailed, for His Excellency's information, the proceedings of the Oudh Field Force during the two precedings months, I ought to have stated that, in consequence of the indisposition of Major Galwey, Captain Raikes had for some time

commanded the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and that he had entitled himself to my hearty thanks for the able and zealous manner in which he had acquitted himself of his duties. And the omission is the more to be regretted, as Captain Raikes' temporary accession to the command of his regiment, alone prevented his conducting the operations, for the admirable performance of which his junior, Captain Grant, has received his Brevet-Majority. The fact that two of his juniors have been promoted for special services, coupled with the omission of his name in my despatches, is calculated to mislead those who were not present at Lucknow, into the belief that Captain Raikes had not merited my approbation. The very reverse of this is the case.

To Major Galwey and the Madras Fusiliers, it is due to rectify a still more unpardonable omission in my despatch detailing the operations which His Excellency did me the honour to confide to my conduct during the siege and reduction of Lucknow in March last. During those operations the gallant Fusiliers, under their brave and able commander, acquitted themselves with their wonted courage and discipline. A wing of the regiment, under the personal command of Major Galwey, formed part of the column detailed for the storm of Sheriff-ud-Dowlah's mansion, and they it was that actually took possession of the house.

I would also beg to submit, for His Excellency's most favourable consideration, the merits and claims of Captains Bouverie, Her Majesty's 78th Regiment, and Spurgin, 1st Madras Fusiliers, who, as Majors of Brigade, rendered valuable assistance to Sir Henry Havelock in our advance to Lucknow, and to myself during the time we were locked up in that city. Their subsequent valuable services while under my command at Alumbagh have already been acknowledged in my despatch. But the zeal, gallantry, and intelligence with which they had previously served the State in the advance to, and during our stay at, Lucknow, I had left to be described by General Havelock, who I know intended to render full justice to those deserving officers. There is reason to fear that the sickness which resulted in the death of that ever-to-be-lamented officer, prevented the fulfilment of his purpose; and that they have in consequence suffered in professional advance. Under this belief, I venture to hope that, in consideration of their having been under my command during the latter period of the siege of Lucknow, I may be allowed to be the means of remedying an unintentional omission on the part of my deceased and honoured friend.

I would also venture to solicit His Excellency's most favourable notice of the good services of Lieutenant Dirom, the Staff Officer attached to Colonel Turner, of the Horse Artillery, while serving with me across the Goomti. Colonel Turner speaks in high terms of eulogy of Lieutenant Dirom's conduct on that occasion; and of his soldierly qualities I myself had reason to form a high opinion. The omission of Lieutenant Dirom's name in my last Lucknow despatch was purely accidental.

From Major-General Sir JAMES OUTRAM, G.C.B., *late Commanding 1st Division of the Army in the field, to Major* NORMAN, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Head-Quarters, Bareilly.*

On the—instant, I had the honour to draw the attention of the Chief of the Staff, demi-officially, to the accidental omission in my Lucknow despatches of a service rendered me by a wing of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and I expressed my deep regret at having thus unintentionally done injustice to a regiment which had, by its unvarying zeal, steadiness, and bravery, placed me under the deepest obligations. I regret to have now to record another omission, equally accidental, and equally unjust. I refer to Captain Gibbon's battery, which was with me throughout the whole of the operations on the left bank of the Goomti, and was, after the night of the 8th of March, the only field battery on that side. On the 9th it was actively engaged during the whole day, and rendered most valuable service. Exposed to very heavy fire, it contributed materially to the capture of the Badsha Bagh. And on the 11th its services were put in requisition with the columns which secured the approaches to the iron bridge. The battery suffered considerably on this occasion, having had no less than fifteen casualties, its casualties on the 9th having amounted to five.

The omission of all allusion to Captain Gibbon's battery has arisen from my having confounded him with Captain Middleton, whose battery I find ceased to belong to my force on the evening of the 8th March.

I sincerely hope it is not yet too late for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to permit a public rectification of a mistake which has very naturally hurt the feelings of a brave body of men, and is calculated to prove injurious to their commander, and his subordinate officers, whose services were witnessed by Sir J. Hope Grant as well as by myself, and are warmly eulogised by that distinguished officer.

CHAPTER VI.

SIR COLIN CAMPBELL'S RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

November 1857.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 3rd October 1857, 11-30 P.M.

I have just received a report that Major Barnston, with 140 men of the 90th foot, has been ordered up to Cawnpore from Futtehpore, thereby seriously weakening the latter post beyond Sir James Outram's original intention. You are to let me know by telegraph, for the information of His Excellency, by whose authority the movement has been made.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 3rd October 1857, 11-30 A.M.

When I telegraphed to you, Major Barnston, thirteen officers, and 296 men were at Futtehpore; ninety-five men more proceed to join, and ought to reach Futtehpore on the 6th. I have since heard that Major Barnston and 150 men have been withdrawn by the officer commanding at Cawnpore, who states that he has to send a company to Lucknow. On this I cautioned the officer commanding at Cawnpore not to meddle with the Futtehpore post, except under Commander-in-Chief's or General Outram's orders. I don't know on what authority he withdrew the men from Futtehpore. One railway engine runs

for forty miles on the Cawnpore road. Things are not sufficiently advanced to send two guns and their escort and battery, &c. Oudh rebels concentrating at Futtehpore, twenty miles north-east off, this day. Are said to have several guns, not good ones, and a very large number of men. I repeat my request that I may be permitted to take the 64th Company, in preference to odds and ends of regiments in advance. I should like to have 300 Europeans, but if they cannot be spared for general purposes, it cannot be helped. Please answer quickly.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 4th October 1857.

Send in a statement to me of your strength by telegraph daily, with remarks on the communications between you and Lucknow, and the country generally. In the absence of directions from General Outram, apply for His Excellency's orders, through me, by telegraph, on every subject requiring instant direction. If Sir James Outram has not given orders personally affecting Major Barnston, of Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, His Excellency desires that that officer may be sent back to Futtehpore, without his company, to take permanent command of that post. I see in your statement of the 28th September that you have no cattle at all. Is this correct?

From Captain H. BRUCE, *to Colonel Lord* DUNKELLIN,*—dated Cawnpore, 5th October 1857.*

I lose no time in enclosing for the Governor-General's perusal a letter I have this moment received from Sir James Outram.

I have already, as directed, telegraphed to His Lordship, and also to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the respective messages, and my letter to you of yesterday's date will have informed His Lordship the Governor-General of the departure, early that morning, of two guns and about 270 Europeans, of all ranks, under the command of Major Bingham, Her Majesty's 64th Foot, convoying the required commissariat stores. I have done all that General Outram has directed. Colonel Wilson has perused the enclosure, and has sent requisitions to Benares and Allahabad for troops; he has ordered also that 150 men of all ranks be detained by the officer commanding at Futtehpore, and the remainder (about 100 men) pushed up here immediately, all in excess of the 150 being moved forward without delay, as they arrive.

We have now about 250 Europeans, of all ranks, fit for duty here, and the 100 men ordered from Futtehpore may be looked for the day after to-morrow.

I understand there are also two detachments on the way up between this and Allahabad; these will of course come on here.

The country upon the Oudh side as far as Busherutgunge is quite free from mutineers, and these districts are undisturbed, except by a few petty refractory zemindars and occasional marauding parties.

P. S.—I hope I need hardly add how rejoiced I should have been had Sir James Outram's letter reached in time for me to have proceeded in so honourable a command.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 5th October 1857, 12 P.M.

Message of 3-30 P. M., Saturday, just received. The detachment you allude to is withdrawn from Futtehpore by General Outram's orders.

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 6th October 1857, 11 A.M.

In answer to your message of the 3rd instant, Major Barnston had my orders only to send up 150 men, with due proportion of officers. Finding on its arrival here he had himself come up, I immediately ordered him back to resume his command; he left this accordingly the same night. General Outram left instructions to bring up troops from Futtehpore in the event of their being required; and as I had to send forward a large detachment of 252 infantry, two 9-pounders, with one sergeant, one naick, six gunners (European), and six trained Sikhs, I found it necessary to bring up the detachment (90th) to Cawnpore.

From Captain PEEL, *R. N., to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 6th October 1857, 8 A.M.*

An express from General Outram received. All troops that can be spared from the garrison to be sent immediately to Cawnpore. Colonel O'Brien will do so; his own expedition is stopped.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 6th October 1857.

The Commander-in-Chief finds it necessary that Major Barnston should get to his regiment. He will therefore proceed to Lucknow,

instead of, as directed yesterday, to Futtehpore. Two lakhs-and-a-half of ammunition, and about 250 Europeans, have been ordered to Cawnpore from Allahabad. Communicate this to General Outram.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, Tuesday, 6th October 1857, 12-50* P.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison this day—Men fit for duty, including all ranks, 375, officers 21, sick 168, convalescents 73 : total 637. Communication between Cawnpore and Lucknow only by cossid, and very uncertain. The last intelligence received was from General Outram, under date the 2nd instant, Baillie Guard, Lucknow, the purport of which was communicated by telegraph, by Captain Bruce, to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. About 2nd October, a detailed account was sent by express dâk, both by Captain Bruce and myself, to the military and civil authorities. No cattle whatever attached to field artillery; about ninety of those in possession of commissariat are available for drawing guns.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 7th October 1857,* 9 A.M.

Agreeably to your telegraphic message of 7-40 A.M. yesterday, Major Barnston has been ordered up to Cawnpore. I have this day, by cossid, acquainted General Outram of the troops referred to by you, ordered up from Allahabad.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *(for Major-General Sir* J. OUTRAM), *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 7th October 1857, 11* A.M.

Greathed's column defeated the Jhansi Brigade and other rebels at Boolundshur on 28th. Two guns and much ammunition taken. We had 50 men killed and wounded. Rebels had 150 killed alone. Malaghur captured. Greathed may reach Allyghur on 4th or 5th instant and perhaps come on to Futtehghur. The communication with Lucknow still interrupted. A native messenger, who left on 4th, reports favourably of our progress in clearing the city.

Telegram from Colonel O'BRIEN, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 7th October 1857, 3-35* P.M.

Seventy-five men and four officers of a detachment of the 64th Foot, under the command of Captain Thompson, started from this at sunset yesterday, by wagon train, double marches, for Cawnpore.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to Major BARNSTON, *Futtehpore,—dated Calcutta, 7th October 1857.*

His Excellency having been under the impression that the party of Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, lately under your command, was going on to Lucknow immediately, changed his mind respecting you, and directed that you should accompany it; but as it now appears that such was not the case, other troops having gone forward, you are to remain at Futtehpore and command the latter post. If the detachment of Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, now at Cawnpore, leaves for Oudh, you must get to it. His Excellency has ordered two guns, equipped with bullocks, to be sent from Allahabad to Futtehpore. Communicate the last order respecting yourself to Colonel Wilson by telegraph. Inform me by telegraph what precautions have been taken for strengthening the post at Futtehpore, and whether, in your opinion, two 9-pounder guns are enough for it; also what provisions are laid in.

Procure grain, sheep, and beef for 500 men for two months. Lose no time.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 9th October 1857, 12 noon.*

Strength of Cawnpore garrison this day, 377 duty men, all ranks included, also 70 more men arrived to-day from Futtehpore; 167 sick, 72 convalescent, 30 officers: total 716. A cossid came in from Alambagh, dated the 7th instant, stating that Major Bingham's party and convoy of provisions had arrived safe there on the 6th instant. Communication still totally interrupted between Cawnpore and Lucknow, unless by quill cossids, and these very uncertain. I have no information yet whether the quill cossids sent to General Outram ever came to hand. Major Barnston arrived this morning in obedience to your first telegram; the second he did not receive, there being no repeating station at Futtehpore. Is he to remain or return?

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, 9th October, 4 P.M.*

Received your message of Thursday 8 A. M. to my address. We can procure supplies amply from day to day of grain, also cattle from fifty-two to seventy daily. Money particularly wanted, little or none in hands of the Collector. No arrangement left here respecting the treasure chest. I wrote urgently for money to Colonel O'Brien on 5th, but received no answer. I also telegraphed this officer at 5 A.M., 8th October, to send up at once as many artillery officers and men as he could spare. At least one officer and twenty men must be sent in carriages, more if possible. Telegraph the number of men of each arm without delay. Up to 4 P.M to-day, 9th instant, received no answer. In carrying out General Outram's orders, this officer greatly embarrasses me. The Enfield ammunition arrived this morning escorted by a detachment of the 90th.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, (by order of the Commander-in-Chief), to Colonel WILSON,*—dated Cawnpore, 10th October 1857.*

Do not send any small detachments from Cawnpore to Lucknow. It is not safe.

By the 23rd instant, the 93rd Foot will be at Allahabad. By the 2nd November, Her Majesty's 23rd and a wing of Her Majesty's 53rd. Send my message by cossid to General Outram to inform him of this. Her Majesty's 82nd has arrived in the river. Captain Christopher of the Commissariat has been ordered to Cawnpore from Allahabad. Direct all your attention to commissariat, ordnance stores of every sort, and the collection of carriage.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, (by order of the Commander-in-Chief), to Colonel WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 10th October 1857.*

Communicate by cossid with the Adjutant-General of the Army, and desire him to send the Head-Quarter Staff to Cawnpore, when it is possible.

As he is not recovered from the effects of his wounds, His Excellency begs that he will suit himself either by taking leave to the hills, or accompanying the staff.

He is to desire Captain Beecher to proceed to Calcutta, there to take charge of the Presidency Office.

He will also desire Colonel Congreve to join at Cawnpore.

The respective offices at Simla of Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's services may be made over to the charge of any officer whom Colonel Chamberlain may direct to receive it.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 10th October 1857, 11-20* P.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 10th October—454 duty men, all ranks, including also 77 more men arrived to-day from Allahabad, 163 sick, 69 convalescents, 34 officers: total 797. No communication of any kind received yesterday, either from General Outram or from Alumbagh. Captain Thompson's Company, 64th, arrived this morning.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 11th October 1857, 10-40* A.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison—34 officers, 540 duty men, all ranks included; 157 sick, 66 convalescents: total 797. No communication of any kind either from Lucknow or Alumbagh since yesterday.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 12th October 1857, 11-30* A.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 12th October—39 officers, 704 duty men, all ranks; 154 sick, 65 convalescents; total 962. Reason for increased numbers is 35 artillery arrived to-day from Allahabad; also 125, all ranks, arrived last night from Alumbagh as escort to 148 elephants and 150 camels, unladen.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 12th October 1857.*

Letter of 9th from Alumbagh reports incessant firing at Lucknow, with occasional salvos of artillery. Cannot communicate with General Outram yet. The road between Cawnpore and Alumbagh is infested by thieves, near latter place.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 12th October 1857, 2* P.M.

Convoy of unladen elephants and camels, with escort, arrived last night from Alumbagh, detachments previously giving emergent indents

from officer commanding there for hospital clothes, medical comforts, and stores, as all the camp followers, servants, and baggage were left at Alumbagh; food for natives urgently demanded; 130 sick and wounded men there greatly in want of bedding and linen. Escort were not molested by rebels, but the animals had to ford the river, Bunnee bridge being destroyed. Officers of escort could furnish no information of General Outram's force, but state that frequent firings were heard from Lucknow day and night; a quill cossid arrived occasionally. I have had no communication from General Outram since my last report was sent. I have stated my opinion already about sending small detachments. I do not see how these supplies can be sent; it is only putting more men in peril. The Nana is supposed to cross the river to-day or to-morrow at Futtehpore Chowrassee. He has about 400 cavalry. Report states he goes to meet Gwalior Contingent marching down. Please to send orders quickly about my sending supplies.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 13th October 1857, 1-15* P.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 13th October:—4 officers, 723 duty men; 154 sick, 73 convalescents. Reason of increase—since yesterday a detachment of Sikhs came in with stores from Allahabad. No communication received from Baillie Guard or from Alumbagh since yesterday.

Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Benares, 13th October 1857, 11-30 A.M.

A letter from Captain Bruce at Cawnpore, of 11th, says that still no letters were received from Lucknow, but natives arriving report that everything was favourable. Sir James Outram had been slightly wounded on 25th, but not at all incapacitated from work. Nana Sahib has returned from Lucknow to Futtehpore Chowrassee, opposite Bithoor, having had a turn-up with Maun Sing before he left. Fugitives from Delhi at Cheeram-ka-Sarai on 9th. Captain Yule says rail will be ready to Rhoga, eight miles beyond Lohundah, in a fortnight or so. Of the 53rd, only two companies will go by steamer as ordered by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, (by order of the Commander-in-Chief) to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 14th October 1857.*

With regard to the arrival of the convoy from Alumbagh, what intelligence did it bring, and is the road through Oudh to that place to be considered safe? What does the officer in command of the party report? Answer by telegraph.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 14th October 1857, 12 noon.*

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, October 14:—40 officers, 725 duty men, 153 sick, 72 convalescents. No communication received from Baillie Guard nor from Alumbagh since yesterday. I wrote the day before yesterday by cossid to the officer in command at Alumbagh to let me know daily every particular connected with the Oudh Field Force. No report has as yet come in. All the elephants and camels sent down by General Outram's orders from Alumbagh were handed over to the Commissariat.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 15th October 1857, 3-15* P.M.

As already telegraphed on the 12th instant, the officer commanding the convoy brought no intelligence further than that occasionally a cossid with difficulty made his way from the Baillie Guard to Alumbagh; that they heard constant firing, and that they were not molested on their road here. As far as Alumbagh, with a strong detachment and guns, I consider the road safe. I beg to refer you to my message of the 12th instant, more particularly as we have not had any communication from Lucknow since, which fact is daily telegraphed to you.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 15th October 1857,* 3-50 P.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 15th of October:—43 officers, 805 duty men, 154 sick, 80 convalescents. Reason of increase since yesterday,—a detachment of 86 men arrived from Allahabad, consisting of details of all the regiments here. No communication received from Baillie Guard or from Alumbagh since yesterday. A cossid yesterday arrived with letters from Agra; he passed at Urrool the remainder of the Jhansi brigade of mutineers, much hampered with wounded and sick men.

They numbered about 1,700* men, without followers, and he stated that they had fourteen guns. They had a quantity of cattle and carriage. Their object doubtless is to cross by Sheorajpore or Bithoor into Oudh. They are beaten men, dispirited, and disheartened. They are weak in cavalry.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, (by order of the Commander-in-Chief), to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 16th October 1857.*

If you believe that the road to Lucknow is not more obstructed than when the last detachment marched on, send a party to the relief of Alumbagh, made up to 500 rank and file, with four guns; the whole being under the command of Major Barnston, with Captain Bruce as Staff Officer.

Having thrown in provisions which should be sufficient for a month at the very least, including a due supply of atta for the use of the native troops, this party should return if possible bringing back unladen elephants and camels, as otherwise they would eat up all the food they take. Send some police sowars with it, if you have any, as scouts, and impress upon Major Barnston the necessity of taking every precaution; when returning he must bring back his guns.

If on due reflection, Major Barnston thinks it absolutely necessary to reinforce Alumbagh with a company of Europeans, he must do so; but His Excellency is of opinion that if such a step can be avoided, it would be much better for the garrison on account of supplies as well as for the safety of the returning column.

From Captain PEEL, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, Friday, 16th October, 3* P.M.

The detachment of 53rd Regiment, 165 in number, with six lakhs of rupees and two lakhs of ammunition, have left by rail for Lohundah, and thence by march to Cawnpore.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India and the Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta—dated Cawnpore, 16th October 1857.*

Letter from General Outram, dated Lucknow, 13th. He desires me to urge strongly the imperative necessity for supplies, to the utmost

* This estimate is excessive. They had suffered a good deal at Delhi and at Bulandshahr, and consisted of only portions of two regiments and a battery. It is open to question whether they were 800 strong at the time mentioned.

extent that our escorts from this can guard. Represents how imperative he considers it that reinforcements for Lucknow be organised at Alumbagh, not at Cawnpore, where the assembly of forces would have no effect at Lucknow, whereas concentration at Alumbagh would favour communication with friends in the city and encourage loyal zemindars to come forward. Reinforcements at Alumbagh can be supplied from Cawnpore with perfect safety; the road so far open, that native police posts, as far as Nawabgunge, are unmolested and detachments at Busherutgunge, Nawabgunge, and Bunnee will amply secure the communication. Alumbagh is a well fortified wall enclosure, with open country around.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 16th October 1857, 11-3* A.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 16th October:—43 officers, 803 duty men, 160 sick, 75 convalescents. Captain Bruce received a communication yesterday evening from General Outram. Contents have been already telegraphed. No communication for Alumbagh since yesterday.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to Captain PEEL, R. N., *Allahabad,—dated Calcutta, 17th October 1857.*

Push on the two companies of the 53rd to Cawnpore according to your own proposal. As soon as the four companies of the 93rd are equipped, send them without delay to Futtehpore, under Colonel Adrian Hope, the two companies now at Futtehpore being forwarded to Cawnpore. Desire the officer commanding at Futtehpore to send an exact state to you of the provisions, stores, and ammunition, gun and Enfield rifle, which he has in store.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 17th October 1857.*

Instruct Major Barnston to take advantage of his elephants, on his return from Alumbagh, to bring back such sick men as are able to travel.

Telegram from Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, Calcutta, to the Deputy Magistrate of Sherghotty,—dated Calcutta, 17th October 1857.

You must not detain the 93rd on any account; they are ordered upon a particular duty. It will interfere with the whole of the arrangements.

You are requested never to stop a detachment on the road going by bullock train, without previous authority. The detachment of the 53rd is amply strong enough for anything that can be required of it.

Telegram from Captain PEEL, *R. N., to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 17th October 1857, 4* P.M.

I received by telegraph from Cawnpore an order from General Outram of the 15th instant, from Lucknow, to expedite, as much as possible, the two regiments coming up. He does not specify what regiments.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 17th October 1857, 10-10* P.M.

Having made all my arrangements to send off 500 infantry, with four guns, 9-pounders, under the command of Major Barnston, with Captain Bruce as Staff Officer, to march this night at 2 o'clock, the commissariat were not ready. Captain Bruce informs, at 7 o'clock this evening, that the Delhi fugitives had reached Bithoor. They had been obliged to divide in consequence of scarcity of food. Each division marched one ahead of the other. The first would probably reach Sheorajpore to-morrow, and so on. The Nana is in communication, and is trying to induce them to join him at Bithoor, where his valuables are buried. Such being the case, I move out with 600 infantry and six guns (five 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer) at 1 A.M. to-morrow morning, the 18th. No elephants. Will carry merely the party, so that I hope to be able to give a good account of our enemies. This will probably prevent a number of guns and men being brought into Oudh, which might obstruct the movements of our relief parties, and I sincerely trust that the Commander-in-Chief will approve of the steps I have taken, and of my great wish to thwart, and, if possible, to seize on, the murderous rebel Nana. The moment I return I will then carry out the Commander-in-Chief's views of sending the supplies to Alumbagh, which will be all ready to-morrow evening.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 17th October 1857, 12-30* P. M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 17th October:—47 officers, 890 duty men, 167 sick, 70 convalescents. Reason of increase,—arrived

to-day from Allahabad one captain, four subalterns, one assistant surgeon, three sergeants, nine drummers, and 88 rank and file, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, as escort to 35,000 rupees. I have ordered Colonel O'Brien back to Futtehpore.

Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Benares, 18th October 1857, 9 A.M.

On the 17th of October, the Delhi fugitives were in the Cawnpore District, but within twenty miles of the Cawnpore station. How much further off not stated. They are reported at between 3,000 and 4,000 fighting men, with 14 guns and 80 elephants, and a quantity of plunder. The Nana was still at Futtehpore Chowrassee.

Telegram from Major STIRLING, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 18th October 1857,* 2 P.M.

Strength of the Cawnpore garrison, 18th October:—13 officers, 239 duty men, 25 Golundauze Sikhs, 173 in hospital, 73 convalescents. A party of two officers and 98 men arrived this morning from Allahabad, included in the above return. Reason of decrease of force at Cawnpore,—740 men gone out with Colonel Wilson; details sent this morning. Increase of stores since yesterday:—4,100 ℔ biscuits, 287 maunds grain, 450 maunds bhoosa, sheep 121, slaughter cattle 48.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff, (by order of the Commander-in-Chief), to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 18th October 1857,* 6-30 P.M.

Your telegram of 17th October 5 P.M., just received. His Excellency hopes that there is no mistake, and that Major Barnston is gone.

Who have you got in the Quartermaster-General's Department for yourself?

Telegram from Major STIRLING, *to General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, 19th October 1857,* 11-10 A.M.

The following received from Captain Bruce dated Sheorajpore, 18th October, 7 P.M. We reached at three-thirty; drove the enemy right out of the place which was strong with hardly any resistance, and followed them up two miles and continued for a mile and a half further with a few sowars but they could not be overtaken. I suspect their almost

nominal opposition was to cover their flight. Our casualties seven or eight. No guns taken, but some ordnance stores.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 19th October 1857.

You are requested to forward the following message to Colonel Fraser, Chief Commissioner at Agra, with the utmost expedition:—

Message begins:—"The presence of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed's column is urgently required in Oudh, therefore do not let Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed be detained at or near Agra an hour longer than is necessary. Allow him to exchange some of his sickly and weak European infantry for some of your fresh men, if he desires it. Let Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed know that his cavalry is especially needed.

The reinforcement of General Outram at Lucknow is the object which most presses, and you are requested to do everything in your power to hasten the accomplishment of this by Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed."

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff (by order of the Commander-in-Chief), to Colonel WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 20th October 1857.*

Increase the party going to Alumbagh to 700 (seven hundred) rank and file. Let two hundred remain at Alumbagh to reinforce the garrison and five hundred return with the unladen elephants and camels.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 20th October 1857, 11* A.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 20th October:—49 officers, 908 European duty men, all ranks, 45 Sikhs, 191 sick, and 8 convalescents. Reason of increase,—party of 742 men, under Colonel Wilson's command, returned to Cawnpore this morning from the district. No communication whatever from Baillee Guard yesterday.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to the Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, 20th October 1857, 12-20* P.M.

The column has returned after driving the fugitives from Sheorajpore. They amounted to 2,500 with 8 guns, but their flight was so precipitate that I regret want of cavalry prevented the capture of the guns; ordnance stores and a few horses fell into our hands. Our casualties only eight or ten.

Telegram from the Chief of the Staff (by order of the Commander-in-Chief) to Colonel WILSON, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 21st October 1857.*

Prepare ammunition to be ready for Colonel Greathed's guns, 6 and 9-pounders, so that he may be able to fill up on arrival eight 6-pounder guns, two 12-pounder howitzers, five 9-pounder guns and one 24-pounder howitzer. Also communicate with him by cossid and desire him to cause his commissariat officer to collect as many spare camels as he can and bring them along with him but without delaying his march.

If you have any difficulty in this let me know by telegraph.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, —dated Cawnpore, 22nd October 1857, 12-15* P.M.

Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 22nd October:—14 officers, 296 duty men, 13 prisoners, 22 staff and garrison employ, 30 Sikhs and native gunners, 24 band boys, 32 sepoys came up as escort, 188 sick, 80 convalescents.

Reason of decrease in garrison:—An escort of 32 officers, 569 men proceeded with a convoy of provisions to Alumbagh this morning, sufficient for 1,000 Europeans and 2,500 natives, first class scale, for one month; also provision for fifteen days for 576 Europeans, the escort. All surplus if not required will be left at Alumbagh; also one lakh of Enfield ammunition and one-and-a-half lakh of caps.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *(for General* OUTRAM*), to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 23rd October 1857, 4-45* P.M.

Colonel Greathed's column at Shikoabad on 17th, consisting of two troops, horse artillery, five guns each, Captain Bourchier's Battery, two 18-pounders and two 8-inch mortars, 9th Lancers and 8th and 75th Foot, both weak, about 350 each, two Punjab infantry, 500 each, and 500 Irregular Horse. Colonel Greathed writes that he expects to reach Cawnpore on 27th to take command of the moveable column.

Telegram from Colonel WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 23rd October 1857, 11-15* A.M.

Six officers, 90 men of 5th Fusiliers arrived this morning by bullock train. Strength of Cawnpore garrison, 23rd October:—Twenty officers, 385 duty men, 22 staff employ, 30 Sikhs as gunners, 26 band boys, 32 sepoys, 196 sick, 82 convalescents. No communication received from Alumbagh or Baillie Guard yesterday.

From the Lieutenant-Governor, to the Governor-General,—dated Benares, 24th October 1857.

A man of the Intelligence Department who left Lucknow eight days ago reports that our prospects there were then looking up. Half the city, he says, was in our power, and our troops beyond reach of the enemy, but Maun Sing, and what the messenger calls about 40,000 talookdars' men, were still there. The messenger said 300 or 400 footsore fugitives from Delhi coming south towards us. When they heard of our Gurkhas doings returned back northwards. The Gurkhas doings were probably the defeat of the party which crossed the Jounpore frontier the other day with loss of about 250 killed—181 bodies counted next day—besides many shot in a tank and others carried away in the night, our small body of police sowars cut up large numbers. Six standards taken. Our loss was seven wounded.

Telegram from Colonel* WILSON, *Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Chief of the Staff, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 24th October 1857, 5-55* P.M.

The moveable column now commanded by Brigadier Hope Grant marched 24 miles into this place yesterday, and reoccupied it without opposition. The Rajah fled a few hours before our arrival, leaving behind him a good deal of property, a brass 6-pounder, several small native guns, and about 14,000 pounds of gunpowder, together with Rs. 2,30,000, the treasure left here when the outbreak first took place. We march on Bewar to-morrow, and if all goes well, undertake to reach Cawnpore by the 20th† instant. A body of mutineers, with eight guns, were reported to have taken up a position at Bewar, but are now said to have fled. The Gwalior troops are believed to be making for Jhansi, and a large number of Delhi fugitive mutineers were at Meerum-ka-serai, between this and Cawnpore, a few days ago. Doubtful whether to march into Oudh or to make for Banda and that neighbourhood. We have received no late news from Behu. Perhaps you would kindly communicate the progress of the Column to Calcutta, and also to General Havelock if he is still across the Ganges. We have two horse artillery guns, a horse battery, two 8-pounders, 2-inch mortars, two companies of Punjab Sappers and Miners, and about 260 European and 320 Native Punjab cavalry, 609 Europeans and 900 Native Punjab Infantry.

* It is difficult to gather from the message what place Brigadier Hope Grant had occupied. It was Mynpoorie.

† By the 20th no doubt 26th is meant as probable date of Brigadier Grant's arrival.

Telegram from Brigadier CAMPBELL, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 3rd November 1857, 9* A.M.

I have the honour to forward the following despatch from Captain Peel to me, and beg to add, for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General, the despatch was opened on the road by the Commander-in-Chief, who wrote on it: "I have perused this despatch with exceeding satisfaction." Extract from two despatches from Captain Peel, Camp Binkee, 1st November 1857, 8 P.M., to me. Please inform the Commander-in-Chief that a battle was fought this afternoon near the village of Khujwa between the Dinapore mutineers and a detachment of 500 men and 2-pounder guns under the command of Colonel Powell. The enemy had three guns, were in a strong position, and had a numerous force. Their position was carried, two guns captured, and their camp plundered. I regret to state that Colonel Powell was killed. The object in view having been accomplished, I shall return to Futtehpore.

(Signed) W. PEEL, *Capt., R.N.*

Camp Cawnpore, 2nd November 1857, 11 A.M. We have two captured guns with limbers and ammunition wagons. The enemy were prepared for our attack and sepoys were in uniform. Our success was complete. In consequence of forced marches, we were unable to pursue them. We destroyed their camp, left with cheers, collected the wounded, and encamped near Binkee. Our loss is severe. We buried Colonel Powell here, and the other dead.

(Signed) W. PEEL, *Capt., R.N.*

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 9th November 1857.

I beg to inform Your Lordship that I am now starting to join the troops in Oudh.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to Major-General WINDHAM, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 11th November 1857, 7* A.M.

Can you obtain any reliable information of the Gwalior men, as to the direction in which they are moving, and whether in one or more bodies, and with what force of artillery?

The intelligence furnished from Cawnpore has been very meagre of late. I hope you will be able to improve that department; spare no expense to do so; Captain Bruce and Mr. Sherer will help.

Pray keep me informed of the Commander-in-Chief's movements, and address your messages directly to myself.

Telegram from Brigadier WILSON, *to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General of India,—dated Cawnpore, 11th November 1857, noon.*

The following troops have marched into Oudh since the 7th November:—Naval Brigade, 8 officers and 80 men; 53rd, 8 officers and 194 men; 93rd, 9 officers and 184 men; Royal Engineers, 4 officers and 84 men; Madras Sappers and Miners, 2 officers and 100 men. Military Train, 4 officers and 57 men; Royal Artillery, 6 officers and 115 men; 23rd, 15 officers and 277 men; 93rd, 5 officers and 86 men. The Commander-in-Chief has joined Brigadier Grant's Column beyond Bunnee Bridge. I have received no letters from Lucknow since my last telegram. Captain Bruce remains here.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 12th November 1857, 11-30* A.M.

Since the Commander-in-Chief's departure on the 9th, I have forwarded troops of all arms to him, amounting to about 1,300 men. Three companies of the 82nd went on to Alumbagh this morning. To-morrow morning three companies of the 23rd, the Military Train, and Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford's Artillery will start for the same. All troops now going there go in two days. As yet I have heard of nothing beyond a harmless cannonade having taken place at Alumbagh. Brigadier Carthew I expect with his Madrasees to-morrow. I shall forward them to Bunnee if no information reach me of the advance in force of the Gwalior Contingent. Captain Bruce has already sent you a message as to their whereabouts this morning. Should they cross in force at Calpee, I shall retain the Madras Brigade for the defence of this place. I have rather more than 500 Europeans here, and about 50 horses, and all daily strengthening the works. As soon as anything of the least importance reaches me from Lucknow, Your Lordship shall receive it. The Gwalior Contingent Artillery is said to consist of 8 heavy guns and 30 light ones. Twelve hundred of their men and three light guns are certainly at Calpee.

From Major W. MAYHEW, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 1281, dated Adjutant-General's, Office, Calcutta, 12th November 1857.*

In forwarding the enclosed despatch,* and the annexed returns to Government, I am instructed by the Commander-in-Chief to remark that the action of which it gives an account was peculiarly severe, the loss of the force engaged being at the rate of about one to five (1 to 5).

* From Captain Peel, R. N., dated 3rd November 1857, with eight enclosures.

2. Success crowned the desperate efforts of the assailants ; but it is evident, from the very lucid report of Captain Peel, C. B., R. N., that the attack was most hazardous, and that at one time the force was in the greatest danger.

3. The troops had been harassed by very long marches, and they were not in a state to attack, much less to follow up an attack.

4. It is most providential that the 5th Irregular Cavalry, owing to some accidental cause, had not advanced with the rebel infantry from Banda. Had they done so, not a man of the detachment would have escaped to tell the tale.

5. Although the late gallant Colonel Powell, C.B., fell gloriously at the head of his troops, the Commander-in-Chief conceives that he, in some measure, imperilled his most important charge, *viz.*, that of the siege train, and therefore exceeded his duty.

6. A company of the Royal Engineers was taken out in this affair and incurred loss ; and this, in the face of the repeated instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, that they should not on any account be employed on such duties ; and what is more, instead of being used as a last reserve, they were pushed forward in the front to support the skirmishers.

7. The result, however, of all was success ; and although obliged to criticise the disposition of the force, His Excellency gladly bears testimony to the brilliant courage, and the untiring energy displayed by all ranks in conflict with the enemy, and in the great efforts made to come up with him.

8. This fight affords one more instance of what the British soldier will perform in spite of every disadvantage and extraordinary fatigue.

9. This was a soldier's fight, if there ever was one.

10. The Commander-in-Chief would especially direct the attention of the Government to the manner in which the command was

conducted by Captain Peel, C.B., R. N., after the death of Colonel Powell, C. B., at a moment of extreme danger and difficulty.

11. The return of the papers is requested when no longer required.

From Captain W. PEEL, C.B., R. N., *Commanding, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, Cawnpore,—dated Camp Futtehpore, 3rd November 1857.*

I have the honour to lay before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief the details of the battle of Khujwa, with the circumstances that preceded it.

Detachments amounting to 700 men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment, in charge of siege train guns and a large convoy were proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore and had arrived on the 31st October, after a march of twelve miles, at the camping ground of Thurrea. The same afternoon intelligence was received from Futtehpore that the sepoy mutineers of the Dinapore regiments with three guns had passed the Jumna with the intention of either attacking Futtehpore or crossing over into Oudh. The camp was immediately struck, and we arrived at the camping ground of Futtehpore at midnight.

Colonel Powell then made arrangements for marching at daylight upon the enemy, who were reported to be about twenty-four miles distant at Khujwa beyond the village of Binkee. The column of attack consisted of 162 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment under Major Clarke, 68 of the Royal Engineers under Captain Clarke, 70 of a depôt detachment under Lieutenant Fanning, of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, and 103 of the Naval Brigade under Captain Peel. It marched at daylight and was joined from the garrison of Futtehpore by a company of the 93rd Highlanders, 100 in number, under Captain Cornwall, and two 9-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal Artillery. After marching for sixteen miles, the column halted for refreshment, and then resumed the march at a rapid pace, passing through the village of Binkee at about 1-30 P.M., where the intelligence was confirmed that the enemy was at hand.

The troops pressed on without interruption, the Highlanders advancing in skirmishing order, supported by the Royal Engineers, and followed by the 53rd Regiment in column, and then by the Naval

Brigade. The depôt detachment was with the baggage. We advanced along the road which led straight for the village of Khujwa, and saw that the enemy's right occupied a long line of high embankments on our left of the road, which embankment, screened by a grove, continued towards the village, and that their left was higher up on the other side with their guns posted in the centre on the road, two of them in advance, and one on a bridge near the village.

A round shot coming down the road, opened the battle at about 2-20 P.M., and the column was ordered to edge to the right, and advance on the guns through the corn-fields, the skirmishers of the 93rd and the Royal Engineers pushing on on both sides of the road. The enemy's artillery was well served, and did great execution, and the flank fire of musketry from the embankment was very severe. The gallant Colonel Powell, himself on the left of the road, pressed on the attack, and had just secured two guns of the enemy, when he fell dead with a bullet through his forehead. In the meantime, the Naval Brigade had advanced on the right of the 53rd, and carried the enemy's position in their front. It was then that the death of Colonel Powell was reported to me, and I was requested to assume the command. The great force of the enemy, the long line of their defences, and the exhaustion of both officers and men, after such long marches, rendered our position truly critical. The front of the battle had become changed to the line of the road, and the enemy, with all their force behind their embankment threatened to intercept our rear. I left Lieutenant Hay, R.N., supported by two 9-pounder guns, to hold the position which his party had gallantly carried and which secured our flank, and collecting as many fresh troops as were available, assisted principally by Lieutenant Lennox, Royal Engineers (Captain Clarke being unfortunately severely wounded), and by Ensign Traill,* 53rd Regiment, we marched across the road, and passing round the upper end of the embankment, divided the enemy's force, and drove them successively from all their positions.

The enemy then retired in confusion, leaving us masters of their camp, and with two of their guns and a tumbril in our possession.

The late hour of the evening (it was half-past four when the enemy fired their last shot) and the excessive fatigue of the troops prevented any pursuit. We, therefore, spoiled their camp, and leaving it with

* Ensign Robert Holt Truell.

cheers, formed on the road by the bridge near the village, and sent parties to collect our dead and wounded.

With the body of the Colonel on the limber of the gun he had so gallantly captured we then returned and encamped near the village of Binkee.

Our loss in the action was very severe, amounting to 95 killed and wounded. Enclosed are the returns of the detachments forming the column of attack.

The behaviour of the troops and of the Naval Brigade was admirable, and all vied with each other and showed equal courage in the field. The marching of the 53rd, and the accurate firing of the Highlanders, deserve special commendation.

I received the greatest assistance from Captain Cox, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, whom I would wish to bring to the favourable notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the arrangements of the field hospital under Doctor Grant, Her Majesty's 53rd, and those of the Quartermaster's Department under Captain Marshall, were everything I could wish.

The total number of the enemy was reported to be about 4,000 men, 2,000 of whom were sepoys who fought in their uniform. Their loss was estimated at above 300 killed.

I have the pleasure to inform His Excellency that the remaining gun of the enemy, with three tumbrils, was brought in this evening by the police, having been abandoned by the rebels in their flight about eight miles beyond Khujwa, and that the sepoys have dispersed in all directions pursued by the villagers.

RETURN of killed and wounded of the detachment of the Naval Brigade, Captain PEEL, R. N., C.B., *&c., in the action at Khujwa on the 1st November 1857.*

FUTTEHPORE,
The 23rd November 1857.

Number.	Rank.	Names.	Nature of wound.	Remarks.
1	Lieut., R. N. ...	Edward Hay ...	Slight wound of hand	Doing well.
2	Lieut., R. N. ...	William Sterling	Gun-shot wound through calf of leg.	Doing well.
3	Ord. Seaman ...	William Ballard ...	Gun-shot wound through left calf	Severely.
4	Ord. Seaman ...	John Connor ...	Gun-shot wound of right arm ...	Severely.
5	A. B.	Morris Curran ...	Gun-shot wound of left thigh ...	Severely.
6	A. B.	James Finden ...	Contusion from musket ball ...	Slightly.
7	A. B.	James French ..	Gun-shot wound ankle joint ...	Severely.
8	Capt. After Guard	Edward Baker ...	Gun-shot wound back part of thorax.	Dangerously.
9	Ord. Seaman ...	John Jordan ...	Gun-shot wound through base of left lung.	Dangerously.
10	A. B.	William O'Neil ...	Gun-shot wound of left thigh ...	Severely.
11	Ord. Seaman ...	John Metcalf ...	Canister shot through left hip ...	Severely.
12	R. Marines ...	Thomas Langston	Gun-shot wound of left foot ...	Severely.
13	A. B.	William Ashton ...	Gun-shot wound of head ...	Mortally.
14	R. M. A. ...	Richard Kelly ..	Gun-shot wound through abdomen.	Died on the field.
15	L. Seaman ...	Alex. Hewston ...	Gun-shot wounds of hip and abdomen.	Died on the field.

RECAPITULATION.

		Officers.	Petty Officers.	Seamen.	Marines.	Total.
Killed		....	......	1	1	2
Wounded.	Mortally	......	......	1	......	1
	Dangerously	......	1	1	......	2
	Severely	1	......	6	1	8
	Slightly	1	......	1	......	2

(Sd.) J. FLANAGAN, *Asst. Surgn.*,
In Medl. Charge, Naval Brigade.

Royal Engineers.

RETURN of killed and wounded at the action of Khujwa on the 1st November 1857.

FUTTEHPORE,
The 3rd November 1857.

Number.	Rank.	Names.	Nature of Wound.	Remarks.
		KILLED.		
1	Sapper ...	John Malcolm.		
		WOUNDED.		
1	Captain ...	A. J. Clerke	Severe.	
1	Sapper ...	John Ancell	Severe.	
2	Do	George Singleton	Severe.	
3	Do	Thomas Wilson	Severe.	
4	Do	George Smith	Severe.	
5	Do	John Yelland	Slight.	

RECAPITULATION.

Killed	1
Wounded	6
Total ...	7

(Sd.) W. PEEL, *Capt., R. N., Commanding Column.*

(Sd.) W. O. LENNOX, *Lieut., R. E., Commandant.*

RETURN of casualties of a detachment, 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Artillery, on the 1st November 1857.

CAMP FUTTEHPORE,
The 3rd November 1857.

Number.	Names and Rank.	Nature of wound.	Remarks.
1	Bombardier O'Sullivan ...	Contusion on the back from round shot.	
2	Gunner T. Williams ...	Severely in left eye.	
	Bullock-drivers.		Two bullocks killed and three wounded.
1	Luchmun	Slight wound in right arm.	
2	Hanoo	Slight wound on right brace.	
3	Unganoo	Severely in right hand and right foot.	

(Sd.) J. C. ANDERSON, *Lieut., Comdg. Dett., 3rd Co., 5th Battn., Arty.*

List of officers and men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment killed and wounded at the action at Khujwa on the 1st November 1857.

CAMP FUTTEHPORE,
The 1st November 1857.

Numbers.	Rank.	Names.	Company.	Nature of wound.	Remarks.
1	Lieut.-Colonel ...	T. S. Powell. C. B. ...	0	... ...	Killed in action.
1	Color-Sergeant ...	Alexander Macfee ...	2	Mortally ...	Since dead.
1	Corporal ...	Edmond Crowley ...	2	Ditto ...	Do.
1	Private ...	John Burnett ...	2	Ditto ...	Do.
2	,, ...	John Cashman ...	1	... ...	Killed in action.
3	,, ...	Michael Downey ...	2	... ...	Do.
4	,, ...	Michael Farnam ...	1	... ...	Do.
5	,, ...	John Gerrard ...	3	... ...	Do.
6	,, ...	Richard Mc'Curry ...	2	... ...	Do.
7	,, ...	Michael Mc'Danaher ...	2	... ...	Do.
8	,, ...	James Matthews ...	3	... ...	Do.
9	,, ...	Michael Sullivan ...	3	... ...	Do.

Wounded.

1	Captain ...	Thomas Moubray ...	0	Slightly ...	In the face grape shot.
1	Lieutenant ...	James W. Corfleld ...	0	Severely.	
2	,, ...	Thomas Acton ...	0	Ditto.	
1	Sergeant-Major ...	Charles Jaye ...	1	Ditto.	
2	Sergeant ...	Edward Devery ...	2	Dangerously.	
3	,, ...	Joseph Heathcote ...	2	Slightly.	
1	Corporal ...	James Nolan ...	3	Dangerously.	
2	,, ...	Edward Ware ...	2	Ditto.	
1	Private ...	Thomas Davies ...	2	Mortally.	
2	,, ...	Richard Camper ...	3	Slightly ...	Bayonet wound.
3	,, ...	Henry Porter ...	1	Dangerously.	
4	,, ...	Dennis Creed ...	2	Ditto.	
5	,, ...	James Collins ...	1	Ditto.	
6	,, ...	Richard Tobin ...	3	Severely.	
7	,, ...	John Ashworth ...	2	Dangerously.	
8	,, ...	George Evans ...	3	Severely.	
9	,, ...	Henry Miles ...	3	Dangerously.	
10	,, ...	William Eyles ...	3	Ditto.	
11	,, ..	Francis Reilly ...	3	Ditto.	

List of officers and men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment killed and wounded at the action at Khujwa on the 1st November 1857— (Concld.)

Numbers.	Rank.	Names.	Company.	Nature of wound.	Remarks.
		Wounded—(Concld.)			
12	Private ...	Patrick Mullins ...	2	Ditto.	
13	" ...	Samuel Johnson ...	2	Mortally.	
14	" ...	Benjamin Young ...	2	Severely.	
15	" ...	Patrick Redding ...	3	Dangerously.	
16	" ...	Hugh Scalon ...	3	Ditto.	
17	" ...	Edward Rogers ...	1	Severely.	
18	" ...	John Duina ...	3	Dangerously.	
19	" ...	Peter Mc'Hally ...	3	Slightly.	
20	" ...	George Huxley ...	3	Severely.	
21	" ...	George Frary ...	3	Ditto.	
22	" ...	John McCarthy ...	2	Slightly.	
23	" ...	Edward Barrett ..	2	Severely.	

RECAPITULATION.

Distribution.		Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Total.
Killed ...	... ...	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	9	12
Wounded ...	Mortally ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Dangerously...	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	11	14
	Severely ...	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	7	10
	Slightly ...	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	5
Total ...		1	0	1	2	0	0	4	3	0	32	43

(Signed) J. GRANT, M.D., *Asst. Surgn.*,
In medl. charge, H. M.'s 53rd Regt.

RETURN of killed and wounded of the detachment under Lieutenant FANNING, *Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, in the action at Khujwa on the 1st November 1857.*

FUTTEHPORE,
The 3rd November 1857.

Number.	Rank.	Names.	Corps.	Nature of wound.	Remarks.
1	Private ...	Christopher Gear ...	64	Gun-shot wound through head.	Killed on the field.
2	"	James Murray ...	64	Ditto through head ...	Ditto.
3	"	Thomas Rily ...	64	Ditto through right lung.	Ditto.
4	"	Thomas Gerard ...	1st B. F.	Ditto through both lungs.	Ditto.
5	"	John Hayer ...	64	Ditto through intestines.	Died after removal from the field.
6	"	John Feigh ...	84	Shot through thigh ...	Doing well.
7	"	Michael Curtin ...	64	Ditto through leg ...	Wound very slight.
8	"	Charles Moore ...	64	Scalp wound ...	Slightly.
9	"	Daniel Mogher ...	64	Wound of thigh ...	Ditto.
10	"	John Kelly ...	1st M. F.	Shot through fore-arm	Severely.

RECAPITULATION.

		Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Total.
Killed	... ...	......	......	4	4
Wounded	Mortally	......	......	1	1
	Dangerously	......	......	0	0
	Severely	......	......	1	1
	Slightly	......	......	4	4

(Sd.) J. FLANAGAN, *Asst. Surgn.*,
In medl. charge of the above detachment.

RETURN of the killed and wounded of the detachment, 93rd Highlanders, and Bengal Artillery at Khujwa.

FUTTEHPORE,
The 3rd November 1857.

Number.	Regimental number.	Rank and Names.	Company.	Remarks.
1	2157	Sergeant Andrew Fiddes ...	3	Slightly; contusion above the right knee.
2	3351	Corporal John Beatie ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound through right thigh.
3	3020	" Archibald McKinnon	"	Dangerously; gun-shot wound through the lower part of left side of chest.
4	11	Lance-Corporal John Henderson.	"	Severely; gun-shot wound through the fleshy part of left side of chest, not penetrating the cavity of chest.
5	3070	Private Charles Ellingsworth ...	"	Slightly; contusion from musket ball over the right temporal bone.
6	2883	" William Hay ...	"	Slightly; flesh wound at upper part of right thigh.
7	1419	" David Melville ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound of left hand; the ball lodged.
8	3790	" Donald Tolin ...	"	Slightly; gun-shot wound above the right ankle joint.
9	102	" Samuel Johnston ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound through both thighs.
10	3248	" Robert Murdock ...	"	Slightly; gun-shot wound through the fleshy part of the leg.
11	3688	" William Cowie ...	"	Dangerously; gun-shot wound through left thigh, also through left leg, with fracture of the bones of the leg.
12	3243	" Richard Lindsay ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound of the scalp.
13	3283	" Samuel Hunter ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound of left thigh, with fracture.
14	3449	" John Brooks ...	"	Slightly; contusion at right shoulder.
15	3664	" Michael Shilver ...	"	Slightly: contusion of the right arm.
16	3102	" George Feckner ...	"	Killed.
17	3586	" Adam McBain ...	"	Killed.
18	123	" Lewis Levidley ...	"	Killed.
		Bengal Artillery.		
	7474	Bombardier Patrick O'Sullivan	"	Slightly; contusion on the back.
	8626	Gunner Thomas William ...	"	Severely; gun-shot wound through left eye, with loss of sight.

ROBERT MENZIES,
Asst. Surg[illegible]

ORDNANCE.			AMMUNITION.		
Nature.	Quantity.	Remarks.	Nature.	Quantity.	Remarks.
16-pounder light field gun ammunition wagon.	1	Captured and brought in by the force.	6-pounder shot, round	64	Captured by force.
16-pounder light field gun with limber ...	1		" case, spherical	1	
1½-pounder light field gun with limber ...	1		" canister	2	
16-pounder light field gun and limber ...	1	Brought in by the police on the night of 3rd November 1857.	" grape, quilted	13	
9-pounder light field gun ammunition wagon.	1		" shot, round	116	Brought in by police on the 3rd.
Ordnance carts	1		" canister	1	
Tumbrils	2		Total 6-pounder ammunition ...	197	
Total ...	8		3-pounder shot, round	107	Captured by force.
			1-pounder shot, round	52	Brought in by police.
			Total ...	356	

(Sd.) WILLIAM PEEL, *Capt., R. N.,*
Commanding.

CAMP FUTTEHPORE,
The 4th November 1857.

(True copies.)

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Colonel,*
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

GENERAL ORDERS by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 23rd December 1857.

No. 1628 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to publish the subjoined* despatch from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated the 12th of November 1857, and the report by Captain Peel, C.B., of the Royal Navy, received therewith, of the action with the insurgents at Khujwa, on the 1st of November.

Concurring in the justice of the observations which His Excellency has felt himself constrained to make on the circumstances under which this conflict took place, the Governor-General in Council most cordially joins with His Excellency in doing honour to the memory of that gallant and much lamented officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, C.B., of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment, who nobly fell at the head of his small force, by whose steady discipline and invincible courage the victory was gained over an enemy very greatly superior in number.

His Lordship in Council warmly appreciates the valour, while he deeply regrets the loss of the many brave men who fell with their commander.

On the fall of Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, the command of the detachment devolved on Captain Peel, R. N., and the Governor-General in Council most heartily offers to that distinguished officer the tribute of his admiration for his conduct at the most critical period of the engagement, and for the intrepidity and judgment with which he achieved success.

His Lordship in Council likewise offers his best thanks to every officer and man, of the troops and of the Naval Brigade, the devotion of the whole having been most conspicuous on the occasion.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 23rd December 1857. (Signed) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

Telegram from Brigadier WILSON, *to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 13th November 1857, 1-30* P.M.

One hundred and seventy-four European cavalry of mountain train, two hundred and fifteen artillery, and six hundred and twenty infantry have marched from this on Lucknow, since the date of my

* Printed on pages 323-326.

last telegram of the 11th. Brigadier Grant writes me, under date 11th instant, that we advance to-morrow morning 12th, and I trust you will not be long before hearing of the relief of Lucknow Residency.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 13th November 1857, 7* A.M.

The Commander-in-Chief was to have advanced to Alumbagh yesterday, and begins operations in earnest to-day: every man and all the stores here expected will have joined him by to-morrow. The Gwalior Contingent had certainly twenty guns, and above 3,000 men at Calpee on the 11th; this we had from two different sowars yesterday. In fact, another division had entered Calpee.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 14th November 1857, 8* P.M.

News from Commander-in-Chief's camp at Alumbagh, 9 A.M., the 13th. After several skirmishes in the day, ending in capture of two guns, the fort of Jullabad was taken and blown up. The Commander-in-Chief communicated with Sir J. Outram by means of a semaphore, and will probably occupy the Dilkoosha to-day. The country people round Lucknow are hostile.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, to Mr. SHERER, *Cawnpore,—dated Calcutta, 14th November 1857, 5-45* P.M.

Your message of the 7th instant received. The Governor-General accepts of Scindia's proposal with thanks, and has full confidence in his management. His Highness may also take charge of any other assigned districts where the authority of Government has ceased for the time.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 18th November 1857, 4-30* P.M.

I have forwarded your message sent through Brigadier Campbell, which came to me this morning, to the Commander-in-Chief, 4 o'clock P.M. No news from Lucknow.

Telegram from Colonel YULE, *to the Secretary to the Government of India, Calcutta,—dated Alumbagh, 20th November 1857, 9* A.M.

The Commander-in-Chief said to have joined General Outram in Residency on 17th. Great slaughter of enemy at Secunderbagh; firing still heard in direction of Residency.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Camp Lucknow, 20th November 1857, 6 P.M.

The garrison of Lucknow has been removed, and I am now engaged in carrying the women and wounded to the rear. I propose to move the whole force to an open position outside the town without further loss of life. Sir James Outram on the contrary desires that an attack on the Kissenbagh* should be made, and then to continue to hold the position in the town. He thinks that two strong brigades of 600 men would suffice to hold the town after the Kissenbagh had fallen. But I am of opinion that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now maintained by me to the Alumbagh, and constantly under the fire of the enemy, that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged.

I have always been of opinion that the position taken up by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was a false one; and after becoming acquainted with the ground, and worked my troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion is confirmed. I therefore submit that to commit another garrison in this immense city is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it. I conceive that a strong moveable division outside the town with field and heavy artillery in a good military position is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to our practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oudh.

Such are the general grounds for my opinion. The more special ones are the want of means, particularly infantry, field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control, and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oudh than such a division as I have mentioned as evidence of the intentions of Government.

In the meantime I await the instructions of Your Lordship in the position I have taken up.

Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country, I have delayed further movement till I shall receive Your Lordship's reply.

* Sic in original—Kaiserbagh.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 21st November 1857, noon.*

The Gwalior force has certainly begun to cross the Jumna at Calpee, and preparations for further crossing are going on; six guns are said to be on this bank. The Nana and his followers the same as before. No news this morning from Lucknow. Mr. Devere, of the Electric Telegraph Department, and two followers, found murdered on the road between Alumbagh and Bunnee.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Commander-in-Chief,—dated Calcutta, 21st November 1857, 3 P.M.

I have received your message of yesterday. The one step to be avoided is a total withdrawal of the British forces from Oudh.

Your proposal to leave a strong moveable division with heavy artillery outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy.

Telegram from the Governor-General of India in Council, to the Commander-in-Chief, Lucknow (via Cawnpore),—dated Calcutta, 21st November 1857.

I congratulate you, my dear Sir Colin, with all my heart, on this great and joyful success.

Pray let me know how your wound is, and do not put yourself in the way of another.

You have effectually inspired your 93rd. I fear their whole loss must be very great.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 23rd November 1857, 4 P.M.*

Not a word from Lucknow for three days. One-half of the Gwalior Contingent has crossed, and eighteen guns. The force at Shewalee has moved towards Akberpore. Captain Bruce's police were attacked at Bunnee the day before yesterday; 74 killed. I sent Lieutenant-Colonel Fisher and 400 of the 27th Madras Native Infantry and two 9-pounders this morning at 3 A.M. to hold the place for the future; the police having absconded after the departure of the convoy of 300 Europeans I had sent under command of Fisher, of Her Majesty's 53rd, had passed to Alumbagh with ammunition.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Lucknow, 23rd November 1857.

Last night I caused the garrison of Lucknow to execute its retreat from the Residency, covered by the relieving force, which then fell back on Dilkoosha in the presence of the whole force of Oudh. The women, wounded and State prisoners and King's treasure, and twenty-three lakhs of rupees, with all the guns worth taking away, are in my camp; a great many guns were destroyed before the Residency was given up, those that were worth bringing having been transported with much labour and made available for our own purpose. The State prisoners were brought with us.

Telegram from Brigadier WILSON, *to the Governor-General of India in Council, Calcutta,—dated Cawnpore, 25th November 1857.*

Mr. Sherer, Collector, communicates to me as follows:—"No news from Lucknow. The Gwalior Contingent have made a considerable advance, as Koer Sing's men whom they pushed on before them were five miles on this side Akberpore to-day."

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 25th November 1857, 6* P.M.

Three thousand men and twelve guns of Gwalior Contingent are at Secunder, about six miles from my camp on the canal, which is six miles from Cawnpore. I should think it quite possible that I may have a fight to-morrow or next day. Not a word from Lucknow since the 19th.

Telegram from Brigadier WILSON, *to the Private Secretary to the Governor-General,—dated Cawnpore, 25th November 1857, 8* P.M.

No news from Lucknow. Contingent have resolved their various plans as to a regular advance either to the Ganges or on Cawnpore. Their first division, with six guns, at Secunder this morning; their third not yet out of the Bhogueser Pergunnah. The heavy guns have been brought over the Jumna and are with the third division. Our force on the canal.

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From His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General,—dated Head-Quarters, Shah Nujjeef, Lucknow, 18th November 1857.

I have the honour to apprise Your Lordship that I left Cawnpore on the 9th November, and joined the troops under the command of Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C. B., the same day, at Camp Buntara, about six miles from Alumbagh.

There being a few detachments on the road, I deemed it expedient to wait till the 12th before commencing my advance.

Naval Brigade, eight (8) heavy guns.
Bengal Horse Artillery, ten (10) guns.
Bengal Horse Field Battery, six (6) guns.
Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
Detachments, Bengal and Punjab Sappers and Miners.
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
Detachments, 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse.
Her Majesty's 8th, 53rd, 75th and 93rd Regiments of Infantry.
2nd and 4th Punjab Infantry.
Probable total 700 Cavalry, 2,700 Infantry.

On that day I marched early for Alumbagh with the troops named in the margin.

The advance guard was attacked by two guns and a body of about 2,000 infantry. After a smart skirmish, the guns were taken; Lieutenant Gough, Commanding Hodson's Irregular Horse, having distinguished himself very much in a brilliant charge by which this object was effected.

The camp was pitched on that evening at Alumbagh. This place I found to be annoyed to a certain extent by guns placed in different positions in the neighbourhood.

I caused the post to be cleared of lumber and cattle, and placed all my tents in it.

I made my arrangements for marching without baggage when I should reach the park of Dilkoosha, and the men were directed to have three days' food in their havresacks. I changed the garrison at Alumbagh, taking fresh men from it, and leaving Her Majesty's 75th Regiment there, which had been so much harassed by its late exertions.

Detachment joined on and up to the 14th.
Two (2) guns, Madras Horse Artillery.
Reserve, Royal Artillery.
Royal Engineers.
Military train.
Head-Quarters, Her Majesty's 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.
Detachment, Her Majesty's 82nd Infantry.

On the 14th, I expected a further reinforcement of 600 or 700 men, composed as per margin, who joined my rear-guard after my march had commenced in the morning of that day.

As I approached the park of Dilkoosha, the leading troops were met by a long line of musketry fire.

The advance-guard was quickly reinforced by a field battery and more infantry, composed of companies of Her Majesty"s 5th, 64th and

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78th Foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, supported by the 8th Foot. After a running fight of about two hours, in which our loss was very inconsiderable, the enemy was driven down the hill to the Martiniére, across the garden and park of the Martiniére, and far beyond the canal.

His loss was trifling, owing to the suddenness of the retreat.

The Dilkoosha and Martiniére were both occupied. Brigadier Hope's brigade being then brought up and arranged in position in the wood of the Martiniére at the end opposite the canal, being flanked to the left by Captain Bourchier's field battery and two of Captain Peel's heavy guns.

Shortly after these arrangements had been made, the enemy drew out a good many people and attacked our position in front.

He was quickly driven off, some of our troops crossing the canal in pursuit.

On this occasion the 53rd, 93rd and a body of the 4th Punjab Sikhs, distinguished themselves.

Two very promising young officers lost their lives—Lieutenant Mayne, Bengal Horse Artillery, Quartermaster-General's Department, and Captain Wheatcroft, Carabineers, doing duty with Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.

All the troops behaved very well.

With the exception of my tents, all my heavy baggage, including provisions for fourteen days for my own force and that in Lucknow, accompanied me on my march across country to Dilkoosha, covered by a strong rear-guard under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, of Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders. This officer distinguished himself very much in this difficult command ; his artillery, under Captain Blunt, Bengal Horse Artillery, assisted by the Royal Artillery under Colonel Crawford, R.A., having been in action for the greater part of the day.

The rear-guard did not close up to the column until late next day, the enemy having hung on it until dark on the 14th.

Every description of baggage having been left at Dilkoosha, which was occupied by Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, I advanced direct on Secunderbagh early on the 16th.

This place is a high walled enclosure of strong masonry, of 120 yards square, and was carefully loopholed all round. It was held very strongly by the enemy. Opposite to it was a village at a distance of a hundred yards, which was also loopholed and filled with men.

On the head of the column advancing up the lane to the left of the Secunderbagh, fire was opened on us. The infantry of the advance-guard was quickly thrown in skirmishing order to line a bank to the right.

The guns were pushed rapidly onwards, *viz.*, Captain Blunt's troop, Bengal Horse Artillery, and Captain Travers' Royal Artillery, Heavy Field Battery.

The troop passed at a gallop through a cross-fire from the village and Secunderbagh, and opened fire within easy musketry range in a most daring manner.

As soon as they could be pushed up a stiff bank, two 18-pounder guns, under Captain Travers, were also brought to bear on the building.

Whilst this was being effected, the leading brigade of infantry, under Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, coming rapidly into action, caused the loopholed village to be abandoned: the whole fire of the brigade being then directed on the Secunderbagh.

After a time a large body of the enemy, who were holding ground to the left of our advance, were driven by parties of the 53rd and 93rd, two of Captain Blunt's guns aiding the movement.

The Highlanders pursued their advantage and seized the barracks and immediately converted it into a military post, the 53rd stretching in a long line of skirmishers in the open plain and driving the enemy before them.

The attack on the Secunderbagh had now been proceeding for about an hour-and-a-half, when it was determined to take the place by storm through a small opening which had been made. This was done in the most brilliant manner by the remainder of the Highlanders, and the 53rd and the 4th Punjab Infantry, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston.

There never was a bolder feat of arms, and the loss inflicted on the enemy, after the entrance of the Secunderbagh was effected, was immense:—more than 2,000 of the enemy were afterwards carried out.

The officers who led these regiments were Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders; Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders; Captain Walton, Her Majesty's 53rd Foot; Lieutenant Paul, 4th Punjab Infantry (since dead); and Major Barnston, Her Majesty's 90th Foot.

Captain Peel's Royal Naval siege-train then went to the front and advanced towards the Shah Nujjeef, together with the field

battery and some mortars, the village to the left having been cleared by Brigadier Hope and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.*

The Shah Nujjeef is a domed mosque with a garden, of which the most had been made by the enemy. The wall of the enclosure of the mosque was loopholed with great care. The entrance to it had been covered by a regular work in masonry, and the top of the building was crowned with a parapet. From this, and from the defences in the garden, an unceasing fire of musketry was kept up from the commencement of the attack.

This position was defended with great resolution against a heavy cannonade of three hours. It was then stormed in the boldest manner by the 93rd Highlanders under Brigadier Hope, supported by a battalion of detachments under Major Barnston, who was, I regret to say, severely wounded; Captain Peel leading up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the building, to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the Highlanders effectually covered the Naval Brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate.

This brought the day's operations to a close.

On the next day, communications were opened to the left rear of the barracks to the canal, after overcoming considerable difficulty. Captain Peel kept up a steady cannonade on the building called the mess-house. This building, of considerable size, was defended by a ditch about twelve feet broad and scarped with masonry, and beyond that a loopholed mud wall. I determined to use the guns as much as possible in taking it.

About 3 P.M., when it was considered that men might be sent to storm it without much risk, it was taken by a company of the 90th Foot under Captain Wolseley,† and a picquet of Her Majesty's 53rd under Captain Hopkins, supported by Major Barnston's battalion of detachments under Captain Guise, Her Majesty's 90th Foot, and some of the Punjab Infantry under Lieutenant Powlett. The mess-house was carried immediately with a rush.

The troops then pressed forward with great vigour and lined the wall separating the mess-house from the Motee Mahal, which consists

* Major C. H. Gordon.

† Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, V.C., G.C.B.

of a wide enclosure and many buildings. The enemy here made a last stand, which was overcome after an hour, openings having been broken in the wall, through which the troops poured, with a body of sappers, and accomplished our communications with the Residency.

I had the inexpressible satisfaction, shortly afterwards, of greeting Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock, who came out to meet me before the action was at an end.

The relief of the besieged garrison had been accomplished.

The troops, including all ranks of officers and men, had worked strenuously and persevered boldly in following up the advantages gained in the various attacks. Every man in the force had exerted himself to the utmost, and now met with his reward.

It should not be forgotton that these exertions did not date merely from the day that I joined the camp; the various bodies of which the relieving force was composed, having made the longest forced marches, from various directions, to enable the Government of India to save the garrison of Lucknow. Some from Agra, some from Allahabad, all had alike undergone the same fatigues in pressing forward for the attainment of this great object. Of their conduct in the field of battle the facts narrrated in this despatch are sufficient evidence, which I will not weaken by any eulogy of mine.

I desire now to direct the attention of Your Lordship to the merits of the officers who have served under my orders on this occasion.

I cannot convey to Your Lordship, in adequate terms, my deep sense of the obligations I am under to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, for the very able and cordial assistance he has afforded me and the service during these operations, and how admirably the very many and important duties belonging to his situation have been performed, for which his high talents and experience of service in this country so peculiarly fit him.

I have also to express my very particular acknowledgments to Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C.B., who was in immediate command of the division by which this service was effected. His activity in carrying out the details has been admirable, and his vigilance in superintending the outpost duties has been unsurpassed.

My thanks are peculiarly due to Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, who commanded the advance of the force; as also to Captain Peel, C.B., of the Royal Navy, who has distinguished himself in a most marked manner.

I desire to bring to the favourable notice of Your Lordship the officers commanding brigades and regiments, and those who have been in the performance of staff duties, or who have been marked out by Brigadiers.

Brigadier Crawford, R.A., Commanding the Artillery; Brigadier Little, Commanding the Cavalry; Brigadier Greathed, Commanding 3rd Infantry Brigade; Brigadier Russell, Commanding 5th Infantry Brigade, (severely wounded).

Lieutenant Lennox, R. E., Acting Chief Engineer.

Lieutenant Vaughan, R. N., and Captain Maxwell, Bengal Artillery, attached to the Naval Brigade.

Major Turner, Commanding the Bengal Artillery (to this officer my most particular acknowledgments are due—he has few equals as an artillery officer).

Captain Travers, Commanding Royal Artillery.

Captains Remmington and Blunt, Commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery.

Captains Middleton, R.A., and Bourchier, Bengal Artillery, Commanding Horse Field Batteries; and Captain Longden, R.A., Commanding the Mortar Battery.

It is impossible to draw a distinction between any of these officers. They all distinguished themselves under very arduous circumstances, and it was highly agreeable to me to be present on this first occasion, when the Bengal and Royal Artillery were brought into action together under my own eyes. I wish also to mention Lieutenant Walker, Bengal Artillery, in command of a demi-field battery; Lieutenants Ford and Brown, who successively took up the command of the heavy field battery of Royal Artillery under Captain Hardy, on the death of that lamented officer; and Lieutenant Bridge, who commanded two guns of the Madras Horse Artillery with great ability.

I have further to bring to Your Lordship's notice Lieutenant Scott, Madras Engineers, who commanded the Sappers and Miners.

I would also bring to favourable notice the following officers in command of corps or detachments :—

Major Ouvry, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; Major Robertson, Military Train; Captain Hinde, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, 23rd Fusiliers; Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon,* 93rd Highlanders, in

* Major C. H. Gordon.

temporary command, Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay, 93rd Highlanders; Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, 78th Highlanders, Commanding 1st Battalion of detachments; Major Barnston, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, Commanding 2nd Battalion of detachments (dangerously wounded); and Captain Guise, Her Majesty's 90th Regiment, who succeeded Major Barnston in his command.

Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Younghusband, and Gough, respectively commanding detachments of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; Captain Green, Commanding 2nd Punjab Infantry; Lieutenant Willoughby, who succeeded to the command of the 4th Punjab Infantry, on his three seniors in the corps being severely wounded; Lieutenant Ryves, who commanded the 4th Punjab Infantry from the evening of the 16th; Major Milman, 5th Fusiliers; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, 78th Highlanders, in command of detachments employed in the advance on Dilkoosha and the Martinière; Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, 93rd Highlanders, who commanded at the barracks; Captains Dawson, 93rd Highlanders, Rolleston, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, and Hopkins, 53rd Regiment; and Lieutenants Fisher and Powlett, 2nd Punjab Infantry, who commanded separate detachments or posts, and whose services have, for the most part, been noted in the body of the despatch.

It remains for me to express my high sense of the services performed by the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, Captain Norman, who on this as on every other occasion highly distinguished himself.

I have further to express my warm thanks to all the officers serving on the general and personal staff of myself and Major-General Mansfield as named below; but especially to Colonel Berkeley, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, who attended the Chief of the Staff in the field, and who displayed remarkable activity and intelligence; to Major Alison, Military Secretary, (who unfortunately lost an arm); to Captain Sir David Baird, *Bart.*, my first Aid-de-Camp, and to Lieutenant Hope Johnstone, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff.

The remaining officers of this staff were Lieutenant G. Algood, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captains Maycock and Carey,

Officiating Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain Rudman, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces; Captain Hatch, Deputy Judge Advocate-General; Captains Alison and Forster, my Aides-de-Camp; Captain Metcalfe, Interpreter, and Lieutenant Murray, Aide-de-Camp to the Chief of the Staff.

Mr. Cavenagh* of the Uncovenanted Civil Service, who came out from Lucknow in disguise to afford me information, at the imminent risk of his life, has won my most especial thanks, and I recommend him most cordially to the notice of Your Lordship.

Lord Seymour was present throughout these operations, and displayed a daring gallantry at a most citrical moment.

I concur most fully in the commendations that have been bestowed by General Grant and officers commanding brigades on the respective staffs as named below; but I would especially draw attention to the services of Captain Cox, Her Majesty's 75th Regiment, Brigade-Major of the 4th Brigade; and Lieutenant Roberts,† Bengal Artillery, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain W. Hamilton, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain the Hon'ble A. H. Anson, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment, Aide-de-Camp; and Lieutenant Salmond, 7th Light Cavalry, Acting Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Grant.

Captain H. Hammond, Bengal Artillery, Brigade-Major of Artillery (severely wounded); Captain H. LeG. Bruce, Bengal Artillery, who succeeded Captain Hammond; Brevet-Major W. Barry and Lieutenant A. Bunny, Staff Officers of Royal and Bengal Artillery respectively; Lieutenant G. E. Watson, Bengal Engineers, Brigade-Major of Engineers; Captain H. A. Sarel, 17th Lancers, Brigade-Major of Cavalry; and Captains Bannatyne, Her Majesty's 8th Foot, and Lightfoot 84th Foot, Brigade-Majors of the 3rd and 5th Brigades; also Lieutentant P. Stewart, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of the Electric Telegraph, who accompanied the force and made himself particularly useful throughout.

I must not omit to name, in the most marked manner, Subadar Gokul Sing, 4th Punjab Rifles, who, in conjunction with the British officers, led the 4th Punjab Rifles at the storming of Secunderbagh in the most daring manner.

* Mr. Thomas Kavanagh, V.C.

† General Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B.

Captain A. D. Dickens, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, and Lieutenant W. Tod Brown, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, have both distinguished themselves exceedingly in carrying on the intricate duties of their departments, with very scanty establishments, to meet the great demands upon them.

Brigadier-General Grant has made favourable mention of Surgeon J. C. Brown, M. D., Bengal Horse Artillery, whose great exertions have been deserving of all praise. He has since become Superintending Surgeon of the force.

The number of officers mentioned in this despatch may appear large; but the force employed was composed of many detachments, and the particular service was calculated to draw forth the individual qualities of the officers engaged.

Annexed is a return of casualties; and a list of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers who have been brought to my notice as having particularly distinguished themselves will be separately forwarded.

ETURN of casualties of the Field Force under the command of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, from the 12th to the 18th November 1857, inclusive.

Corps.		Killed.								Horses.		Wounded.								Horses.		Missing.								Horses.		Remarks.
		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	
r		1		1					2	3		3	2	1					6	6												
al Brigade				1			1	3	5				2	1			2	15	20													
ineers							2	1	3								2	15	17													
llery			1				2	12	15		31		3	2	1		2	57	65		29											
alry Brigade	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers									2	3										3											
	Military Train		1						1																							
	1st Punjab Cavalry							2	2		1							1	1		1											
	2nd Ditto ditto							1	1		1										1											
	5th Ditto ditto																	1	1		4										1	
	Hodson's Horse													1			1	2	4		4											
Infantry Brigade	Her Majesty's 8th Regiment																	1	1													
	Detachment, Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers							5	5								1	2	3													
	Ditto ditto 64th Regiment							4	4									7	7									2	2			
	Ditto ditto 78th ditto																															
	2nd Punjab Infantry			1		1		4	6					1				18	20													
" "	Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment						1	9	10				1	2			2	61	66													
	Detachment, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment							1	1								1	7	8													
	Ditto ditto 90th ditto							6	6			1		2			2	20	25									1	1			
	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders		2				1	36	29			1	1	5			5	57	69													
	Detachment, 1st Madras Fusiliers			1				3	4									12	12									1	1			
	4th Punjab Infantry						1	12	13					3			4	46	56													
" "	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers							3	3					1				18	19													
	Ditto 82nd Regiment			1				1	2	1		1					1	12	14									1	1			
	Total	1	4	5		1	8	103	122	6	36	6	9	19	1	4	23	352	414	6	42							5	5		1	

D-QUARTERS, SECUNDERBAGH,
The 18th November 1857.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

List of officers killed.

Brigade.	Rank and Name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
General Staff ...	Lieutenant-Colonel G. Biddulph.	....	Head of Intelligence Department.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant A. O. Mayne	....	Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.
Naval Brigade ...	Midshipman M. A. Daniel.	....	
Artillery Brigade ...	Captain W. N. Hardy ...	Royal Artillery.	
Cavalry ,, ...	,, G. Wheatcroft ...	6th Dragoon Guards ...	Doing duty with Military Train.
3rd Infantry Brigade...	Lieutenant T. Frankland	2nd Punjab Infantry.	
4th ditto ...	Captain J. Dalzeli ...	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders	
Ditto ditto ...	,, J. T. Lumsden ...	30th Native Infantry ...	Interpreter to Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.
Ditto ditto ...	Lieutenant Dobbs ...	1st Madras Fusiliers.	
5th ditto ...	Ensign W. T. Thompson	Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment.	

List of officers wounded.

Brigade.	Rank and Name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
	General Sir C. Campbell, G.C.B.	Commander-in-Chief ...	Slightly.
Staff	Brigadier D. Russell	Commanding 5th Brigade ...	Severely.
,, ...	Major A. Alison	Military Secretary ...	,,
,, ...	Captain F. M. Alison, A.-D.-C. to Commander-in-Chief.	....	Slightly.
,, ...	Captain the Hon'ble A. Anson, A.-D.-C. to General Grant, C. B.	....	
,, ...	Lieutenant C. J. Salmond, Orderly Officer to General Grant, C.B.	....	
Naval Brigade ...	Captain J. C. Gray	Royal Marines	,,
,, ...	Lieutenant M. Salmon ...	Royal Navy	Severely.
,, ...	Midshipman Lord A.P. Clinton	,, ...	Slightly.
Artillery Brigade ...	Major F. F. Pennycuick ...	Royal Artillery	,,
,, ...	Captain H. Hammond ...	Bengal Artillery	Severely.
,, ...	,, F. Travers	Royal Artillery	Slightly.
,, ...	Lieutenant W. G. Milman ...	,, ...	,,
,, ...	,, A. Ford	,, ...	,,
,, ...	Assistant Surgeon H. R. Veale...	,, ...	Severely.
Cavalry Brigade ...	Lieutenant R. Halkett ...	Hodson's Horse	,,
3rd Infantry Brigade	Ensign J. Watson	2nd Punjab Infantry ...	Dangerously.
4th ,, ,, ...	Captain B. Walton	Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment	Severely.
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant A. K. Munrc ...	,, ,, ...	Dangerously.
,, ,, ,, ...	,, F. C. French ...	,, ,, ...	Slightly.
,, ,, ,, ...	Major R. Barnston	,, 90th Regiment	Dangerously.
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant E. C. Wynne ...	,, ,, ...	Severely.
,, ,, ,, ...	Ensign H. Powell	,, ,, ...	,,
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Ewart	,, 93rd Highlanders	Slightly.
,, ,, ,, ...	Captain F. W. Burroughs ...	,, ,, ...	,,
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant R. A. Cooper ...	,, ,, ...	Severely.
,, ,, ,, ...	,, E. Welch ...	,, ,, ...	,,
,, ,, ,, ...	,, O. Goldsmith ...	,, ,, ...	,,
,, ,, ,, ...	,, S. E. Wood ...	,, ,, ...	,,
,, ,, ,, ...	Ensign F. R. McNamara ...	,, ,, ...	Slightly.
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant W. Paul ...	4th Punjab Infantry ...	Dangerously (since dead).
,, ,, ,, ...	,, J. W. McQueen ...	,, ,, ,, ...	Severely.
,, ,, ,, ...	,, F. F. Oldfield ...	,, ,, ,, ...	Dangerously (since dead).
5th ,, ,, ...	,, H. Henderson ...	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	Slightly.
,, ,, ,, ...	Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Hale...	,, 82nd Regiment	,,

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.*,

Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

From General C. CAMPBELL, *Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp Alumbagh, 25th November 1857.*

In continuation of my report of the 18th, I have the honour to apprise Your Lordship that the left rear of my position was finally secured on the night of the 17th instant by the building called Banks' House having been seized by a party of the 2nd Punjab Infantry (Sikhs) specially employed for that purpose.

Brigadier Russell and Lieutenant-Colonel Hale distinguished themselves much in completing the chain of posts on the 17th and 18th in that direction ; the enemy having been very vigilant on that point, and kept up an unceasing fire on all the buildings occupied by Brigadier Russell, and on the barrack occupied by 300 of the Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart.

Brigadier Russell having been unfortunately severely wounded on the afternoon of the 18th instant, I placed the lamented Colonel Biddulph in command of his line of posts. He was killed almost immediately afterwards, when making his dispositions for the attack of the hospital.

Captain Bourchier, of the Bengal Artillery, distinguished himself by the intelligent and able support he afforded Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, Her Majesty's 82nd Foot, on that officer succeeding Colonel Biddulph.

These very difficult and tedious operations, conducted as they were under a most galling fire, in cramped suburbs, reflect much credit on all the officers and men concerned, and secured the position.

The same afternoon, the enemy made a smart attack on the picquets covering the centre of the line.

I supported them with a company of Her Majesty's 23rd and another of Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, not having any more infantry at my disposal.

Captain Remmington's troop of Horse Artillery was brought up, and dashed right into the jungle with the leading skirmishers, and opened fire with extraordinary rapidity and precision.

Captain Remmington distinguished himself very much.

I superintended this affair myself, and I have particular pleasure in drawing Your Lordship's attention to the conduct of this troop on this occasion, as an instance of the never-failing readiness and quickness of the Horse Artillery of the Bengal Service.

During the next three days, I continued to hold the whole of the country from the Dilkoosha to the gates of the Residency, the left flank having been secured in the manner abovementioned, with a view to extricating the garrison, without exposing it to the chance of even a stray musket-shot.

From the first, all the arrangements have been conducted towards this end. The whole of the force under my immediate command being one outlying picquet, every man remained on duty, and was constantly subject to annoyance from the enemy's fire; but such was the vigilance and intelligence of the force, and so heartily did all ranks co-operate to support me, that I was enabled to conduct this affair to a happy issue, exactly in the manner originally proposed.

Upon the 20th fire was opened on the Kaiserbagh, which gradually increased in importance, till it assumed the character of regular breaching and bombardment.

The Kaiserbagh was breached in three places by Captain Peel, R. N., and I have been told that the enemy suffered much loss within its precincts. Having thus led the enemy to believe that immediate assault was contemplated, orders were issued for the retreat of the garrison through the lines of our picquets at midnight on the 22nd.

The ladies and families, the wounded, the treasure, the guns it was thought worth while to keep, the ordnance stores, the grain still possessed by the commissariat of the garrison, and the State prisoners, had all been previously removed.

Sir James Outram had received orders to burst the guns which it was thought undesirable to take away; and he was finally directed silently to evacuate the Residency of Lucknow at the hour indicated.

The dispositions to cover their retreat and to resist the enemy, should he pursue, were ably carried out by Brigadier Hon'ble Adrian Hope; but I am happy to say the enemy was completely deceived, and he did not attempt to follow. On the contrary he began firing on our old positions, many hours after we had left them. The movement of retreat was admirably executed and was a perfect lesson in such combinations.

Each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line of infantry and guns, with which I was myself to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up the picquets.

The only line of retreat lay through a long and tortuous lane, and all these precautions were absolutely necessary to ensure the safety of the force.

The extreme posts on the left, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, Her Majesty's 82nd ; Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, Her Majesty's 23rd Foot ; and Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders, made their way by a road which had been explored for them, after I considered that the time had arrived, with due regard to the security of the whole that their posts should be evacuated.

It was my endeavour that nothing should be left to chance, and the conduct of the officers in exactly carrying out their instructions was beyond all praise.

During all these operations, from the 16th instant, the remnant of Brigadier Greathed's brigade closed in the rear, and now again formed the rear-guard as we retired to Dilkoosha.

Dilkoosha was reached at 4 A. M. on the 23rd instant by the whole force.

I must not forget to mention the exertions of the cavalry during all the operations which have been described.

The exertions of Brigadier Little and of Major Ouvry, respectively, of the Cavalry Brigade and the 9th Lancers, were unceasing in keeping up our long line of communications, and preserving our extreme rear beyond the Dilkoosha, which was constantly threatened.

On the 22nd the enemy attacked at Dilkoosha ; but was speedily driven off under Brigadier Little's orders.

The officers commanding the irregular cavalry, Lieutenants Watson, Younghusband, Probyn, and Gough, as well as all the officers of the 9th Lancers, were never out of the saddle during all this time, and well maintained the character they have won throughout the war.

I moved with General Grant's division to Alumbagh on the afternoon of the 24th, leaving Sir James Outram's division in position at Dilkoosha, to prevent molestation of the immense convoy of the women and wounded, which it was necessary to transport with us. Sir James Outram closed up this day without annoyance from the enemy.

RETURN of casualties of the Field Force under command of General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, from the 19th to the 22nd November (inclusive) 1857.

Corps.		Killed.										Wounded.										Missing.										Remarks.
										Horses.										Horses.										Horses.		
		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	
Staff		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Naval Brigade		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Engineers		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Artillery		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cavalry Brigade	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Military Train	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	1st Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	5th " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Hodson's Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3rd Infantry Brigade	Her Majesty's 8th Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Detachment, Her Majesty's 5th Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" " 64th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" " 78th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4th " "	Her Majesty's 53rd Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Detachment, Her Majesty's 84th Foot	...		1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" " 90th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Detachment, 1st Madras Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	4th Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5th " "	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" 82nd Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total		...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	4	10	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Capt.,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, CAWNPORE,
The 3rd December 185 .

List of officer killed.

Brigade.	Rank and Name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
4th Brigade ...	Lieutenant Benjamin Sandwith ...	Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.	

List of officer wounded.

Brigade.	Rank and Name.	Regiment.	Remarks.
Artillery ...	Lieutenant H. E. Harrington ...	Bengal Artillery ...	Severely.

GENERAL ORDERS by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated Head-Quarters, La Martiniére, Lucknow, 23rd November 1857.

The Commander-in-Chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow.

2. Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number, in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions.

3. From the morning of the 16th till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picquet, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scatheless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force.

4. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the Commander-in-Chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks; and it is with the greatest gratification that His Excellency declares he never saw men behave better.

5. The storming of the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeef has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete.

6. The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow, tortuous lane, the only line

7. The Commander-in-Chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the Residency of Lucknow.

By Order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

(Sd.) W. MAYHEW, *Maj.*,
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

GENERAL ORDER by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council, dated Fort William, 10th December 1857.

No. 1546 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council directs that the accompanying* despatches from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, which reached the Government of India last night, be at once published in General Orders.

These despatches declare the signal defeat of the rebels in the City of Lucknow, and the completely successful rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, together with their heroic defenders, from the long-beleaguered Residency.

Of the military operations described in them the Governor-General in Council will not presume to speak. They are explained fully and clearly, and every sentence bears proof of their having been guided by a master hand, and of that unbounded mutual confidence between the soldiers and their commander, which, as it is the growth of past dangers and triumphs shared in common, so is it the assurance of victories yet to come.

Most heartily does the Governor-General in Council congratulate the Commander-in-Chief and his brave companions in arms upon the first fruits of their brilliant achievement. To have been the instruments through which, by God's blessing, the inmates of the Lucknow Residency have, in the face of extraordinary difficulties, and in the presence of a numerous enemy, been snatched from danger and placed in security, will be a life-long source of pride and satisfaction to every man who has had part in the work.

To General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., the fearless, skilled, and sound-judging leader in this anxious enterprise, his country owes a new debt of gratitude. In the name of the Government of India the Governor-General in Council desires to record his deep obligations to His Excellency.

* Printed on pages 339-354.

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The Governor-General in Council offers his most cordial thanks to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, to whose ability and experience the Commander-in-Chief expresses himself so deeply indebted for the most valuable assistance throughout these operations.

To Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C.B., who immediately commanded the division employed, His Lordship in Council tenders his warm acknowledgments, for the very admirable manner in which he performed the arduous duties of his command. This well-tried officer had already greatly distinguished himself in the operations before Delhi, and has received the public thanks of Government.

The Governor-General in Council recognises with great satisfaction the conspicuously gallant conduct of Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, 93rd Highlanders, who is repeatedly brought to notice in these despatches.

To Captain Peel, C.B., of the Royal Navy, whose exemplary coolness and energetic courage are so prominently mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief, the most sincere thanks of Government are offered. To no officer are they more eminently due.

The officers commanding brigades and regiments have merited the acknowledgments of the Governor-General in Council, and he has much satisfaction in thus tendering his thanks to Brigadier Crawford, R.A., Commanding the Artillery; to Brigadier Little, 9th Lancers, Commanding the Cavalry; to Brigadier Greathed, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment, who having, in a series of important successes, led a column of troops from Delhi, after the capture of that city, to Cawnpore, has now further distinguished himself in the relief of Lucknow; to Brigadier Russell, 84th Foot, who was severely wounded while commanding the 3rd Infantry Brigade; to Lieutenant Lennox, R. E., Acting Chief Engineer; to Lieutenant Vaughan, R. A., who served with the Naval Brigade; to Major Turner, Commanding the Bengal Artillery, in whose praise the Commander-in-Chief has so warmly expressed himself; to Captain Travers, Commanding the Royal Artillery; to Captains Remmington and Blunt, Commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery; and Captain Maxwell, Artillery, attached to the Naval Brigade; to Captains Middleton, R A., and Bourchier, Bengal Artillery, who so ably commanded field batteries; and to Captain Longden, R. A., Commanding the Mortar Battery.

The Governor-General in Council cordially concurs with the Commander-in-Chief in the eulogy bestowed by His Excellency on the

Royal Artillery and on that of Bengal and Madras, who emulated one another, and were alike distinguished in rendering the most conspicuous and important services in these memorable operations.

His Lordship in Council offers his thanks to Lieutenants Walker, Bengal Artillery, Ford and Brown, R. A., who commanded batteries; to Lieutenant Bridge, who ably commanded the guns of the Madras Horse Artillery; to Lieutenant Scott, Madras Engineers, in command of the Sappers and Miners.

The thanks of Government are also due to Major Ouvry, Commanding 9th Lancers; to Major Robertson, Commanding Military Train; to Lieutenant-Colonels Wells, Commanding 23rd Fusiliers; Gordon, 93rd Highlanders, in temporary command Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment; Hale, Commanding Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment; Leith Hay, Commanding 93rd Highlanders; Hamilton, Commanding 78th Highlanders, and who led the 1st Battalion of detachments; and to Major Barnston, Her Majesty's 90th Foot, Commanding 2nd Battalion of detachments, whose services, together with those of the other officers commanding corps named above, are repeatedly brought to the favourable notice of Government, and who, it is observed with great regret, was dangerously wounded.

The Governor-General in Council has to regret the loss of Captain Hardy, who commanded the heavy field battery of the Royal Artillery.

His Lordship in Council acknowledges the merits of Lieutenants Watson, Probyn, Younghusband, and Gough, Commanding detachments of Punjab Cavalry and Hodson's Horse; of Captain Green, Commanding 2nd Punjab Infantry; of Lieutenant Willoughby, 4th Punjab Infantry; of Lieutenant Ryves, who commanded the same corps towards the conclusion of the operations; of Major Milman, 5th Fusiliers; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Intyre, 78th Highlanders, who commanded detachments conspicuously; of Lieutenant-Colonel Ewart, 93rd Highlanders, who commanded at the barracks; of Captains Dawson, 93rd Highlanders; Rolleston, 84th Foot; and Hopkins, 53rd Regiment; and of Lieutenants Fisher and Powlett, 2nd Punjab Infantry—all of whom bravely and effectively commanded separate detachments or posts.

To Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief has recorded his warm acknowledgments, and the Governor-General in Council cordially concurs in recognising the highly distinguished services rendered, not for the first time, by this officer.

The Governor-General in Council offers his thanks to Colonel Berkeley, Her Majesty's 32nd Foot; to Major Alison, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief (very severely wounded); to Captain Sir David Baird, *Bart.*, Aide-de-Camp; and to Lieutenant Hope Johnstone, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff.

His Lordship in Council has also to thank Lieutenant Algood, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captains Maycock and Carey, of the same department; Captain Rudman, of the Adjutant-General's Department, Her Majesty's Forces; Captain Hatch, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General; Captains Alison and Forster, Aides-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief; Captain Metcalfe and Lieutenant Murray, on His Excellency's Personal Staff; Captain Cox, 75th Foot, Brigade-Major; Lieutenant Roberts,* Bengal Artillery, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; Captain Hamilton, 9th Lancers, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Captain the Hon'ble A. H. Anson, Her Majesty's 84th, Aide-de-Camp; and Lieutenant Salmond, 7th Light Cavalry, Acting Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Grant; Captain Hammond, Bengal Artillery, Brigade-Major of Artillery (who was severely wounded); Captain H. LeG. Bruce, Brevet-Major Barry, and Lieutenant Bunny, Staff Officers of the Royal and Bengal Artillery; Lieutenant Watson, Bengal Engineers, Brigade-Major of Engineers; Captain Sarel, 17th Lancers, Brigade-Major of Cavalry; and Captains Bannatyne, 8th Foot, and Lightfoot, 84th Foot, Brigade-Majors of Infantry; as well as Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal Engineers, Superintendent of the Electric Telegraph, whom the Commander-in-Chief mentions with much praise.

The acknowledgments of Government are also due to Captain Dickens, Commissariat Department, and to Lieutenant Tod Brown, Ordnance Commissariat, who have rendered distinguished service, and given much satisfaction to the Commander-in-Chief in the discharge of their duties.

Of the services of Surgeon J. C. Brown, attached to the Bengal Artillery, since become Superintending Surgeon, His Excellency speaks in high terms, and it gives satisfaction to the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge this officer's merit.

His Lordship in Council has to record with much regret the death of Colonel Biddulph, 45th Bengal Native Infantry, to whose conduct the Commander-in-Chief bears testimony.

* General Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B.

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It is with much gratification that the Governor-General in Council recognises the distinguished bravery of Subadar Gokul Sing, 4th Punjab Rifles, at the storming of Secunderbagh. The services of this gallant Native officer will be duly rewarded.

The Commander-in-Chief speaks in high terms of the daring conduct of Lord Seymour, who, as a volunteer, joined the Commander-in-Chief and was present throughout the operations before Lucknow. The thanks of the Governor-General in Council are due to Lord Seymour for the good service which he has freely rendered.

His Excellency mentions with just appreciation the valuable aid which he received from Mr. Cavenagh,* of the Uncovenanted Civil Service; and the Governor-General in Council offers his special thanks to Mr. Cavenagh, whose conduct will be borne in mind by Government.

To the brave and indomitable troops of all arms, who took part in the glorious operations described by the Commander-in-Chief, and to their comrades of the Naval Brigade, unsurpassed in gallantry and devotion to their duty, the Governor-General in Council cordially offers the tribute of his warmest acknowledgments. Under their honoured leader they have achieved signal success, and it will be the first care of the Governor-General in Council to bring to the favourable notice of the Government and of the Hon'ble Court of Directors the important services and high deserts of General Sir Colin Campbell, G.C.B., and of the officers and men who have borne part in the last operations at Lucknow.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 26th November 1857, 1-50* P.M.

I this morning attacked the first division of the Gwalior Contingent, amounting to upwards of 3,000, with two 18-inch iron howitzers and two light field guns, upon the Pandoo River, eight miles from Cawnpore; after a sharp fight of one hour-and-a-half, we completely routed them, and captured all but one light gun. I will write particulars on my return to Cawnpore this afternoon.

Telegram from Major-General WINDHAM, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 27th November 1857, 10* A.M.

All going on well at Alumbagh. General Havelock died two days ago.

* Mr. Thomas Kavanagh, V. C.

Telegram from Captain Bruce, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 27th November 1857, 10* A.M.

I am desired by the Commander-in-Chief to transmit the following to Your Lordship, dated Alumbagh, November 24th :—

"I have arrived here with all the long convoy attendant upon the rescued garrison. I propose to march the day after to-morrow for Bunnee, leaving Sir James Outram with a division, which will be complete in all details except carriage."

Telegram from Brigadier Campbell, *to Lord* Dunkellin, *Military Secretary to the Governor-General, Calcutta,—dated Allahabad, 29th November 1857, 8-5* A.M.

The communication between Futtehpore and Cawnpore is cut off by road and telegraph. The Gwalior Contingent is near Cawnpore in three divisions, it is said; and it was reported at 1-30 yesterday that heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore was heard at Futtehpore.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 29th November 1857.

Having heard that Cawnpore was besieged, I marched in thirty-six miles, arriving at dark yesterday. Cawnpore is now relieved, and the rebels apparently commencing a retreat. I am engaged in bringing my long convoy of families, and women and wounded men, from the left bank of the Ganges. I cannot act decidedly against the enemy until I have seen them on their way to Allahabad.

Telegram from Brigadier Campbell, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Allahabad, 30th November 1857, 10-50* A.M.

I have received the Governor-General's message and forwarded it by telegraph to Colonel Maxwell at Futtehpore, to be sent from there. I will also send a cossid from here with a copy.

The firing at Cawnpore ceased at 2 P.M. yesterday. A force is being collected by Rambush opposite Sheorajpore, and threatening Futtehpore.

Telegram from Brigadier Campbell, *to the Military Secretary to the Governor-General of India,—dated Allahabad, 30th November 1857, 2-40* P.M.

Received the following from Colonel Maxwell :—

"The Europeans did not go from this. Magistrate here has heard that 1,000 Europeans arrived at Cawnpore the evening before last, and

more were expected shortly. The story is likely to be true, but has come through several mouths. A spy has just come in from Cawnpore, which he left at 10 A.M. yesterday; he only went as far as the nearest battery in Nawabgunge, close to the canal, and about 800 yards from entrenchment. He says he counted the enemy's guns, twenty-seven; each had two wagons, with country carts near them. The guns of different sizes, some of them mortars. He says when he left, immense deal of firing was going on, ours much the heaviest and doing frightful execution. He knows nothing about reinforcements from Lucknow; no enemy on this side of Cawnpore, except a few sowars in its environs.

Telegram from C. CHESTER, ESQ., *Commissioner of Allahabad, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Allahabad, 1st December 1857, 8-2* P.M.

The Gwalior Contingent attacked Nawabgunge, near Cawnpore, on the 27th ultimo. The British troops retired into the entrenchment, and on the night of the 27th the rebels burnt down the camps of the 34th, 82nd and 88th Regiments. On the 28th they attacked the entrenchments from the canal and the Subadars' Tank. A sortie made against the assailants from the canal was most successful. The Rifles beat back the rebels, and brought in two of their 18-pounder guns. The fire of the rebels from the Subadars' Tank was also quite silenced, but our extreme right and the 64th Regiment suffered very severely.

Brigadier Wilson is killed and Major Stirling badly wounded.

Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Cawnpore at 5 P.M. of the 28th.

The ladies and children of the Lucknow garrison encamped four miles from Cawnpore.

Telegram from Brigadier CAMPBELL, *to* LORD DUNKELLIN, *Military Secretary to the Governor-General of India,—dated Allahabad, 1st December 1857, 10-15* A.M.

Commissioner Chester has received a letter from Commissioner, dated November 29th. The Rifles have taken two 18-pounders. Brigadier Wilson is killed. Major Stirling and Captain Morphy badly wounded. Cavalry, &c., hourly expected from Lucknow. Treasure and store safe in entrenchment. The Commander-in-Chief arrived at 6 P.M. on 28th. The women were encamped within four miles of Cawnpore. The camps of 34th, 80th* and 82nd were burnt by the enemy.

* The 80th was not at Cawnpore and had at that time never been near Cawnpore. The 88th is probably meant.

Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Benares, 1st December 1857, 5 P.M.

The following message received from Futtehpore at 3-6 P.M. is forwarded for your information:—

"From Magistrate of Futtehpore to the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, 1st December (Tuesday).

"No direct news from Cawnpore to-day, but a native report agrees in saying that on the 28th and 29th November we were successful in our sortie and captured several guns. Ladies and children I believe came in on morning of the 29th. Grand Trunk Road in Cawnpore District infested with sowars, and communication is very difficult. No enemy in this district, but the Kullianpore Thesil and Thanna have been plundered by villagers. One hundred Oudh men crossed the Grand Trunk Road from north to south the day before yesterday. Heavy firing in Oudh this morning, and about fifteen miles off hardly any firing in Cawnpore direction."

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 2nd December 1857.

In consequence of the force under Major-General Windham having been so much pressed at Cawnpore prior to my arrival, I regret to say that a very large portion of his camp equipage abandoned on the occasion of his retreat from outside the city and the store-rooms containing all the clothing of some of the eight or ten of his regiments here and at Lucknow have been burnt by the enemy. I must entreat your Lordship to give the most urgent orders for the transmission of clothing, greatcoats, &c., from below to make up the deficiency, which has occurred in consequence of this lamentable circumstance. I am endeavouring to despatch all the women and some 500 wounded men towards Alllahabad this evening; but this will leave about 1,500 of the latter to provide for, and to be protected here for the present. As a consequence it is not yet in my power to make the movements necessary to push the enemy out of the city of Cawnpore.

Telegram from Lieutenant STEWART, *to* C. BEADON, ESQ., *Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Cawnpore, 2nd December 1857.*

The line of the electric telegraph to old offices in Cawnpore passes through part of the stations still in the enemy's hands and was destroyed by them. A branch line has been carried into camp, and

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an office opened there. Line to Alumbagh almost entirely destroyed. The Commander-in-Chief's force arrived at the Ganges on the evening of the 28th, with an enormous quantity of baggage, sick, and wounded. No attack has yet been made on the enemy, who occupy the city, and part of station near church.

Telegram from Major R. R. Ellis, *Political Agent for Bundelcund and Rewah, to* G. F. Edmonstone, Esq., *Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Punna, 2nd December 1857, 6-5* p.m.

The following list of chiefs killed and wounded in the late engagement at Lucknow has been furnished by a man who left Lucknow on the 24th ultimo, and arrived at Kallinger on the 30th instant.

Killed—Rajah of Dhaneri, and his brother Lall Huanchunant, Rajah of Calakonnar, and his son Rughoonath Sing, Rajah of Kairngaum; Nouromognaray Sing, his Kamdar; Seharn Lull, Kamdar of Bang Madho, Rajah of Sankarpore; Basant Sing, Rajah of Sumarga; and Saleton, his Kamdar; the Rajah of Futtehpore; Rajah of Singra, now made prisoner, and hung, Maun Sing, Rajah of Palya, severely wounded.

The account adds that the victories are complete in every way, and that two regiments of Bhugies Nadnees have surrendered themselves, and have been allowed to do duty on behalf of Government. Narain Rao said to have lent the Nawab five lakhs of rupees.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—Cawnpore, 4th December 1857, 4-50 p.m.

I trust a report I have heard of your Lordship's movements may prove true; it will give me infinite pleasure. I thank you very much for the clothing of the soldiers. A convoy four miles long, of women and wounded left my camp last night, but I have still several hundred of the latter here. Hope to operate immediately, as I expect further detachments to-morrow. The enemy is tolerably quiet; the reports of his movements and intentions are very conflicting.

Telegram from Lieutenant Stewart, *to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Cawnpore, 4th December 1857.*

Your message of 3rd received. Arrangements for reconstruction of line cannot well be completed till Cawnpore has been cleared of the enemy. I shall leave the moment this has been done.

Telegram from C. CHESTER, ESQ., *Commissioner of Allahabad, to* C. BEADON, ESQ., *Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Allahabad, 5th December 1857.*

The following news has been received at Cawnpore, dated 4th of December, 5 P.M:—

"Enemy inactive; all the firing chance shells, but without doing damage. Enemy generally supposed to be increasing in numbers. Nana Sahib has not yet crossed the river. Gwalior Contingent above supposed to have lost heart in the struggle.

Telegram from Captain BRUCE, *to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 5th December 1857, 7 P.M.*

The following has only just reached me, and although His Excellency is now in camp the information has not been previously communicated, therefore I forward it to your Lordship.

From the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General, Camp, near Alumbagh, 26th November 1857:—

"I march to-morrow for Bunnee, with all the wounded, &c. I leave Sir James Outram in possession with a force, including the post of Alumbagh and Bunnee of 4,000 men, with twenty-two guns, of which four are heavy, besides ten mortars, namely six 8-inch and four 5½-inch. If it is completed with a month's supplies and ammunition of every description (and I have denuded my moveable columns of tents to supply his troops, which will be in a standing camp), I think his position a good one; but I learn from him that he would rather have it further back, near the Ganges. Sir James will probably address your Lordship on the subject. I beg only to report that your Lordship's instructions have been carried out to the letter.

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CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL WINDHAM'S DEFENCE OF CAWNPORE.

Telegram from Lieutenant STEWART, *to* C. BEADON, *Esq., Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Cawnpore, 6th December 1857, 9* A.M.

Fire has been opened on city and station from all our mortars and heavy guns in and near entrenchments. Camp has been struck, and everything prepared for an immediate attack.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 7th December 1857, 12 noon.

Having yesterday morning finally completed the arrangements for putting the remainder of the sick and wounded, 860 in number, in safety, the Gwalior Contingent, with its allies, were attacked at 11 A.M.; the affair ended in the complete rout of the enemy, whose camp captured, was pursued for fourteen miles along the Calpee Road, and we captured sixteen guns of different calibre, 26 battery carts, wagons, &c., besides an immense quantity of ammunition of all sorts, pork, stores, grain, bullocks, and the whole of the baggage of the force. Our loss was insignificant and we have not heard of the death of any officer except Lieutenant Salmond, Aid-de-Camp to General Grant. I halt here to-day to reorganise the force.

LIST OF ORDNANCE, &c.

One 18-pounder gun, with limber; eight 9-pounder guns, with limber; nine 9-pounder wagons; one 9-pounder carriage; two 24-pounder howitzers, with limber; one 24-pounder wagon; one 24-pounder spare

carriage; one transport cart with gun; three 18-pounder limbers; 11 store carts; three 8-inch mortars; two 5½-inch mortars. Total sixteen pieces of ordnance, 26 carriages of different sorts.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 10th December 1857, 2 A.M.

A despatch has just been received from General Hope Grant, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers: narrates that he came up with the fugitives at Serajghat, when they were beginning to cross the guns over the Ganges. He attacked them instantly with his cavalry and artillery with great spirit, and, after half-an-hour's sharp firing, took fifteen guns, including one 18-pounder, eight 9-pounders, three 12-pounder howitzers, two 4-pounder howitzers, and one 6-pounder native, with all their stores, carts, wagons, large quantities of ammunition, bullocks, hackeries, &c. General Grant estimates the loss of the enemy at about one hundred. He did not lose a man in the operations, he himself being slightly wounded. I congratulate Your Lordship on the happy finish of this particular campaign.

*From the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—dated Cawnpore, 10th December 1857.**

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to enclose for submission to the Governor-General in Council, a copy of the report of the 1st instant, of the defence of the bridge and Bithoor Road, on the 28th ultimo, by Brigadier M. Carthew of the Madras Army; and at the same time I am directed to annex, for his Lordship's information, a copy of a memorandum written by the Chief of the Staff, by order of His Excellency, on this subject, the original of which was forwarded yesterday in this department to Major-General C. Windham, C.B., for communication to that Brigadier.

From Brigadier M. CARTHEW, *Commanding Madras Troops in Bengal, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Cawnpore Division,—dated Cawnpore, 1st December 1857.*

In reply to your letter of this day's date, I have the honour to submit for the information of Major-General Windham, Commanding the Cawnpore Division, the following report on my defence of the bridge and Bithoor Road, on the 28th ultimo.

* No. 20-A.

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At daylight on the 28th of November, I proceeded, according to instructions, with Her Majesty's 34th Regiment, two companies of Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment, and four guns of Madras Native Artillery, to take up a position at the Racket Court, two companies of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment having been placed in the Baptist Chapel to keep up communication with me. When within a few hundred yards of the Racket Court, I received instructions through the late Captain McCrea that General Windham preferred the position of the previous evening being taken up on the bridge, and the Bithoor road defended. I consequently retired, leaving a company of Her Majesty's 34th Regiment to occupy the front line of broken down Native infantry huts, and another company in their support in a brick building about 100 yards to their rear. I then detached a company of Her Majesty's 34th to the opposite side of the road across the plain in a line with the above support to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls and the upstair verandah. These companies formed a strong position, and quite commanded the whole road towards the bridge. I halted at the bridge with the remainder of the 34th and four guns, and barricaded the road, and placed two guns on the bridge. I then sent two companies of the 34th under Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson, to occupy the position he held the previous evening, to prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the entrenchment, as also to defend the road from Allahabad. This picquet I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns which could not be worked on the bridge.

A brisk fire was kept up by the enemy from their position amongst the Native lines on the advanced skirmishers and picquet and upon the bridge by their guns (18-pounders) throughout the whole day. About midday Captain McCrea conveyed instructions to me to proceed to the front to attack the enemy's infantry and guns, that he was to convey the same instructions to Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, and both parties to advance at the same time.

Captain McCrea took with him to strengthen the 64th, forty men of a company of Her Majesty's 82nd, which I had placed as a picquet at the old Commissariat compound, for the protection of the road leading from that direction to the entrenchment. I advanced with my two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking, as I advanced, the company stationed to my right in the upstair house, and the company occupying the broken huts (with its support) on my

left. On advancing and clearing the front line of huts, I was desirous and endeavoured to push the whole of my party across the plain in front to charge the enemy's guns, but as their infantry still occupied broken ground of other huts, and my force without support, it could not be done. The enemy's guns were driven far to the rear by the fire of my two guns, after which my skirmishers, support, and right picquet, took up their original positions, and I returned with the guns to the bridge. Shortly after this, the enemy's infantry were seen to be skirting along the edge of the town, with the evident intention of turning our flank, and of pouring a fire upon us from the houses on our left. Both picquet and skirmishers applied for reinforcements which I could not afford, but desired them to hold their positions as long as possible, and then fall back to the head of the bridge, which they did about 5 o'clock.

The enemy were now increasing in large numbers on our left, occupying houses, garden-walls, and the church. A company was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy and drive them from the church, but the enemy was strong enough to maintain, or rather to return to their position. I then concentrated all my force on both flanks of the bridge, and with the guns kept up a heavy fire. The enemy now brought up a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, my own guns not being able to bear on their position.

The enemy were still increasing and working round to my rear by my left flank. I retired the guns about 100 yards so as to command the bridge and the road leading from the town. Officers and men were at this time falling fast around me. I applied for a reinforcement, but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the entrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear.

Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so until I felt convinced that from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire.

I beg to forward a return of the killed and wounded during the day.

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Return of the killed, wounded and missing, in the force under Brigadier CARTHEW, *employed in defending the bridge on the Bithoor Road, 28th November 1857.*

Staff ...	2 Captains wounded.
Madras Artillery, C. Company, 5th Battalion, Golundauze.	1 Havildar, 8 privates, and 1 havildar gun lascar wounded.
Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	3 Officers, 2 sergeants, 8 rank and file killed, 7 officers, 1 sergeant, and 50 rank and file wounded.
Grenadier Company, Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment.	2 Rank and file killed, 1 officer, 5 rank and file wounded.

Abstract.

	Officers.	Sergeants.	Havildars.	Rank and File.	Havildar Gun Lascars.	Horses.
Killed	3	2	0	10	0	1
Wounded	10	1	1	63	1	0
Missing	0	0	0	1	0	0

N. B.—Killed and wounded of Light Company, Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment not included, that company having been taken on by Captain McCrea, and engaged in the right attack with Her Majesty's 64th Regiment.

(Sd.) M. CARTHEW, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Madras Troops.

Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff upon Brigadier CARTHEW'S *retreat from his post, on the 28th November 1857,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, the 9th December 1857.*

The Commander-in-Chief has had under consideration Brigadier Carthew's despatch, dated Cawnpore, 3rd December 1857, addressed to the Deputy Assistant-Adjutant-General, Cawnpore Division.

Although His Excellency fully admits the arduous nature of the service on which Brigadier Carthew had been engaged during the 28th November, he cannot record his approval of that officer's retreat on the evening of that day.

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Under the instructions of Major-General Windham, his commanding officer, Brigadier Carthew had been placed in position. No discretion of retiring was allowed to him. When he was pressed hard, he sent for reinforcements, which, as the Commander-in-Chief happened to be present when the request arrived, His Excellency is aware were immediately conducted to his relief by Major-General Windham in person.

It would appear from Brigadier Carthew's letter of explanation that he did not wait to see the effect of the reinforcements which had been brought to him; but to the great astonishment of Major-General Windham and His Excellency retired almost immediately after.

With respect to these occurrences, His Excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been entrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew that when Major-General Windham proceeded to reinforce the post according to his first request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the Major-General that to hold it was an absolute necessity.

His Excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

The night which had arrived was more favourable to the Brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark; at all events there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the entrenchment whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

The Commander-in-Chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew in the last paragraph of his letter talks about his men firing into one another in the dark. His Excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted, and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

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Telegram from the Commissioner of Allahabad, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Allahabad, 10th December 1857, 2 P.M.

The women and children from Lucknow arrived here on the 7th and 8th instant; the sick and wounded arrived this morning. I will send a nominal list by post.

Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, to the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Cawnpore, 11th December 1857, 12 noon.

The guns taken by General Grant will be in to-morrow. I shall be prepared to move forward in two or three days. Will Your Lordship oblige me with any particular instructions you may have to give? I have desired the 7th Hussars to come up to Allahabad, to be formed under the personal superintendence of Brigadier Campbell, as their discipline would have suffered under the different authorities at Benares.

General Order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Fort William, 24th December 1857.

No. 1649 of 1857.—The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the accompanying despatches lately received from the Head-Quarters of the Army.

These papers contain accounts of the safe conveyance of the women and children, sick and wounded of the Garrison of Lucknow across the Ganges; of the resistance by Major-General Windham to a well-organised and desperate attack on his position at Cawnpore by a large body of rebels; and of the subsequent defeat and utter rout of the insurgents by the troops under the immediate direction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Throughout these operations all branches of the service vied with each other in enhancing the glorious name which the contests of the last few months have secured for the British Army in India.

As regards the operations of the 6th, the masterly guidance of the Commander-in-Chief has been scarcely less conspicuous at Cawnpore than it was at Lucknow; each disposition and movement of his forces fitting into one complete and effective scheme proof against all disturbance by the chances of the day of battle. General Sir Colin Campbell has added largely to the heavy claim which he holds upon the gratitude and confidence of the Government, and of the soldiers whom he leads to victory. In two hours the camp of the rebels was reached

and taken and their rout complete, seventeen guns and a large amount of stores and ammunition falling into the hands of the British Force.

His Lordship in Council desires to record his appreciation of the admirable manner in which Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C. B., has executed the duties of his division, and particularly of his exertions in pursuit of the enemy on the 6th, and his operations on the 8th and 9th of December, on which occasion he took fifteen of the enemy's guns without the loss of one man.

On this, as on every occasion in which danger was to be faced and difficulty overcome, Captain Peel, R.N., Commanding the Naval Brigade, was foremost in intrepidity and resource.

Lieutenant Vaughan and the other officers and men of H. M. S. *Shannon* are worthy of their brave commander; and it is a pleasure to the Governor-General in Council to declare his warm admiration of their conduct.

The Governor-General in Council very cordially concurs in the praise so justly bestowed by the Commander-in-Chief on the General officers commanding divisions, on Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, and on all the officers of the general staff in all its branches and the Personal Staff, and officers commanding brigades and regiments, troops and batteries. In the commendation given by His Excellency to officers of every arm of the service, the Governor-General in Council most heartily joins.

To all officers, non-commissioned officers and men engaged in the defence of Cawnpore, or in the attack on the enemy's position, the Governor-General in Council offers his cordial thanks for their gallantry and good service to the State.

It will be his pleasing duty to take the first opportunity of bringing their merits to the favourable notice of Her Majesty's Government, and of the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

From His Excellency General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B., *Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble* VISCOUNT CANNING, *Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, the 2nd December 1857.*

In accordance with the instructions of Your Lordship, arrangements were finally made with Sir James Outram that his division, made up to 4,000 strong of all arms, should remain in position before Lucknow.

This position includes the post of Alumbagh, his standing camp, of which the front is 1,500 yards in rear of that post, and the bridge of Bunnee, which is held by 400 Madras sepoys and two guns.

On the 27th I marched with Brigadier-General Grant's Division all the ladies and families who had been rescued from Lucknow, and the wounded of both forces, making in all about 2,000 people, whom it was necessary to carry, and encamped the evening of that day a little beyond Bunnee bridge.

The long train did not reach completely and file into camp until after midnight.

When we arrived at Bunnee, we were surprised to hear very heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore. No news had reached me from that place for several days; but it appeared necessary, whatever the inconvenience, to press forward as quickly as possible.

The march accordingly re-commenced at 9 A. M. the next morning and shortly afterwards I received two or three notes in succession,—*first*, announcing that Cawnpore had been attacked; *secondly*, that General Windham was hard pressed; and *thirdly*, that he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his entrenchment.

The force was accordingly pressed forward, convoy and all, and was encamped within three miles of the Ganges, about three hours after dark, the rearguard coming in with the end of the train some twenty-four hours afterwards.

I preceded the column of march by two or three hours, and reached the entrenchment at dusk, where I learnt the true state of affairs.

The retreat of the previous day had been effected with the loss of a certain amount of camp equipage, and shortly after my arrival, it was reported to me that Brigadier Carthew had retreated from a very important outpost.

All this appeared disastrous enough, and the next day the city was found to be in possession of the enemy at all points.

It had now become necessary to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge.

All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's Division, under Captain Peel, R. N., and Captain Travers, R. A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge.

This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's Brigade, with some field artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross the bridge, and take position near the Old Dragoon lines.

A cross fire was at the same time kept up from the entrenchment to cover the march of the troops.

When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till 6 o'clock P. M., the day of the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge.

The passage of the force, with its encumbrances, over the Ganges had occupied thirty hours.

The camp now stretches from the Dragoon Lines in a half circle round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the Foot Artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families.

A desultory fire has been kept up by the enemy on the entrenchment and the front of the camp since this position was taken up, and I am obliged to submit to the hostile occupation of Cawnpore, until the actual despatch of all my encumbrances towards Allahabad has been effected.

However disagreeable this may be, and although it may tend to give confidence to the enemy, it is precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run.

I trust when the time has arrived for me to act with due regard to these considerations to see the speedy evacuation of his present position by the enemy.

In the meantime, the position taken up by Brigadier-General Grant's Division under my immediate orders has restored the communications with Futtehpore and Allahabad, as had been anticipated. The detachments moving along the road from these two places have been ordered to continue their march accordingly.

Major-General Windham's despatch relating the operations conducted under his command is enclosed.

In forwarding that document I have only to remark that the complaint made by him in the second paragraph of not receiving instructions from me is explained by the fact of the letters he sent announcing the approach of the Gwalior Force not having come to hand.

The first notice I had of his embarrassment was the distant sound of cannonade as above described.

All the previous reports had declared that there was but little chance of the Gwalior Contingent approaching Cawnpore.

P. S.—Annexed is a return of casualties from the 29th ultimo to this date.

Return of casualties in the Field Force under the command of General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, K. C. B., *Commander-in-Chief from 29th November to 2nd December (inclusive) 1857.*

Detail of brigade and corps.		KILLED.										WOUNDED.										MISSING.										Remarks.
		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Horses. Officers.	Horses. Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Horses. Officers.	Horses. Troop.	Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native officers.	Sergeants and havildars.	Trumpeters, drummers, and rank and file.	Total.	Horses. Officers.	Horses. Troop.	
Staff	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Naval Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Engineers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Cavalry	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	1st Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	5th " "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Hodson's Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3rd Infantry	Her Majesty's 8th Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" 34th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4th "	Her Majesty's 53rd Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	2	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Ditto 93rd Highlanders	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5th "	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" 32nd Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" 64th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	" 82nd "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Native details. 13th Bengal Native Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Native details. 48th "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Native details. 71st "	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Pensioners and levies	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	4	29	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, CAWNPORE;
The 5th December 1857.

LIST of officers killed.

Brigades.	Rank and names of officers.	Regiment.	Remarks.
......	None.	......	——

Wounded.

Brigades.	Rank and names of officers.	Regiment.	Remarks.
Naval	Midshipman Lord W. T. Kerr ...	H. M.'s Ship *Shannon* ...	Slightly.
4th Infantry ...	Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. Ewart.	,, 93rd Highlanders	Severely.
Ditto ...	Captain G. Cornwall	Ditto ...	Ditto.
Ditto ...	Lieutenant E. C. Haynes ...	Ditto ...	Slightly.
5th Ditto ...	Assistant Surgeon T. Carey ...	Her Majesty's 64th Foot ...	Severely, not dangerously.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Lieut.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

From Major-General C. A. WINDHAM, *to His Excellency General Sir* COLIN CAMPBELL, G. C. B., *Commander-in-Chief,—dated Cawnpore, 30th November 1857.*

In giving an account of the proceedings of the force under my command before Cawnpore during the operations of the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th instant, I trust Your Excellency will excuse the hasty manner in which it is necessarily drawn up, owing to the constant demands upon me at the present moment.

Having received through Captain H. Bruce of the 5th Punjab Cavalry information of the movements of the Gwalior Contingent, but having received none whatever from Your Excellency for several days from Lucknow, in answer to my letters to the Chief of the Staff, I was obliged to act for myself.

I therefore resolved to encamp my force on the canal, ready to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that came within my reach, keeping at the same time my communications safe with Cawnpore.

Finding that the contingent were determined to advance, I resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee. My force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets and eight guns and 100 mounted

sewars. Having sent my camp equipage and baggage to the rear, I advanced to the attack in the following order:—

Four companies of the Rifle Brigade, under Colonel R. Walpole, followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Maxwell, and four light 6-pounder Madras guns, under Lieutenant Chamier; the whole under the command of Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras Native Infantry.

Following this force was the 34th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel R. Kelly, with four 9-pounder guns; the 82nd Regiment in reserve, with spare ammunition, &c.

I had given directions, in the event of the enemy being found directly in our front, and if the ground permitted, that Brigadier Carthew should occupy the ground to the left of the road, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, with the 34th, divided into wings, and supported by his artillery, should take the right. It so happened, however, that this order on our coming into action became exactly inverted by my directions in consequence of a sudden turn of the road. No confusion, however, was caused. The advance was made with a complete line of skirmishers along the whole front, with supports on either side and a reserve in the centre.

The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns; but such was the eagerness and courage of the troops, and so well were they led by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went; and the village, more than half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two 8-inch iron howitzers and one 6-pounder gun.

In this fight my loss was not severe; but I regret very much that a very promising young officer, Captain H. H. Day, 88th Regiment, was killed.

Observing from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my entrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy up to the bridge over the canal.

On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack, with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. My position was in front of the city. I was threatened on all sides, and very seriously

attacked on my front and right flank. The heavy fighting in front, at the point of junction of the Calpee and Delhi roads, fell more especially upon the Rifle Brigade, ably commanded by Colonel Walpole, who was supported by the 88th Regiment and four guns (two 9-pounders, two 24-pounder howitzers) under Captain D. S. Greene, R. A., and two 24-pounder guns, manned by seamen of the *Shannon*, under Lieutenant Hay, R. N., who was twice wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, R. A., also afforded me marked assistance with these guns.

In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, my troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground until, on my proceeding personally to make sure of the safety of the fort, I found from the number of men bayoneted by the 88th Regiment that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town; and having been told that they were then attacking the fort, I directed Major-General Dupuis, R. A., (who as my second-in-command I had left with the main body,) to fall back the whole force into the fort, with all our stores and guns, shortly before dark.

Owing to the flight of the camp followers at the commencement of the action, notwithstanding the long time we held the ground, I regret to state that in making this retrograde movement, I was unable to carry off all my camp equipage and some of the baggage. Had not an error occurred in the conveyance of an order issued by me, I am of opinion that I could have held my ground at all events until dark.

I must not omit in this stage of the proceedings to report that the flank attack was well met, and resisted for a considerable time by the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly and the Madras Battery under Lieutenant Chamier, together with that part of the 82nd Regiment which was detached in this direction under Lieutenant-Colonel D. Watson.

In retiring within the entrenchments, I followed the general instructions issued to me by Your Excellency, conveyed through the Chief of the Staff, namely, to preserve the safety of the bridge over the Ganges, and my communications with your force, so severely engaged in the important operation of the Relief of Lucknow, as far as possible. I strictly adhered to the defensive.

After falling back to the fort, I assembled the superior officers on the evening of the 27th and proposed a night attack, should I be able to receive reliable information as to where the enemy had assembled his artillery.

As, however, I could obtain none, (or, at all events, none that was satisfactory,) I decided—

Firstly.—That on the following day Colonel Walpole, Rifle Brigade, should have the defence of the advanced portion of the town on the left side of the canal, standing with your back to the Ganges. The details of the force upon this point were as follows :—

5 Companies, Rifle Brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel C. Woodford.

2 „ of the 82nd Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson.

4 Guns { two 9-pounder. / „ 24-pounder howitzers. } Under Captain Greene, R. A.

(Two of these guns were manned by Madras gunners, and two by Sikhs).

Secondly.—That Brigadier N. Wilson, with the 64th Regiment, was to hold the fort and establish a strong picquet at the Baptist Chapel on the extreme right.

Thirdly.—That Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, and four Madras guns, should hold the Bithoor Road in advance of the Baptist Chapel, receiving support from the picquet there if wanted.

Fourthly.—That, with the 88th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, I should defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole if required.

The fighting on the 28th was very severe. On the left advance, Colonel Walpole with the Rifles, supported by Captain Greene's Battery, and part of the 82nd Regiment, achieved a complete victory over the enemy and captured two 18-pounder guns.

The glory of this well-contested fight belongs entirely to the above-named companies and artillery.

It was owing to the gallantry of the men and officers under the able leading of Colonel Walpole, and of my lamented relation, Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford of the Rifle Brigade (who I deeply regret to say was killed,) and of Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, 82nd, and of Captain Greene, R. A., that this hard contested fight was won and brought to so profitable an end. I had nothing to do with it beyond sending them supports, and at the end of bringing some up myself.

I repeat that the credit is entirely due to the abovementioned officers and men.

Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew. In this daring exploit, I regret to say, he lost his life, together with several valuable and able officers. Major T. Stirling, 64th Regiment, was killed in spiking one of the guns, as was also that fine gallant young man, Captain R. C. McCrea, 64th Regiment, who acted as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General to the force here. Captain W. Morphey, 64th Regiment (the Brigade-Major) also fell at the same time. Our numbers were not sufficient to enable us to carry off the guns.

Captain A. P. Bowlby, now the senior officer of the 64th Regiment, distinguished himself, as did also Captain H. F. Saunders, of the 70th Regiment, who was attached to the 64th, and is senior to Captain Bowlby, whose conduct he describes as most devoted and gallant; as was also that of the men of the regiment.

Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras Native Infantry, had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy from morning till night; but I regret to add that he felt himself obliged to retire at dark.

During the night of the 28th instant, the enemy occupied the town, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding my entrenchments with a few guns, and struck the bridge-of-boats several times.

The guns mounted in the fort were superior in number to those of the enemy, and were well manned throughout the day by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Royal Artillery, seamen of the *Shannon*, Madras and Bengal gunners and Sikhs.

The chief outwork was occupied by the Rifle Brigade, and in the course of the afternoon, by Your Excellency's instructions, they were advanced, and gallantly drove the mutineers out of that portion of the city nearest to our works, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Fyers who was supported by Colonel Walpole.

Throughout the short period I have had the temporary command of this division, I have received both in the field and elsewhere, the most important assistance from Captain H. Bruce, 5th Punjab Cavalry. Without him I should have been at a great loss for reliable information, and although I am aware that Your Excellency is not ignorant of his abilities, courage, and assiduity, I think it my duty to make this mention of his service to the country.

Pressed as I am by the operations now going forward, I am not able to specify the services of every individual who has assisted me

where all have behaved so well. I have no staff of my own, except Captain Roger Swire, of the 17th Foot, my aid-de-camp, who has behaved with his usual zeal and courage.

I therefore hope I may be allowed to thank, through Your Excellency, the undermentioned officers for the great services they have voluntarily rendered me during this trying time:—

Major-General J. E. Dupuis, C. B., Commanding Royal Artillery in India	Specially.
Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, C.B., Assistant Adjutant-General, Royal Artillery	
Lieutenant-Colonel H. D. Harness, Commanding Royal Engineers.	
Major Norman McLeod, Bengal Engineers ...	

Lieutenant-Colonel John Simpson, 34th Regiment.

Senior Surgeon R. C. Elliot, C.B., Royal Artillery.

Captain John Gordon, 82nd Regiment.

„ Sarsfield Greene, Royal Artillery.

„ Smyth, Bengal Artillery.

There are several other officers in addition, who I fortunately found detained here *en route* to join Your Excellency's Force, and I beg to submit their names also, *viz.* :—

Captain R. G. Brackenbury, 61st Regiment.

Lieutenant Arthur Henley, 52nd Light Infantry.

„ Valentine Ryan, 64th Regiment.

Captain Ellis Cunliffe, 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

Lieutenant E. H. Budgen, 82nd Regiment, (to whom I gave the command of the 100 mounted sowars).

Captain C. E. Mansfield, 33rd Regiment.

Lieutenant P. Scratchley, Royal Engineers.

„ W. C Milne, 74th Bengal Native Infantry.

I beg to inform Your Excellency that I have called for nominal returns of the killed and wounded, and I have also directed all officers commanding corps, regiments, and batteries, &c., to forward to me the names of any officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who may have especially distinguished themselves by gallantry in the field, which shall be forwarded to Your Excellency without delay.

In conclusion, I hope I may be permitted to express my sincere thanks to all regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men for the zeal, gallantry, and courage with which they have carried out my orders during the four days of harassing actions, which have successively

taken place in the defence of this important strategic centre of present operations.

I beg to forward the enclosed despatch which I have received from Major-General Dupuis, and I have called upon the various officers commanding corps, &c., to forward me the names of any officers they may wish to recommend, which I will send to Your Excellency as soon as I receive them.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the undermentioned corps in action near Cawnpore, on the 26th November 1857.

BRIGADE OFFICE, CAWNPORE;
2nd December 1857.

Corps.			Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Staff sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Sick.	Prisoners.	Total rank and file.	Grand total, killed, wounded and missing.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	4		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	20	...	...	25		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	
" 82nd Regiment	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1		
	Wounded	...	...	..	1	...	...	...	...	...	5	..	...	6		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	
" 88th C. R.*	Killed	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	8		
	Wounded	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	3	32	...	...	39		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47	
" 64th Regiment	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Rifle Battery ...	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	6	...	...	8		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	
	Total	...	...	1	5	...	...	4	3	4	75	...	...	92	92	

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*,
A tg. Bde.-Maj.

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*,
Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.

* Connaught Rangers.

Nominal roll of officers killed, wounded, and missing in action with the enemy near Cawnpore, on the 26th November 1857.

BRIGADE OFFICE, CAWNPORE;
2nd December 1857.

Her Majesty's 34th.	Her Majesty's 64th.	Her Majesty's 82nd.	Her Majesty's 88th.	Her Majesty's Rifles.	—
....	....	....	Captain H. H. Day.	......	Killed.
....	....	Lieutenant C. J. East.	Lieutenant Birch " Burke " H. M. Gilby. Ensign Mitchell.	......	Wounded.
....	....	....	....	......	Missing.

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*, *Actg. Bde.-Maj.*

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.*

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the undermentioned regiments in action near Cawnpore, on the 27th November 1857.

Corps.		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Sick.	Prisoners.	Total rank and file.	Grand total of killed, wounded and missing.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 34th Regiment ...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..		
	Wounded	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	6	6	
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
" 82nd Regiment...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	2	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
" 88th Regiment...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3		
	Wounded	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	19	...	...	22	25	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
" 64th Regiment...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	2	2	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Rifle Brigade	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	6	6	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Total	...	1	1	3	1	...	3	...	..	32	...	...	41	41	

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*, *Actg. Bde.-Maj.*

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.*

BRIGADE OFFICE, CAWNPORE;
The 2nd December 1857.

Nominal roll of officers killed, wounded, and missing in action with the enemy near Cawnpore, on the 27th November 1857.

Her Majesty's 34th.	Her Majesty's 64th.	Her Majesty's 82nd.	Her Majesty's 88th.	Rifles.	—
....	....	....	....	....	Killed.
Lieut.-Colonel R. D. Kelly.	....	....	Lieutenant and Adjutant Evans.	Lieutenant Traverse.	......
	....	....	Lieutenant Austen	Lieutenant Pemberton.	Wounded.
			Lieutenant and Interpreter Clarke attached.		
					Missing.

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*, *Actg. Bde.-Maj.*

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.*

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the undermentioned regiments in action near Cawnpore, on the 28th November 1857.

Corps.		Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Sick.	Prisoners.	Total rank and file.	Grand total killed, wounded and missing.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 34th Regiment	Killed ...	...		3	...	...	2	1	..	5	...	...	11		
	Wounded ...	1	3	3	...	..	2	1	...	33	...	...	43	54	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
" 82nd "	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	7	...	...	8		
	Wounded ...	1	1	...	.	...	2	1	...	24	...	...	29	38	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1		
" 88th C. R.*	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	2	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
" 64th Regt.	Killed ...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	15	...	...	21		
	Wounded ...	...	...	1	...	...	..	...	2	13	...	...	16	39	
	Missing ...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2		
" Brigade† ...	Killed ...	1	...	..	...	...	..	...	...	4	...	...	5		
	Wounded ...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	1	18	...	...	24	30	
	Missing ...	...	...	...	...		..	...	...	1	...	...	1		
Artillery	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded ...	...	...	...	..	...	2	...	...	8	...	...	10	10	
	Missing ...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...		
Total ...		5	8	12	..	...	10	4	3	131	...	...	173	173	

E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*, *Actg. Bde.-Maj.*

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*, *Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.*

* Connaught Rangers.

† Rifle Brigade.

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Nominal roll of officers killed, wounded, and missing in action with the enemy near Cawnpore, on the 28th November 1857.

Her Majesty's 34th.	Her Majesty's 64th.	Her Majesty's 82nd.	Her Majesty's 88th.	Rifles.	—
Lieutenant Ed. Jorden. Ensign T. G. Applegate. Ensign L. J. Grier	Colonel N. Wilson, K. H. Major Stirling. Captain Morphey. Captain McCrea.	....	....	Lieutenant-Colonel C. Woodford.	Killed.
Major James Maxwell. Brevet-Major Jas. Jorden. Captain F. D. Cassidy. Captain D. Stewart Lieutenant R. J. Cochrane. Lieutenant Holroyd Lieutenant H. Lampen.	Lieutenant N. T. Parsons, attached.	Major C. T. V. B. Isaac. Captain J. Gordon.	......	Captain M. Dillon. Captain L. P. Milles. Ensign H. Lawton. Cadet Dyce. Cadet Madden.	Wounded.
	Lieutenant McKinnon. Lieutenant Gibbons, 82nd Regiment, attached.				Missing.

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.,*
Actg. Bde.-Maj.

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.,*
Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.

Return of killed, wounded and missing, of the undermentioned regiments on the 29th November 1857 in action near Cawnpore.

Corps.		Field officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Staff Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.	Sick.	Prisoners.	Total.	Grand total killed, wounded, and missing.	Remarks.
Her Majesty's 34th	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
" 82nd	Killed	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
" 88th	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	3		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	
" 64th	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Wounded	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
" Rifles	Killed	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1		
	Wounded	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	5		
	Missing	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	7	
Total		...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	8	...	...	11	11	

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*,
Actg. Bde.-Maj.

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*,
Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.

Nominal roll of officers killed, wounded, and missing in action with the enemy near Cawnpore, on the 29th November 1857.

Her Majesty's 34th.	Her Majesty's 64th.	Her Majesty's 82nd.	Her Majesty's 88th.	Her Majesty's Rifles.	—
....	....	Lieutenant A. P. Hensley.	....	....	Killed.
....	....	....	....	Lieutenant and Interpreter C. Armstrong.	Wounded.
....	....	....	....	....	Missing.

(Sd.) E. CUNLIFFE, *Capt.*,
Actg. Bde.-Maj.

(Sd.) C. A. WINDHAM, *Maj.-Genl.*,
Comdg. Cawnpore Divn.

From Major-General J. E. DUPUIS, *Commanding Royal Artillery in India, to Major-General* C. A. WINDHAM, C.B., *Commanding the Cawnpore Division, —dated Cawnpore, 30th November 1857.*

Without entering into any detail of the operations carried on by the force under your command, on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th instant, which I consider unnecessary, as you were present the whole time, yet I feel it my duty to bring to your notice the excellent conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men, both of the Royal and and Bengal Artillery, whom you placed under my command.

Lieutenant Oliver, R. A., who was in command of a hastily equipped battery of two 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers, manned by a few Royal Artillery and Bengal gunners and some Sikhs, did his best to bring his guns into action on the first day's operations on the Pandoo River ; yet from his extreme inexperience I thought it better to place my aide-de-camp, Captain Sarsfield Greene, R. A., in command, and I beg to bring to your notice the admirable manner in which he directed and fought the guns at the close of the day.

On the 27th he supported the Rifle Brigade and 88th Connaught Rangers, and as our force retired he assisted to protect the retreat. Again on the 28th, he supported Colonel Walpole and the Rifle Brigade on the advance on the left, and assisted materially in the capture of two 18-pounder guns. On the 29th he commanded four guns in the fort. Lieutenant Chamier, of the Madras Artillery, who commanded six light guns, performed his duties entirely to my satisfaction, particularly on the 28th, when he was attached to the force under Brigadier Carthew.

I beg also to bring to your consideration the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel John Adye, my Assistant Adjutant-General, who volunteered on the night of the 27th, and brought from the centre of the town a 24 pounder gun, which had been left behind in the retreat, in consequence of its having been jammed in one of the narrow streets. This officer was assisted by Captains Austen and Bradford, of the Bengal Artillery. On the 29th he again volunteered and took command of the same gun, (manned by a few sailors and Madras gunners), and placed it in a position to protect the canal where it proved of good service during the day. I beg also to testify to the willing exertions of Senior Surgeon R. C. Elliot on all occasions.

From General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, K.C.B., *Commander-in Chief of the Army, to the Right Hon'ble* VISCOUNT CANNING, *Governor-General of India in Council,— dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, the 10th December 1857.*

I have the honour to report to your Lordship that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy which had given me so much

anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally despatched, and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded in places of safety, while a portion of the troops was withdrawn from the entrenchments to join the camp.

On the afternoon of the 5th, about 3 P. M., the enemy attacked our left picquet with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank. A desultory fire was also begun on our picquets in the General Gung, which is an old bazaar of very considerable extent along the canal, in front of the line occupied by the camp. These advanced positions had been held since our arrival by Brigadier Greathed's brigade with great firmness, the Brigadier having displayed his usual judgment in their arrangement and support. On two or three occasions he had been supported by Captain Peel's heavy guns and Captain Bourchier's field battery, when the artillery of the enemy had annoyed him and the general front of the camp.

After two hours of cannonading the enemy retired on the afternoon in question.

Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

His left occupied the old cantonment from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded.

His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk Road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior Contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee Road. This was the line of retreat of that body.

In short the canal along which were placed his centre and right was the main feature of his position and could only be passed in the latter direction by two bridges.

It appeared to me, if his right were vigorously attacked that it would be driven from its position without assistance coming from other parts of his line, the wall of the town which gave cover to our attacking columns on our right being an effective obstacle to the movement of any portion of his troops from his left to right.

Thus the possibility became apparent of attacking his division in detail.

From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that in consequence of the arrival of four regiments

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from Oudh, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted to about 25,000 men, with all the guns belonging to the Contingent, some 36 in number, together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

Orders were given to General Windham, on the morning of the 6th, to open a heavy bombardment at 9 A. M. from the entrenchment in the old cantonment and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the General's position.

The camp was struck early, and all the baggage driven to the riverside under a guard, to avoid the slightest risk of accident.

Brigadier Greathed, reinforced by the 64th Regiment, was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy, which he had been occupying for some days past as abovementioned, and at 11 A.M. the rest of the force, as per margin, was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy.

Brigadier Greathed's Brigade.
Her Majesty's 8th Foot.
" 64th "
2nd Punjab Infantry.
Artillery Brigade.
Two Troops, Horse Artillery.
Three Light Field Batteries.
Guns of the Naval Brigade.
Heavy Field Battery, Royal Artillery.
Cavalry Brigade.
Her Majesty's 9th Lancers.
Detachments, 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse.
4th Infantry Brigade.
Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.
" 42nd and 93rd Highlanders.
4th Punjab Rifles.
5th Infantry Brigade.
Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.
" 32nd Regiment.
" 82nd "
6th Infantry Brigade.
2nd and 3rd Battalions, Rifle Brigade.
Detachment, Her Majesty's 38th Foot.
Engineer Brigade.
Royal Engineers and Detachments Bengal and Punjab.
Sappers and Miners attached to the various brigades of Infantry.

The cannonade from the entrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for the attack to commence.

The Cavalry and Horse Artillery having been sent to make a detour on the left and cross the canal by a bridge a mile-and-half further up, and threaten the enemy's rear, the Infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting the canal.

Brigadier Hope's Brigade was in advance in one line, Brigadier Inglis' Brigade being in rear of Brigadier Hope.

At the same time Brigadier Walpole, assisted by Captain Smith's Field Battery, Royal Artillery, was directed to pass the bridge immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, and to drive the enemy from the brick-kilns, keeping the wall of the city for his guide.

The whole attack then proceeded, the enemy quickly responding from his proper right to the fire of our heavy and field artillery. Good use was made of these guns by Captain Peel, C. B., R. N., and the artillery officers under Major-General Dupuis, C. B., R. A., Brigadier Crawford, R. A., and Major Turner, R. A.

The Sikhs of the 4th Punjab Infantry thrown into skirmishing order, supported by Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, attacked the enemy in some old mounds and brick-kilns to our left with great vigour.

The advance then continued with rapidity along the whole line, and I had the satisfaction of observing in the distance that Brigadier Walpole was making equal progress on the right.

The canal bridge was quickly passed, Captain Peel leading over it with a heavy gun, accompanied by a soldier of Her Majesty's 53rd, named Hannaford.

The troops which had gathered together resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his camp being reached and taken at 1 P. M., and his rout being complete along the Calpee Road.

I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and goodwill with which the latter have worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow till now, as if they were light field pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers.

Without losing any time the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee Road, and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position which had been attacked now fell into our possession.

I had the satisfaction of accompanying the troops engaged in the pursuit, and of being able to bear witness to their strenuous endeavours to make the most of the success which had been achieved.

When I passed the camp and went forward on the Calpee Road, Major-General Mansfield was desired by me to make arrangements for the attack of the position called the Subadar's Tank, which extended round the left rear of the enemy's position in the old cantonments.

As this operation was a separate one, I beg to enclose for your Lordship's consideration the Major-General's own narrative.

The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier-General Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy public buildings belonging to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Serai Ghat, twenty-five miles from hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the Brigadier-General, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns.

The Brigadier-General attacked him with great vigour, and by the excellent disposition he made of his force succeeded in taking every gun the enemy possessed, without losing a single man. I have the pleasure to enclose the Brigadier-General's report for your Lordship's persual.

It now remains for me to bring to your Lordship's notice the officers who have distinguished themselves during the series of operations which have occurred under my own eyes, since this field force left the neighbourhood of Lucknow.

I have a particular pleasure in again bringing to your Lordship's notice the zeal and great ability with which Major-General W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, has conducted the very important duties of his high position, and of my obligation to him for the most valuable assistance he has afforded me during the whole of the recent operations. I desire also to call your Lordship's attention to the able and distinguished manner in which he conducted the troops placed under his orders, after the enemy's centre had been divided, to the attack of their strong position at the Subadar's Tank, and to recommend to your Lordship's favourable consideration the names of the officers who assisted him.

I have to thank Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C.B., very particularly for the admirable manner in which he has conducted the duties of the force, and more particularly for his exertions on the 6th December, and the capital operations he performed on the 8th and 9th. The Brigadier-General speaks in the highest terms of his divisional and personal staff, *viz.*, Captain W. Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General; Lieutenant F. S. Roberts,* Deputy Assistant

* General Lord Roberts, V.C., G.C.B.

Quartermaster-General; Captain the Hon'ble A. H. Anson, Aide-de-Camp; Lieutenant C. W. Havelock extra Aide-de-Camp, and Captain H. M. Wilson, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General.

I have the greatest satisfaction in bringing to your Lordship's notice Brigadiers Greathed, the Hon'ble A. Hope, Walpole, and Inglis. These officers have all exerted themselves to the utmost, and have fully justified my expectations. They desire to record their obligations to the officers commanding corps in their respective brigades and to their brigade staff as follows:—

Captain Hinde, Her Majesty's 8th Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Wells, Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers; Major Lowe, Commanding Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, Her Majesty's 38th Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders; Colonel Faber, Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment; Major Bingham, Her Majesty's 64th Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, Her Majesty's 82nd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Leith Hay, Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders; Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; Lieutenant-Colonel Fyers, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade; Captain Green, Commanding 2nd Punjab Infantry; Lieutenant W. C. L. Ryves, Commanding 4th Punjab Rifles; Captain J. M. Bannatyne, Brigade-Major, 3rd Brigade; Captain J. H. Cox, Brigade-Major, 4th Brigade; Captain Lightfoot, Brigade-Major, 5th Brigade; Liuetenant C. A. Barwell, Brigade-Major, 6th Brigade.

Owing to his knowledge of the ground I requested Major-General Windham to remain in command of the entrenchment, the fire of which was a very important feature in the operations of the 6th December, although I felt and explained to General Windham that it was a command hardly worthy of an officer of his rank. He gave me every satisfaction, and I have to thank him accordingly.

I must particularly notice the exertions of Captain H. W. Norman,* Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army; of Captain Herbert Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General; and of Captain J. H. Smyth of the Bengal Artillery, the latter of whom had been requested by me to take command of the Artillery in the entrenchment as a special duty.

Captain Smyth has rendered other great and valuable services since he left Calcutta, of which I have not had an opportunity before of recording my approval.

* General Sir H. W. Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.

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I desire also to bring to your Lordship's favourable notice, the officers on the General Staff or belonging to the personal staff of myself or Major-General Mansfield, *viz.*, Captain H. R. Garden, Assistant Quartermaster-General; Lieutenant G. Allgood, and Captain T. A. Carey, Deputy Assistants Quartermaster-General; Captain G. C. Hatch, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General of the Army; Captain Sir David Baird, *Bart.*, my first Aide-de-Camp; Captain J. Metcalfe, Interpreter; Lieutenant W. O. Lennox, Royal Engineers; Captain W. Rudman, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Her Majesty's Forces; Lieutenant Hope Johnstone, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General to the Chief of the Staff; Lieutenant F. M. Alison and Captain Forster, my Aides-de-Camp; and Captain Mansfield and Lieutenant D. M. Murray, Aide-de-Camp and extra Aide-de-Camp to the Chief of the Staff.

To the crew of H. M. S. *Shannon* and to the Royal and Bengal Artillery my thanks are alike due; but more particularly to Captain Peel, C.B., R.N.; to Brigadier Crawford, Royal Artillery, and to Major Turner, Bengal Horse Artillery. I cannot refrain from again drawing your Lordship's most marked attention to the very distinguished merits of the last-named (Major Turner).

As is always the case in the three services, the batteries and troops were manœuvred with remarkable dexterity.

Captain Peel has brought to my favourable notice Lieutenant Vaughan, R. N., and I should much wish that this recommendation may be known at the Admiralty; and Brigadier Crawford has expressed his obligations to his Brigade-Major, Captain H. L. G. Bruce, Bengal Artillery, and has mentioned with marked distinction all the officers holding commands, *viz.*, Captain Travers, Commanding Royal Artillery; Captains Remmington and Blunt, Commanding troops of Bengal Horse Artillery; Captains Middleton and Smith, Royal Artillery; and Captain Bourchier, Bengal Artillery, Commanding Light Field Batteries; Captain Longden, R.A., Commanding a heavy battery, and Lieutenant Bridge, Commanding two guns, Madras Horse Artillery.

Major-General Dupuis, C.B., Royal Artillery, commanded the artillery during the action in consequence of his accidental presence in camp, and I beg to thank him for his exertions as well as those of his staff, *viz.*, Lieutenant-Colonel Adye, C.B., R. A., Assistant Adjutant-General, and Captain Greene, R. A., Aide-de-Camp.

Colonel Harness, Royal Engineers, was also present in the same manner, and accompanied me throughout the action.

General Grant has also brought to my notice the distinguished conduct of Brigadier Little, Commanding the Cavalry, as also of officers commanding corps in that brigade and its staff officers, *viz.*, Major Ouvry, 9th Lancers; Lieutenant Watson, 1st Punjab Cavalry; Lieutenant Probyn, 2nd Punjab Cavalry; Lieutenant Younghusband, 5th Punjab Cavalry; Lieutenant H. Gough, Hodson's Horse, and Captain H. A. Sarel, Major of Brigade.

During the pursuit of the 6th and the operation of the 9th the Cavalry maintained that high character for dash and perseverance which have distinguished them since they took the field in the numerous engagements of their long campaign.

I desire also to mention Major Payne, of the 53rd Regiment, whom I saw performing very valuable service during the first advance on the 6th instant.

I must not allow this opportunity to pass without bearing my testimony to the unwearied zeal and assiduity of the Superintending Surgeon, Dr. J. C. Brown, Bengal Artillery, which have never flagged for an instant, and have been of the greatest use to the force in the field from the time the troops first took the field before going to Delhi. I beg to recommend him most particularly to your Lordship's favourable consideration.

Annexed are returns of killed and wounded, and of captured ordnance, as well as a sketch of the ground.*

From Major-General W. R. MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, to General Sir* C. CAMPBELL, G. C. B., *Commander-in-Chief,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, the 10th December 1857.*

In obedience to your Excellency's instructions, when I left your side after the capture of the enemy's camp on the afternoon of the 6th December, I proceeded to make the arrangements for taking the position called the Subadar's Tank, in rear of the enemy's left, and about a mile-and-a-half in a direct line from the entrenchment through the old cantonments.

Before advancing, measures were taken for the safeguard of the captured camp, Colonel Kelly, with a wing of 38th Foot, being placed in position for that purpose, in addition to the 23rd Regiment, which had already been left there by your Excellency.

* This sketch could not be found among the records.

These two regiments repelled an attack in the course of the afternoon, and took two guns from the enemy.

The 93rd Highlanders who had been placed on the Grand Trunk Road, beyond the camp to the left, at the time that your Excellency gave the orders for pressing the pursuit of the enemy along the Calpee Road, were now, at 2 P. M., beginning to suffer from the enemy's guns, which were in position about 1,000 yards in their front, in the enclosures between them and the tank.

They were advanced a short distance with Captain Middleton's Field Battery, R. A., which answered the enemy's guns until the Rifle Brigade under Brigadier Walpole and the heavy field battery under Captain Longden, R. A., could be brought up.

In the course of half-an-hour this had taken place, and the heavy field battery pushed along the road intersecting the Grand Trunk Road about a mile to the left of the enemy's camp, and leading directly to the old cantonment.

The Rifles were extended in skirmishing order some 300 yards on each side of the road slightly in advance of the heavy guns, the Highlanders being kept in reserve.

These arangements having been made, the advance took place, and the enemy began to give way immediately, successive positions being taken up and a rapid fire maintained by Captain Longden and Captain Middleton, of the R. A., the Rifles passing through the enclosures to the right, and the broken ground to the left of the road, with much spirit, under the able directions of Brigadier Walpole.

On the entrance of the village being reached, which may be distinguished as the soldiers' burial-ground, although the enclosures were still held to a certain degree by the enemy, it appeared to me expedient to push the field battery through the village at a gallop, and take position in the plain, with the Tank on the right, the infantry being desired to press forward as fast as they could.

This was done very well by Captain Middleton, R. A., and he had the satisfaction of firing at the enemy's guns as they disappeared along the Bithoor Road, whilst the Rifles were still running up to his support.

The position was then fairly occupied, Brigadier Hope coming up with the reserve of Highlanders and taking charge of the picquets which were thrown out on the line of the enemy's retreat.

About 4 P. M. the position which had been taken was attacked by artillery brought by the enemy from the old cantonment.

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These guns might have been taken; but I refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your Excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment; and that if the slightest advance had been made in that quarter, it would have been necessary, at whatever loss, to make no stop till the entrenchment should have been reached.

When Captain Longden's and Captain Middleton's batteries had almost succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire, the position was attacked by some guns of the enemy from the broken ground of the plain on exactly the opposite side. They could not be seen, except by their smoke. They were, however, answered quickly, and all the men and field hospital, &c., having been put under tolerable cover, no harm was suffered by the troops in consequence of this attack.

At dusk I had the satisfaction of seeing large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry move round to the west of the position about a mile distant, in full retreat.

It not being possible to communicate with your Excellency after sunset, the position taken up being almost isolated, and as reported to me, there being considerable numbers of the enemy still in occupation of the town and old cantonment, the picquets all round the position were slightly strengthened, and the troops bivouacked by their arms.

Everything having been quiet during the night, the Highlanders were withdrawn the next morning, and replaced by the 38th Foot under your Excellency's orders.

My thanks are eminently due to Brigadier Walpole, who commanded the advance, and Brigadier Hope, commanding the reserve; to Captains Middleton and Longden, commanding the batteries of artillery, and to my Aide-de-Camp, Captain Mansfield, who was of the greatest use to me till he was unfortunately severely wounded after the guns had passed the village.

Captain Herbert Bruce, Deputy Quartermaster-General, whose merits are so highly considered by your Excellency, distinguished himself very much by his knowledge and appreciation of the ground, and was the cause of my being able to direct the troops with tolerable certainty.

The Brigadiers report very highly on the conduct of the officers commanding corps, *viz.*:—

Lieutenant-Colonel A. S. L. Hay, 93rd Highlanders.
Lieutenant-Colonel Horsford, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.
Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Fyers, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.

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From Brigadier-General HOPE GRANT, *Commanding the Force, to Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff,—dated Camp Serai Ghat, 11th December 1857.*

	Men.		Guns.
1st Troop 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery ...	83		5
7th Company, 14th Battalion, Royal Artillery	139		6
9th Lancers ...	327		
5th Punjab Cavalry	85		
Hodson's Horse ...	109		
		743	
4th Brigade.			
42nd Highlanders ...	403		
53rd Foot ..	413		
93rd Highlanders ...	806		
4th Punjab Rifles ...	332		
		1,954	
Sappers		100	
Total ...		2,797	11

At midday on the 8th instant having received His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's orders, through you, to march to Bithoor, and if I thought it advisable or heard of any of the rebels' guns being at Serai Ghat, a ferry about twenty-five miles above Cawnpore, on the Ganges, to proceed there, I started with the force named in the margin, and from what I could learn on the road I had reason to believe that a certain number of guns had been taken to this ghat. Towards evening I halted the force, and directed the men to have their dinners. I then proceeded on to Sheorajpore,—a village on the road within three miles of Serai Ghat, where I halted the force until daylight. I then collected the baggage, and had it placed in a safe spot covered by a portion of artillery, cavalry and infantry.

I moved the remainder within about two miles of the Ghat, when I proceeded to reconnoitre with a party of the 9th Lancers, and found on the banks of the river a force assembled, and horsemen and sepoys with baggage moving down towards the spot. I immediately ordered up the cavalry and guns; but the road under the banks of the river was of such a dangerous nature from the quicksands, that the heavy 9-pounders of Captain Middleton's Battery drawn by tired horses, ran great risks of being altogether stopped, and it was only through the hard exertions and praiseworthy conduct of Captain Middleton, Lieutenant Millman, in command of the battery, and the men, that the guns were got through. An 18-pounder of the enemy was here discovered fixed in the quicksand. Two guns of the Field Battery having got over this difficulty, and on to the dry bank of the river, soon got into position, and under a very severe fire from thirteen of the rebels' guns, Lieutenant Millman brought his guns into play. Soon after Captain Remmington's troop galloped up, and took up a most admirable position covered by the bank of a ditch, opening on the enemy a flanking fire which, together with the remainder of the Field Battery, now come up,

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in half-an-hour's time completely silenced the enemy's fire and put them in full retreat.

A force of the rebels' cavalry upon this came up to try and take our guns; but the 9th Lancers, under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab Horse, under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's Horse, under Lieutenant Gough, the whole commanded by Brigadier Little, advanced upon them, drove them away, and Lieutenant Younghusband, who was sent out in pursuit with his men, cut up some 80 or 90 stragglers, and took three standards.

The movement of our cavalry towards the rear of the enemy, no doubt had the effect of hurrying their retreat from their guns; but the ground was of such a nature as to prevent the possibility of getting at them before they had got under cover of trees and houses.

The Infantry Brigade, under Brigadier the Hon'ble Adrian Hope, was of great use in supporting the advance of the cavalry; but before they reached the ground the enemy were in retreat.

As soon as possible I sent up the Sikh Infantry to secure the guns, and am happy to say fourteen brass guns and one 18-pounder, with limbers, wagons, &c., and a large quantity of ammunition, were taken.

The success was complete, and I am truly grateful to God and happy to say, though the fire of grape from the enemy was most severe and well-placed, falling amongst the artillery like hail, I had not a single man even wounded, and only one horse of Captain Middleton's Battery killed. It was truly marvellous and providential. Thirteen guns, most of them 9-pounders and 24-pounder howitzers, were playing with grape on the gallant artillery, and with round shot upon the cavalry, the former within about 500 yards—and His Excellency is well aware with what precision these rebels fire their guns—yet not one single man was wounded.

I gave directions at once to remove everything from the spot, and the Highlanders, 53rd Regiment and Sikhs, with a most praiseworthy zeal and activity, brought off all the guns, wagons, &c., from the quicksands, beyond which they had been placed. The troops had been marching since 1 o'clock on the 8th, with occasional halts; and the moving in of the guns to a position I had taken up for them within about three-quarters of a mile of the camp was not accomplished till dusk the following day. They had little to eat or drink for nearly twenty-four hours; but there was not a complaint.

I beg to request you will lay the names of the undermentioned officers before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—Captain Middleton who commanded the whole of the artillery rendered the greatest services, both in the action and in the moving of the guns; Lieutenant Millman who commanded the battery; Captain Remmington who worked his guns admirably and who was most zealous in giving every assistance to Captain Middleton; Brigadier A. Little to whom I was much indebted for his cavalry support to the guns, and for the way in which he brought his force to the front on the advance of the enemy.

Major Ouvry, Commanding the 9th Lancers, a most active and zealous officer.

Lieutenant Younghusband, Commanding 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Lieutenant Gough, Commanding Hodson's Horse. To all of whom my thanks are due for the very able way in which they commanded their regiments.

Lieutenant Malcolm, Commanding the Royal Engineers, and Lieutenant Forbes, Commanding the Bengal Engineers, who with their men executed the work entrusted to them with great ability and zeal.

Brigadier the Hon'ble A. Hope, Commanding the Infantry Brigade, was of the greatest possible assistance, and behaved with his usual well-known gallantry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, Commanding 42nd Highlanders; Colonel Faber, Commanding 53rd Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Leith-Hay, Commanding 93rd Highlanders; and Captain Ryves, Commanding 4th Punjab Infantry. My thanks are also due to these officers for the able manner in which they commanded their regiments.

Captain McLeod, 42nd Highlanders, Commanding the rear-guard, Lieutenant Smith, Commanding two 9-pounder guns—who performed the duties entrusted to them to my satisfaction—Captain Anderson, ex-Commissariat Officer, whose duties were very severe, and Captain Carey, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General—were most attentive and zealous. Captain Sarel, Brigade-Major of Cavalry; Captain Cox, Brigade-Major of Infantry, deserve my warmest approbation. Captain the Hon'ble G. A. Anson, my Aide-de-Camp, afforded me on this, as on every other occasion, the greatest assistance. Lieutenant Havelock, extra Aide-de-Camp, was very useful. Brigadier the Hon'ble A. Hope talks in the highest strains of Lieutenant A. Butter, 93rd Highlanders, his acting Aide-de-Camp; Captain Bruce, head of the Intelligence

Department, rendered me very great assistance in procuring information regarding the movements of the enemy.

Return of ordnance, ammunition wagons, ammunition, &c., captured on the 9th December 1857 at Serai Ghat.

Nature of ordnance.	Ordnance.						Ammunition wagon.							Ammunition (rounds of.)						Shot without powder.				
	9-pounder guns.	12-pounder howitzers.	24-pounder howitzers.	18-pounder guns.	Native guns.	Total.	9-pounder guns.	12-pounder howitzers.	24-pounder howitzers.	18-pounder guns.	9-pounder wagon body.	Store carts.	Total.	9-pounder guns.	12-pounder howitzers.	24-pounder howitzers.	18-pounder guns.	Native guns.	Total.	6-pounder guns.	9-pounder guns.	24-pounder howitzers.	18-pounder guns.	Total.
Brass	8	3	2	...	1	14	6	1	2	1	1	4	15	540	90	100	12	...	742	150	80	70	10	310
Iron	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	8	3	2	1	1	15	6	1	2	1	1	4	15	540	90	100	12	...	742	150	80	70	10	310

CAMP SERAI GHAT,
The 10th December 1857.

(Sd.) W. W. MIDDLETON, *Capt., R. A., Commanding.*

(True copy.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.,*
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

Return of casualties of the Field Force under the command of General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, K. C. B., Commander-in-Chief, from the 3rd to the 8th December (inclusive) 1857.

Detail of		Killed.										Wounded.										Missing.										
										Horses.										Horses.										Horses.		
Brigades.	Regiments.	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters, Farriers, Drummers and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters, Farriers, Drummers and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Field Officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Native Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters, Farriers, Drummers and rank and file.	Total.	Officers.	Troop.	Remarks.
With head-quarters ...	Staff	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Naval	Marines and Seamen of H. M. S. *Shannon*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Engineers	Royal Engineers, Bengal and Punjab Sappers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Artillery	Royal Artillery, Bengal Artillery,	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	1	16	18	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	
	Madras Artillery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
Cavalry	Her Majesty's 9th Lancers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	1st Punjab Cavalry	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	
	5th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Hodson's Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3rd Infantry Brigade ...	Her Majesty's 8th Foot	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Her Majesty's 64th ,, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd Punjab Infantry	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
4th ,, ,, ...	Her Majesty's 42nd Highlanders ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Ditto 53rd Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	9	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Ditto 93rd Highlanders ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	4th Punjab Rifles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
5th ,, ,, ...	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	,, 32nd Foot ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	,, 82nd Foot ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
6th ,, ,, ...	,, 38th Regiment ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	,, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	7	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Her Majesty's 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	11	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total ...	...	...	2	...	...	1	10	13	1	12	2	3	4	1	...	5	71	86	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	

HEAD-QUARTERS CAMP, CAWNPORE } The 10th December 1857. }

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, Capt.,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

LIST of officers killed.

Brigade.	Rank and names of officers.	Regiments.	Remarks.
Staff	Lieutenant C. J. Salmond...	7th Light Cavalry ...	Orderly Officer to Brigadier-General Grant.
3rd Infantry Brigade...	" T. M. Vincent...	Her Majesty's 8th Regiment	

LIST of officers wounded.

Brigade.	Rank and names of officers.	Regiments.	Remarks.
Staff	Major-General W.R. Mansfield.	Chief of the Staff ...	Slightly.
Do.	Captain J. W. Mansfield ...	Aide-de-Camp to Chief of the Staff.	Severely.
Artillery	" C. S. Longden ...	Royal Artillery ...	Slightly.
Cavalry	" Forbes ...	1st Punjab Cavalry ...	Do.
4th Infantry Brigade	Lieutenant and Adjutant J. MacNeill.	Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment.	Severely
4th Ditto ...	Lieutenant H. C. Stirling...	Her Majesty's 93rd Highlanders.	Do. (since dead).
5th Ditto ...	Ensign C. J. Wrench ...	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.	Do. (accidentally).
5th Ditto ...	" A. Graham ...	Her Majesty's 23rd Fusiliers.	Do. do.
6th Ditto ...	" Dyce	Her Majesty's 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Do.
6th Ditto ...	Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Horsford.	Her Majesty's 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade.	Slightly.

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

RETURN of ordnance, ammunition wagons, &c., captured on the 6th of December 1857 at Cawnpore.

CAMP CAWNPORE,
The 12th December 1857.

Nature of ordnance.		18-pounder guns.	9-pounder guns.	24-pounder howitzers.	8-inch mortars.	5½-inch mortars.	9-pounder ammunition wagons.	24-pounder howitzer ammunition wagons.	24-pounder howitzer spare carriages.	9-pounder spare carriages.	Store carts.	Devil carts with guns.	18-pounder limbers.	Remarks.
Brass ...	...	...	9	2	...	2	9	1	1	1	10	1	2	An immense quantity of shot, shell and ammunition of all kinds was also taken, of which no detailed account can at present be rendered.
Iron	...	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total, seventeen guns captured.
Total	...	1	9	2	3	2	9	1	1	1	10	1	2	

Examined.
(Sd.) J. F. BRUCE, *Capt.*,
Bde.-Maj.

(Sd.) W. CRAWFORD, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Artillery.

(True copy.)
(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Capt.*,
Asst. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

(Sd.) W. MAYHEW, *Lieut.-Col.*,
Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

(True copies.)
(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.*,
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

General Orders by the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council.

Fort William, 30th March 1858.

No. 510 of 1858.—In continuation of the list of casualties during the operations at Cawnpore on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th November last, under Major-General Windham, C. B., announced in G. G. O. No. 47 of the 12th January 1858, the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council directs the publication of the following

return of the casualties in the Madras Brigade during the engagements on those dates :—

Return of killed and wounded of the Madras Brigade in action near Cawnpore on the 26th, 27th and 28th November 1857.

Date.	Corps or detachment.	Killed or wounded.	Captains.	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	Drivers.	Armourers.	Remarks.
26th November ...	C Company, 5th Battalion, Madras Artillery ...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Wounded ...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	
27th " ...	C Company, 5th Battalion, Madras Artillery ...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Wounded ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	
	Staff	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Wounded ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	
28th " ...	C Company, 5th Battalion, Madras Artillery ...	Killed ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
		Wounded ...	...	1	1	...	9	...	...	
		Total ...	2	1	2	2	10	1	1	

Nominal roll of European and Native commissioned officers of the Madras Brigade wounded in action near Cawnpore on the 26th, 27th and 28th November 1857.

Date.	Rank and name.	Corps or detachment.	Appointment.	Remarks.
28th November ...	Captain A. Howlett*	27th Madras Native Infantry.	Offg. Commissariat Officer	Slightly.
28th " ...	" C. H. Drury†.	Ditto ...	Brigade-Major	Severely.
28th " ...	Jemadar Sheik Emom	C Company, 5th Battalion, Madras Artillery.	....	Slightly.

* This officer's horse killed under him on 28th November 1857.

† Ditto ditto ditto 27th November 1857.

CAMP FUTTEHPORE,
The 8th March 1858.

(Sd.) C. H. DRURY, *Capt.*,
Bde.-Maj., Madras Troops.

(Sd.) M. CARTHEW, *Brigr.*,
Comdg. Madras Troops in Bengal.

Abstract of the above.

—	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	Drivers.	Armourers.	Gun Bullocks.		Remarks.
Wounded ...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	On 26th November 1857	... None killed or missing.
	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	,, 27th ,, ,,	... *N. B.*—Only 4 guns of battery at Cawnpore.
	1	1	...	9	...	...	3	,, 28th ,, ,,	...
Total Wounded ...	1	2	2	10	1	1	4		

CAMP MEWAYEE,
The 6th March 1858.

(Sd.) R. CADELL, *Lieut. and Capt.,*
Comdg. C. Compy., 5th Battn., Madras Arty.

(Sd.) M. CARTHEW, *Brigr.,*
Comdg. Madras Troops in Bengal.

(True copy.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.,*
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

(Sd.) F. D. ATKINSON, *Maj.,*
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

From Major H. W. NORMAN, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, 22nd December 1857.*

With reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, No. 20-A and its enclosures,* relative to Brigadier M. Carthew's defence of the bridge and Bithoor Road at Cawnpore on the 28th ultimo, I have now the honour by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to forward for submission to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, copies of letters as per margin, marked A, B, and C.

A.—From Brigadier M. Carthew, to the Chief of the Staff, dated 15th December 1857.
B.—From the Chief of the Staff, to Major-General C. Windham, C.B., dated 19th December 1857.
C.—From Major-General C. Windham, C.B., to the Chief of the Staff, dated 19th December 1857.

2. When the memorandum dated 9th instant was written, copy of which was transmitted in my letter No. 20-A, and in which the conduct of Brigadier Carthew was commented on by His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief was under the strongest impression that Brigadier Carthew had retired from his post on the 28th November without orders, and that no discretionary power had been given to him.

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* See pages 366 to 370.

Sir Colin Campbell conceived it to be an imperative duty to mark what he considered to be a violation of one of the first principles of war.

3. It appears now, however, that His Excellency's impression was erroneous, and it is a matter of the sincerest regret to him, that his having acted under such erroneous impression should have been detrimental to Brigadier Carthew, and given pain to that meritorious officer.

4. The Commander-in-Chief directs me to request that you will solicit the permission of his Lordship in Council that his memorandum of the 9th instant may be considered null and void, and if it should have been sent forward to the Government at Madras he begs that this further correspondence may be despatched to the [same] destination in justice to Brigadier Carthew.

A.

From Brigadier M. CARTHEW, *Commanding Madras Troops, to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, 15th December 1857.*

With reference to your communication to me of the 9th December, conveying the remarks of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, regarding my retreat from the position I had been directed to defend by Major-General Windham, Commanding the Force, on the evening of the 28th November, I beg I may be permitted most respectfully to state that I was under the full impression that I had due authority from the Major-General to retire when the post became no longer tenable.

I received a verbal message during that day, either from the late Captain McCrea or Lieutenant Budgeon, (I cannot recollect which) that when I could hold out no longer, I was to retire to the entrenchment, where Her Majesty's 64th Regiment was located.

I cannot call to mind receiving any express instructions to that effect from Major-General Windham himself, but I am under the impression that the Major-General, on the previous evening, made some such remark as "well gentlemen, when we can hold out no longer we must retire to the entrenchment."

Under that impression I acted during the day and made my retrograde movement into the entrenchment in the evening, and I trust His Excellency will be able on this explanation to exonerate me from blame and censure in that particular respect.

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B.

From Major-General W. R. MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff, to Major-General* WINDHAM, C.B., *Commanding 5th Brigade,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, near Cawnpore, the 19th December 1857.*

I have the honour to enclose for your remarks a letter received from Brigadier Carthew in answer to a memorandum written by order of the Commander-in-Chief, and forwarded through you by the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army, conveying His Excellency's opinions on the retreat of that officer from the post entrusted to his charge on the 28th November 1857, without, as His Excellency conceived, any discretion having been left him for such a movement on his part.

His Excellency would be much obliged to you to communicate to me for his information your opinion as to whether Brigadier Carthew had reason to imagine that a discretionary power was left to him in the exercise of his command of the post in question, which could be interpreted in the sense implied in the enclosed letter.

His Excellency's impressions on this subject were founded on the fact of the general surprise displayed by yourself and others at the abandonment of the post in question, after you had proceeded with the reinforcements demanded some short time before, almost immediately after His Excellency's arrival in the entrenchment.

C.

From Major General C. A. WINDHAM, C. B., *to Major-General* MANSFIELD, *Chief of the Staff,—dated Cawnpore, the 19th December 1857.*

In answer to your communication of to-day, I have the honour to state for the information of His Excellency that I think Brigadier Carthew has made a fair representation of my views.

On the night of the 27th at a general meeting of the superior officers I thought it my duty to hold as much of the town as I could, as we might expect a large number of women and children, sick and wounded, to arrive shortly, that it would be cruel to shut them all up in the fort even if were* possible.

Therefore I was resolved that every one should hold on as long as possible, and if obliged to fall back, they could but come to the fort at last.

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* Sic in original.

In the plan of defence we abandoned the centre of the city, thinking it too cramped and narrow in its streets for the enemy to enter with his big guns.

When I took down the detachment of Rifles to Brigadier Carthew's assistance, I observed it was a sharp fight and immediately went and ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Watson and two companies, 82nd, to go to him, and saw him on the road there.

I was in hopes this force would have prevented the necessity of his retiring, which was the cause of my being surprised at it.

(True copies.)

(Sd.) H. W. NORMAN, *Maj.*,
Depy. Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

From Major H. W. NORMAN, *Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 36-A, dated Head-Quarters Camp, Cawnpore, 22nd December 1857.*

I have the honour, by desire of the Commander-in-Chief, to transmit for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council copy of a letter dated the 15th instant, No. 7, from Captain L. Barrow, Commanding the Volunteer Cavalry, with Major-General Sir J. Outram's Force, bringing prominently to notice the names of officers who have done good service in the corps under his command; and I am to request you will have the goodness to acquaint His Lordship in Council that Sir James Outram has been requested to inform Captain Barrow that the merits of these officers, and more especially of Captain Barrow himself as commandant of the Volunteer Cavalry, are highly appreciated by His Excellency.

From Captain BARROW, *Commanding Volunteer Cavalry, to the Chief of the Staff, 1st or Major-General Sir* JAMES OUTRAM'S *Division,—No. 7, dated Camp Alumbagh, 15th December 1857.*

As most of the officers of the Volunteer Cavalry have been removed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, their services being otherwise required, and many others having left wounded, I trust I shall be excused for bringing prominently to notice the names of all these officers who have performed their duty well, and in an entirely new capacity.

2. The officers as per margin marked* served since the force left Allahabad on the 6th July under General Havelock, and those marked† joined at various periods of the campaign. These officers have not only performed the duties of private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, but side by side with the privates of the different regiments composing the late field force. The arduous nature of these duties is so well known to the Major-General, that it only remains to bring to his notice the cheerful and exemplary manner in which the officers performed them.

- * Captain R. L. Thompson, 10th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Captain Sheehy, Her Majesty's 81st Regiment (dead).
- * Captain Hicks, 6th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Lieutenant R. Chalmers, 45th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Lieutenant Lynch, Her Majesty's 70th Regiment.
- * Lieutenant W. O. Swanston, 7th Madras Native Infantry.
- * Lieutenant Grant, 3rd Madras Europeans (dead).
- † Lieutenant Hearsey, 57th Bengal Native Infantry.
- † Lieutenant Wild, 40th Bengal Native Infantry.
- † Lieutenant Palliser, 63rd Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Lieutenant W. Ramsay, 17th Bengal Native Infantry.
- † Lieutenant Brown, 56th Bengal Native Infantry (dead).
- † Lieutenant Birch, 1st Bengal Light Cavalry.
- * Cornet Fergusson, 8th Bengal Light Cavalry.
- † Cornet R. Goldsworthy, Her Majesty's* 17th Lancers.
- † Cornet W. Goldsworthy, Her Majesty's 8th Hussars.
- * Ensign Brander, 37th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Ensign Pearson, 27th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Ensign Stewart, 17th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Ensign the Hon'ble H. H. Hare, 17th Bengal Native Infantry.
- * Ensign Woodgate, 11th Bengal Native Infantry.

Uncovenanted.

- * J. Erskine, Esq. (dead).
- * W. Bews, Esq.
- * J. Anderson, Esq.

3. My object in bringing forward the names at this time is, that those now with His Excellency may have their conduct as volunteers under his notice in their nomination to other appointments, for under a somewhat new and peculiar formation they have readily adapted themselves to all circumstances, and behaved throughout as officers should do, anxious to prove themselves good soldiers.

No. 1667 OF 1857.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council has received the accompanying despatch from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and hastens to give publicity to it.

It supplies an omission in a previous despatch from His Excellency, which was printed in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the 24th instant. ‡

Major-General Windham's reputation as a leader of conspicuous bravery and coolness, and the reputation of the gallant force which he

‡ G. O. No. 1649 of 1857.

commanded, will have lost nothing from an accidental omission such as General Sir Colin Campbell has occasion to regret.

But the Governor-General in Council will not fail to bring to the notice of the Government in England the opinion formed by His Excellency of the difficulties against which Major-General Windham, with the officers and men under his orders, had to contend.

From General Sir COLIN CAMPBELL, K.C.B., *Commander-in-Chief, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council,—dated Head-Quarters Camp, near Cawnpore, 20th December 1857.*

I have the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice an omission, which I have to regret in my despatch of the 2nd December, and I beg to be allowed now to repair it.

I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-General Windham, C. B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance to your Lordship's protection and good offices.

I may mention in conclusion that Major-General Windham is ignorant of the contents of my despatch of 2nd December, and that I am prompted to take this step solely as a matter of justice to the Major-General and the other officers concerned.

By order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

(Sd.) W. MAYHEW, *Lieut.-Col.,*
Adjt.-Genl. of the Army.

(Sd.) R. J. H. BIRCH, *Col.,*
Secy. to the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.

From the Deputy Adjutant General of the Army, to the Secretary to the Government of India,—dated Head-Quarters, Camp Chowleepore, 25th December 1857.

In completion of the despatches and reports relative to the recent operations and dispositions of the troops at Cawnpore and Lucknow, I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to enclose copies of six memoranda, written by the Chief of the Staff by order of His Excellency for the guidance of Major-General C. Windham, C. B., and Sir James Outram, G. C. B.

I am also directed to enclose copy of a letter from the Chief Staff Officer of Major-General Sir Outram, G. C. B., dated 11th instant.

Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General WINDHAM, *dated Cawnpore, 6th November 1857.*

Major-General Windham, C. B., will assume command of the Cawnpore Division as a temporary arrangement in pursuance of the G. O. issued this day.

2. His attention will be immediately directed towards the improvement of the defences and of the entrenchment which now cover the Commissariat, two of the hospitals, &c.

3. He will communicate daily with Captain Bruce, the Police Magistrate, who will furnish all the intelligence to the Major-General which it is in his power to give.

4. A careful watch must be maintained over the movements of the Gwalior Force which, it is supposed, will arrive at Calpee on Monday, the 9th instant.

5. If this force show a real disposition to cross the Jumna, the garrison at Futtehpore* should be withdrawn to Cawnpore, and execute the march in two days bringing their guns with them, and destroying the entrenchment.

6. A post† should be formed in such case at Lohunda, the terminus of the railway, to consist of not less than five companies of infantry and four guns.

† To be furnished from Allahabad.

7. Parties proceeding from Lohunda to Cawnpore should, if the contingency allowed it to take place, be of the strength of a battalion. But the bullock train parties are not to be discontinued, till positive information respecting the movement of the Gwalior Contingent renders such precautions absolutely necessary.

8. Supposing this to have taken place, General Windham will make as great show as he can of what troops he may have at Cawnpore, leaving a sufficient guard in the entrenchment, by encamping them conspicuously and in somewhat extended order, looking, however, well to his line of retreat.

9. He will not move out to attack unless compelled to do so by the force of circumstances, to save the bombardment of the entrenchment.

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* The officer in command at Futtehpore must communicate this, but quite confidentially, to the chief district authority.

10. For the present, the garrison of Cawnpore will consist of the detachments of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers, 84th, and recovered men of various corps, and of the head-quarters of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, amounting in all to about 500 men.

10. The British infantry which will be arriving from day to day will be sent forward into Oudh by wings of regiments, unless General Windham should be seriously threatened. But of course in such case he will have been able to take the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.

11. General Windham may detain the 2nd Madras Brigade under Brigadier Carthew for a few days, until the intentions of the Gwalior Contingent are developed. This force will arrive with convoy on the 10th instant.

He will desire Brigadier Campbell, Commanding at Allahabad, and the officer commanding at Futtehpore to report to him, and communicate so much of these instructions to those officers as affects them.

Memorandum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-General WINDHAM,*—dated Head-Quarters, Cawnpore, 8th November 1857.*

In continuation of former instructions, Major-General Windham is requested to direct his attention to the general position of the stations threatened or affected by the Gwalior Contingent.

Assuming that force to have arrived at Calpee, it is apparent from the map that besides the Jumna there are between that place and Cawnpore, the Rind Nuddee and the Pandoo Nuddee.

Supposing the enemy to contemplate an advance on the line of the Ganges from Calpee, he would proceed either to Akbarpore or Ghatumpore.

In either case, measures would be taken to destroy the bridges on these streams.

If the enemy proceed to Akbarpore, it is tolerably evident that he would be bound either for Cawnpore or to Sheorajpore. There would be ample time then to take urgent measures at Cawnpore, supposing the bridges to have been destroyed. If, on the contrary, he makes for Ghatumpore, it may be presumed that his aim is Futtehpore.

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When he is at Ghatumpore, it will be time enough to think of abandoning the post of Futtehpore, which is to be avoided as long as possible consistently with the military safety of the garrison.

Assuming that he is bound for Cawnpore, it will be for General Windham to exercise his discretion in calling up the Futtehpore garrison as a reinforcement. This should only be done as a last resource; Government having been fully restored in the Futtehpore District, the interests of which would be sacrificed by the abandonment of the post.

General Windham will have at his disposal about 500 rank and file of British troops, including a detachment of the Naval Brigade left to work the guns.

The Madras Force will give him 550 rank and file with six field guns.

Two 24-pounder guns have been added to his ordnance in the last three days, making in all nine guns for the intrenchment, besides the Madras guns above alluded to.

There are in addition two 9-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer, with ammunition in their wagons available for movement, but for which there are no gunners.

There are now in course of arrival, at very early date, at Cawnpore:—

1 Company, Reserve Artillery (Royal Artillery).
1 Horse Field Battery, Royal Artillery, military train*.
5 Companies, Her Majesty's 23rd Foot, detachment, Her Majesty's 82nd Foot.
2 Madras Horse Artillery guns.

The 23rd and military train, and the Royal Artillery will pursue their march towards Lucknow without delay, with convoys of ammunition, engineer's park, and commissariat stores.

The detachment of the 82nd Foot will remain at Cawnpore till they reach the strength of a wing, when they will make the distance to Alumbagh in two marches.

Major-General Windham will have the goodness to send due notice of the arrival and departure of every detachment and convoy to and from Cawnpore to the officer in charge of the Quartermaster-General's Department, Head-Quarters.

* "Military train" was a distinct body of two hundred sabres and should hardly have been inserted as an adjunct to a Horse Field Battery.

Memoradum by the Chief of the Staff for the guidance of Major-eral WINDHAM,*—dated Camp Alumbagh, 14th November 18*

Major-General Windham will cause all detachments coming the Grand Trunk Road to halt at Cawnpore until further orders.

All men arriving must be fully equipped.

The gram bags will be returned as soon as possible.

He will have the goodness to communicate the substanc memorandum to Captain Bruce.

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